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I

GRENDL AND GREP

THE *Gesta Danorum* of the twelfth-century Danish historian, Saxo Grammaticus, might fairly be expected to include stories corresponding, more or less, to those episodes of *Beowulf* the scene of which was the Danish court, in point of fact the Ingeld episode, at least, was known to Saxo, who gives us two versions of it, differing widely, it is true, from each other and from the English version, but demonstrably the same story in origin nevertheless.¹ When however we turn to the chief adventure of *Beowulf* at the Danish court, the fight with Grendel (and that with Grendel's dam), the Saxonian parallel usually pointed out strikes one as extraordinarily far-fetched. I refer to Biarco's fight with the bear, an episode which Saxo disposes of in the following words:²

Talibus operum meritis exsultanti novam de se silvestris fera victoriam præbuit Ursum quippe eximie magnitudinis obvium sibi inter dumeta factum iaculo confecit comitemque suum Hialtonem, quo viribus maior evaderet, applicato ore egestum beluæ cruorem haurire iussit. Creditum namque erat hoc potionis genere corporei roboris incrementa præstari.

According to Saxo, Biarco kills a bear which he comes upon in a thicket. This bear may be a substitute for an original troll (by a process known in folk-lore circles as rationalization), and the addition of Hialto and his blood-drinking may be explained in one way or another, but neither the exploit itself nor its Saxonian setting gives us the basis needful for a reconstruction thoroughgoing enough to provide a clear parallel to the Grendel story. In the corresponding episode of the *Hrólfs saga kraka* the setting, at least, can more readily be given a *Beowulfian* connexion, but

¹ See my papers in the *Germanic Review* xiv (1939), 235-257 and *JEGP*, xxxix (1940), 76-92, with the references there given, and cf. E. Schneider, *Germ. Heldensage*, II, i, (1933), 73-75 (with bibliography, p. 94). ² II, vi, 11; ed. Olnk & Ræder (1931), p. 51

even here great differences exist, and the winged monster of the Icelanders is hardly easier to identify with Grendel than is the bear of Saxo, while no equivalent of Grendel's dam figures in either version of the Bjarki-Hjalti story. As soon as we pass from Saxo's second book to his fifth, however, we find a tale in many ways strikingly like the Grendel adventure of *Beowulf*. It is the purpose of the present paper to examine this tale as a parallel to the Grendel story, and to see what we can make of it, when we look at it from this point of view.³

Saxo begins his fifth book with a gloomy picture of the state of things at the Danish court. King Frotho was a minor, he succeeded to the throne at the age of seven. The regents were well enough, but left all power in the hands of the brothers Westmarus and Colo, who in turn did nothing, and allowed their fifteen sons (Westmar had 12, Colo 3) to run riot. These fifteen young men made a reign of terror in Denmark. Saxo describes their conduct as follows:⁴

Filii Westmari Colonisque, cum et ætate iam puberes et animis acres essent, fiducia in temeritatem versa, ad obscenos ac degeneres ritus inquinatam flagitiis indolem contulerunt. Adeo enim insolenter se indomiteque gesserunt, ut, constupratis aliorum nuptis ac filiabus, proscripsisse pudicitiam atque in prostibulum relegasse viderentur. Corruptis quoque matronarum fulcris, ne toris quidem virginalibus abstinebant. Suus nullum thalamus securitate donabat, nec quisquam fere patriæ locus luxuriæ eorum vestigiis vacuus erat. Mariti metu, coniuges corporum suorum ludibrio vexabantur. Iniuriis obtemperatum est: cessit copularum respectus, violensque amplexuum usus exstabat, publicata est Venus, coniugiorum reverentia pereunte, raptim luxuria petebatur.

The ringleader among the young kinsmen was Grep, more precisely, the eldest Grep (for there were three brothers so called). He went so far in his career of wickedness that he tried to seduce or ravish the princess Gunwara, sister of the king. She saved herself by taking refuge in a stronghold, where she was guarded by thirty domestics. Grep and his fellow evildoers did not give up their wicked ways when the king grew older and took in marriage Hanunda, daughter of the King of the Huns. On the contrary, they became worse than ever. Saxo pictures as follows the state of things in Denmark during the king's married life, a three-year period of peace and prosperity:⁵

Cuius contubernales, otio petulantiam nacti, partam quiete lasciviam improbis-
simis extulere sceleribus. Quosdam enim restibus in sublime pertractos more
agitabilis pilæ pendula corporum impulsione vexabant; aliis hædinum incendenti-
bus corium substernentes lubrici tergoris offendiculo per occultum funis raptum

³ A thorough discussion of the tale would involve much more than this, of course, but would require a greater amount of space than I have at my disposal here.

⁴ v, i, 3, *ed. cit.*, pp. 104 f.

⁵ v, i, 11, *ed. cit.*, p. 107.

incautos subegere gressus, alios veste nudatos variis verberum suppliciis lacerbant, alios clavis affixos laquei more suspensionis multavere ludibrio, quorundum barbæ et verticis pilos faculis torruerunt; alius pubem atque inguina subiecto torre cremabant. Advenas ossibus converberabant; alios ad intemperantiam compulsos immoderata potione rumpebant. Virginibus nubere non licebat, nisi quarum castitas us ante delibata fuisset. Nemini filiam nuptum dare licebat nisi gratiam ipsorum favoremque mercato. Nulli matrimonium contrahendi fas erat, si eorum non pretio præmisset assensum. Præterea non in virgines modo, verum etiam in matronarum turbam passim dissolutissimæ libidinis suæ flagitia porrexerunt. Mixtam petulantiae rabiem duplex furoris species agitabat. Convenis hospitibusque receptum loco convicia præbebantur. Tot ludibriorum irritamenta a petulantibus et lascivis reperta sunt. Adeo sub rege puero temeritas libertate nutrita est. Nihil enim tantum peccandi licentiam protrahit quantum ultionis poenæque dilatio.

The licence allowed the evildoers had its effect on the popularity of the king himself; the Danes groaned under the misrule which they had to endure. As for the ringleader, Grep, he took the queen for his mistress, and kept the princess Gunwara from marrying by beheading her suitors and putting their heads on stakes. Saxo does not tell us precisely how long Grep and his fellow evildoers held sway in Denmark, but if Frotho came to the throne at seven and married at sixteen, the reign of terror lasted twelve years.

With the second chapter of the fifth book the scene shifts to the realm of King Gøtar,⁶ which Saxo puts in Norway. The king has designs on Denmark but his retainer Eric dissuades him from doing anything himself. An expedition led by Rafno also fails; Rafno is defeated at sea by Oddo, a magician who when he chooses can range the seas without a vessel of any kind. The survivors of Rafno's expedition spread the news that the Danes are restive under the tyranny of the soldiery (i.e., Grep and his fellows) and have become disloyal to Frotho.

Roller, Eric's younger brother, now undertakes to go to Denmark and enter the service of Frotho. His motive in so doing is said to be a wish to know the truth about the situation at the Danish court. His elder brother disapproves; he holds the expedition overbold. He is unable to dissuade Roller, however, and, finding him bent on going, decides to accompany him. The king allows them to take their pick of men to go with them on the expedition. They choose a crew and set out. On the way to Denmark they meet and defeat Oddo and his men, in a sea fight at night; Oddo and all his men are killed. Thus they take vengeance

⁶ Phonetically speaking, this name answers either to the ON tribal name *Gautar* (OE *Geatas*) or to the personal name *Gautarr* (OE *Geathere*). Saxo treats it as a personal name, of course.

for the defeat of Rafno. After another adventure which I will omit, they finally land near the Danish royal seat. Their mission, be it remembered, is not a hostile one, on the contrary, Roller has made a vow to share Frotho's tent, that is, to take service with him, and Eric, when he decides to go along, makes a like vow. Eric, the elder brother, takes the lead in the expedition and does nearly all the talking, though Roller was the one who undertook the expedition in the first place.

Grep rides to meet the newcomers, he and Eric have a flyting at the shore, in the course of this flyting Grep's adultery with Hanunda comes out and Grep rides off defeated in the war of words. He next resorts to magic to keep the newcomers from proceeding to the king's hall; he cannot use armed force because the king will not allow it. The magic fails, however, and the strangers reach the hall. As they enter, attendants try to trip Eric up, but Roller helps his brother and keeps him from falling. Eric himself, Gunwara and the king all have something to say in connexion with this incident. Eric now takes his turn at playing tricks, his trick costs the life of Colo (Grep's uncle). There follows a riddling interchange between Eric and the king, the king asks Eric questions about the journey and Eric replies in such a way that his answers, though true, are not understood. When the king owns himself bewildered, Eric tells him in plain speech of the defeat and death of Oddo. The king seems quite undisturbed by this piece of news; indeed, he gives Eric an armlet by way of reward for his success in the riddling game. The conversation now turns to the flyting between Grep and Eric, and the king learns of his wife's adultery. Grep tries to kill Eric, but is killed by Roller.

With the death of the ringleader the power of the evildoers is broken. Grep's brothers challenge the strangers to a fight, and this fight is duly arranged for; it is to take place on the frozen surface of the sea near by. The challengers are now ordered out of the hall by the king, who assigns their seats to the strangers. Acting upon Eric's advice, the king pardons Hanunda. By another trick, Eric makes the king give him Gunwara's hand in marriage. The fight on the ice ended in the victory of the strangers and the death of all the sons of Westmar and Colo. The king saw to it that nobody took part in the fight except the challengers and the strangers. Gøtwara, the widow of Colo, tried to outdo Eric in a flyting, but lost. The king later had her stoned to death, for her connivance at Grep's adultery. Westmar lost his life in a tug of war with Eric. Grep's whole family was thus exterminated, and the reign of terror at the Danish court came to an end. The king proved resentful of Eric's methods, but finally came round. He divorced Hanunda and gave her to Roller in marriage. The brothers went back with their

wives to Norway. Their further adventures, and those of Frotho, do not concern us here.

In comparing this tale with the Grendel story of *Beowulf*, it will be convenient to begin with the name *Rollerus*. This name is usually explained as representing ON **Hróllr*, and as answering to OE *Hrēpel*,⁷ the name of Beowulf's grandfather. A story once told of Beowulf might perfectly well, in the course of time, be shifted to his grandfather, or *vice versa*. If such a shift in fact took place, one would expect a corresponding shift of the Danish king concerned; that is to say, one would expect to find, not Hroðgar, but his grandfather Fróði⁸ rescued by the hero from the reign of terror. When therefore we find in Saxo just such a story told of Frotho III, we may well suspect some connexion with the Grendel story of *Beowulf*. Let us compare the two stories, then, trait by trait, in order to determine, if we can, the nature and the degree of any likeness that may exist between them.

In *Beowulf* and Saxo alike, the tale starts with the Danes, that is, with the victims of the reign of terror. In both monuments the Danish king is represented as helpless. Hroðgar can do nothing because of his old age and consequent physical weakness; he is not depicted as feeble in mind but only as feeble in body. Frotho, on the contrary, is helpless because of his immaturity, in the later years of the terror, at least, he is strong enough physically, but cannot cope with the situation because he lacks mental ripeness. Out of this difference proceeds a corresponding difference in the attitude of the king toward his rescuers. Hroðgar, who has a clear grasp of the situation, receives the newcomers gladly, and does what he can to help them. Frotho, whose inexperienced and immature mind is under the influence of the evildoers, receives the newcomers reluctantly and gives them little help in their undertaking. Both kings have a court dominated by what we now call a defeatist psychology. The king's followers have given up hope; they feel impotent in the face of the terror. The nature of this terror differs in the two stories. The English poet gives us a troll for villain, a man-eater. He

⁷ So first A. Olrik, *Kilderne til Saksen Oldhistorien* (1892), 87, n. The English form goes back to a primitive **Hróþilaz*, the presumed Icelandic form goes back to a primitive **Hróþlaz* (with nil-grade of the suffixal vowel) or to **Hróþalaz* or **Hróþulaz* (with other grades of the suffixal vowel). The medial þ would early become ð, of course, and in Old Norse ðl would become ll; see A. Noreen, *Altisländische Grammatik*, 4th ed. (1923), p. 196.

⁸ In the English poem, Beowulf the Dane is the grandfather of Hroðgar, but in Scandinavian tradition the grandfather's name is Fróði (Frotho). Moreover, students of Scandinavian story are agreed that Saxo's Frotho I (second book) and Frotho III (fifth book) are identical in origin. Thus, P. Herrmann, *Die heldensagen des Saxo Grammaticus* (1922), p. 318, says: "Frodi der Friedens-Frodi [Frotho III] ist also eigentlich ein und dieselbe Gestalt wie Friedens-Frodi [Frotho I]"

haunts the king's hall by night only. His standard meal is fifteen men (*Beowulf* 1581f). Saxo's villain, Grep, is a man, not a troll, he has a following of fourteen men; the evildoers thus are fifteen in number, answering precisely to Grendel's eating capacity. Grep and his fellows are lustful, not cannibalistic, and the terror takes shape accordingly.⁹ In both stories the terror is associated with a period of peace and prosperity. The English poet and Saxo are alike in attributing the terror to this peace and prosperity. According to *Beowulf* 86ff, Grendel takes offense at the agreeable life which the retainers lead in hall, while according to Saxo v, 1, 3 and v, i, 11, such a life has a corrupting effect on the participants, and leads directly to evildoing like that of Grep and his fellows. Both writers agree, further, in making the reign of terror last a long time. In *Beowulf* 147 we get the specific statement that Grendel infested the Danish royal hall for twelve years, and although Saxo does not make so specific a statement we may legitimately infer from what he says that Grep and his fellows terrorized the Danish court for approximately the same length of time.

Grep's relations with Gunwara are curious indeed, and want special examination here. Grep pursues the princess, but his intentions seem to be strictly dishonorable; certainly there is no mention of betrothal or marriage. The stronghold in which she takes refuge may be the *skemma* or *búr* of Icelandic story, the woman's house. It reminds one, however, of the *hof* of *Beowulf* 1236, to which the royal family retire at night as a place of refuge from Grendel; compare *Beowulf* 662ff, where the royal exit from the hall is mentioned. The thirty domestics who serve as guard for the princess may be taken as a measure of the strength of Grep, or of the fifteen evildoers (in the latter case, twice fifteen domestics, or odds of two to one, were thought needful). Compare *Beowulf* 122f, where we are told that Grendel took thirty thanes. Grendel's opponent Beowulf had the strength of thirty men (see *Beowulf* 379ff) and he and Grendel were therefore well matched. The princess evidently reckoned herself safe in her place of refuge, guarded by thirty domestics, but presumably she would not have reckoned herself safe if her guard had been smaller. Later on, we are told that she had many suitors, but Grep was clearly not of their number. He made no attempt to take her, but contented himself with slaughtering the suitors and putting their heads on stakes. In this way he saw to it that she did not marry. He himself became the queen's lover. One must suspect that Grep in his relations with Gunwara has taken over a part earlier played by a jealous father, and that Gunwara earlier played the part of a Danae. No jealous father appears, it is true, in the story as we have it in *Beowulf*, but the germ

⁹ The number 15 is a so-called typical number, cf *Beowulf* 207

of such a father is to be found there, and this germ may well have come to full growth in Scandinavian soil, as the centuries rolled on. From *Beowulf* and *Widsith* we learn that warfare arose between Hroðgar and his son-in-law Ingeld, and this warfare ended in the death of Ingeld. In English tradition we are given a motivation of these events in terms of a tribal feud. This motivation, as we know, was widely lost in Scandinavian tradition. Now the hostility between Hroðgar and Ingeld might be explained well enough in terms of a father's unwillingness to give his daughter to any suitor, and the death of Ingeld at the hands of Hroðgar would fit in beautifully with the familiar folk-tale motif of the jealous father who puts to death his daughter's suitors. I conceive that Grep and Gunwara, to begin with, were wholly without relationship to each other, quite as Grendel and Freawaru in *Beowulf* were in no way connected. The story of Hroðgar and Freawaru became the story of a jealous father and an imprisoned daughter, with death for Ingeld and a proper number of other suitors. When Frotho replaced Hroðgar as victim of the reign of terror, he replaced him likewise as jealous father. But since Frotho was thought of as a minor, he could not have a daughter, and the lady was accordingly made his sister instead. Moreover, a minor could hardly be made responsible for the lady's imprisonment, nor yet for the slaughter of her suitors. These deeds were therefore credited to the villain of the piece, Grep. In this way, I think, Grep became a would-be lover of Gunwara. His actions, however, remain those of a jealous father, and this peculiarity leads me to conclude that here he is playing a part that once belonged to another.¹⁰

News of the reign of terror in Denmark reached the realm of King Gøtar (Saxo v, ii, 1 & 4) or the people of the Geatas (*Beowulf* 194f). In particular, Roller (Saxo) or Beowulf (*Beowulf*) took heed of the news, and announced his intention to go to Denmark. Beowulf's motive was to bring help to the Danish king (*Beowulf* 201); Roller's motive was to learn the truth about the situation in Denmark (Saxo v, ii, 5). Roller's elder brother Eric¹¹ urged him not to go; he thought Roller overbold in undertaking such an expedition. Similarly we find that Hygelac, Beowulf's uncle,¹² did all he could to dissuade Beowulf from going to Denmark to give help to Hroðgar (*Beowulf* 1992ff); it would seem that he

¹⁰ Alternatively we may surmise that Grep and Gunwara were father and daughter originally, but that Gunwara, through a likeness of name, became identified with Freawaru and in this way lost her true father and was turned into a Danish princess. This reconstruction has its attractions, but on the whole it seems to me less plausible than the reconstruction presented above. ¹¹ More precisely, Eric was Roller's half-brother.

¹² From *Beowulf* 2428ff we learn that Hygelac and Beowulf had been brought up together as if they were brothers. They were foster-brothers.

feared for Beowulf's life. The English poet, in announcing his hero's resolution, takes occasion to tell us (196ff) how strong, excellent and great a man this hero was. Saxo puts like praise of Roller in Eric's mouth (in other words, the two writers here differ in their way of bringing in the praise of the hero). Both Roller and Beowulf persist in their purpose, and in both cases their elder relations yield to their wishes. From this point, however, the two stories differ in an important respect. Eric, unable to persuade Roller to stay at home, decides to go with him; Hygelac, on the contrary, lets Beowulf go without him. This difference is bound up with an important distinction between Eric and Hygelac. Both these characters play the part of elder kinsman of the hero, but Hygelac in addition serves as King of the Geatas, while Saxo has a separate character, Gøtar, who plays the part of king, and, like Hygelac, takes no part in the expedition, except to further it.

Once the expedition is settled upon, the heroes in both stories get active help at home in making their preparations: king, family, and friends do what they can to give them a good start. They gather a picked crew and set out in a single ship. Saxo tells us, it is true (v, ii, 10), that the voyagers soon add two ships to the first. But these additional ships were later sent back (v, ii, 14), and the voyage ends as it began; that is, with a single ship. Eric, the elder brother of Saxo's tale, takes the leadership of the expedition and serves as its spokesman, but it is Roller, as we shall see, who kills Grep and thereby breaks the back of the reign of terror. Had Hygelac gone with Beowulf (as Eric went with Roller), he would have taken the leadership in much the same way, by virtue of his age and rank. In my opinion Roller, like Beowulf, originally had no elder kinsman with him on the expedition, and Eric's part in the journey itself (as distinguished from its preliminaries) belongs to a later stage in the development of the tale, a stage the history of which I cannot go into here.

In *Beowulf* the voyage to Denmark is uneventful. In Saxo, however, the voyagers have two adventures. One of these adventures has Beowulfian connexions, I think; it will be considered a little later. In Saxo and *Beowulf* alike, the voyagers finally land at a point on shore not far from the king's hall, which lies a bit inland. Beowulf and his men, as they land, are met by a coast-guard, mounted on a horse; he challenges them, asking them who they are, why they have come, and the like. In the same way, Eric and Roller and their men, as they land, are met by Grep, mounted on a horse; he challenges them, asking them who they are, why they have come, and the like. Grep is unlike the coast-guard of *Beowulf*, however, in that he already knows who they are and asks his questions, not for information but in order to start a

flyting with Eric, to whom he addresses himself exclusively Grep is not a coast-guard at all, indeed. His proper place is in the king's hall, where he serves as leader of the terrorists and evil counsellor of the king. In the latter rôle he answers to the Unferth of *Beowulf*. Now a well-known feature of the English poem is the flyting between Beowulf and Unferth. This flyting is unlike Saxo's in structure, in that it consists of two speeches only: an attack by Unferth and a defense and counter-attack by Beowulf. In tone, too, it is dignified, and it wants both the riddling and the scurrility which mark the *genre* in Scandinavia. In substance, however, there is much in common between the two flytings. Thus, Unferth (lines 525ff), like Grep (v, ii, 4), predicts his opponent's defeat and fall, while Beowulf (lines 587ff), like Eric (v, iii, 4-5), exposes the crimes of *his* opponent and puts him to open shame. The conversation between Beowulf and the coast-guard, and the war of words between Beowulf and Unferth, taken together, answer passably well, in substance, to the flyting between Eric and Grep, in spite of the want of correspondence in sundry matters. I conceive that Grep, in addition to his proper parts, was early given the part originally played by the coast-guard, in consequence, his flyting answers to *two* distinct passages in *Beowulf* and the scene of it is not the king's hall but the seashore.

When the Danish coast-guard has satisfied himself that Beowulf and his fellows are friends, he guides them inland until the king's hall is in sight, and then rides off, going back to his proper station by the shore. Grep, when he has been worsted in the flyting with Eric, rides off inland, returning to his proper place in the king's hall. His next move, the attempt to halt the newcomers by magic, answers to nothing in *Beowulf*, since Grendel knows nothing of the hero's coming, and does not deal in magic. Eric's trick with the piece of ice, whereby Colo later meets his death, is also foreign to the English story. The newcomers, when they reach the hall, make entry. This entry gets attention in both stories. Beowulf and his men halt at the door, there they are met by a court official, Wulfgar by name, who first identifies them and then asks the king to give them leave to come in. Only after this leave has been granted are they allowed to enter. The entry is formal, dignified, even stately. In Saxo, on the contrary, the entry is marked by low humor; the attendants try to trip Eric as he steps over the threshold, and but for Roller, who holds him up, he would have had an unseemly tumble. In *Beowulf* and Saxo alike, the entry is marked by speeches. In *Beowulf*, the hero himself, Wulfgar and the king have something to say. In Saxo, Eric, Gunwara, and the king have something to say. The speeches are not comparable in length, however, in Saxo they are mere remarks, whereas in *Beowulf* they add up to some fifty-two lines of verse.

After the entry, Beowulf and the king engage in a formal conversation. So also Eric and the king in Saxo. In *Beowulf* the conversation consists of two long speeches, Beowulf speaks first, and the king replies. In Saxo we find, instead, a long series of questions and answers, the king asking, Eric answering. Beowulf's speech is at once a *gylp* or epic boast and an announcement of his purpose in coming to Denmark. The *gylp* includes a brief description of two specific exploits: (1) Beowulf had destroyed a *cyn* (family? tribe?) of giants, five of whom he had bound, that is, presumably, taken captive, and (2) he had avenged an earlier defeat of the Geatas by slaying an unspecified number of *niceras* by night in a sea-fight. The nickers were sea-beasts of a strange and dangerous kind, presumably fabulous. Eric's answers to the king's questions likewise make up a *gylp*, but do not include any announcement of his purpose in coming to Denmark.¹³ Eric's *gylp* is put in riddling terms, in accordance with his character as one clever in speech. He tells of his exploits on the voyage to Denmark. Here we find nothing that answers to Beowulf's giant-killing, but we do find something reminiscent of Beowulf's nicker-slaying. Oddo is no nicker, it is true, but his ability to range the seas at will without a vessel of any kind can hardly be explained except in terms of shape-shifting, and his shape at sea (when he chose to do without the usual human means of navigation) would presumably be that of a fabulous sea-beast of some kind, let us say a nicker. Eric and Roller, in slaying Oddo and his followers by night in a sea-fight, were taking vengeance for Rafno's earlier defeat. The correspondence in circumstance, then, between Beowulf's exploit and Eric's, is complete. The correspondence in time is less exact, for Beowulf's exploit, unlike Eric's, antedates the voyage to Denmark which has just ended. The two exploits themselves are wholly unlike, since Oddo and his men were in human form, and were making use of ships, when Eric and Roller attacked them, and their defeat and death were brought about by trickery rather than by valor, as Saxo is careful to make clear (v, ii, 13).

In *Beowulf* the flyting between the hero and Unferth comes next, but in Saxo, as we have seen, the corresponding flyting has been combined with the challenge of the coast-guard, and accordingly takes place before the hero reaches the hall. We proceed, then, to the event which in *Beowulf* follows the flyting, namely, the formal service of drink. This is the queen's business, and here, therefore, the queen takes the stage, in a passage about forty lines long (611-641). Nearly three

¹³ This announcement he had already made in his flyting with Grep (v, iii, 2), in reply to Grep's direct question, and what he said agrees with Roller's purpose as explained by Saxo (v, ii, 5), although Eric characteristically put the matter in very evasive (not to say riddling) terms: he came in search of wisdom.

fourths of this passage is devoted to the meeting of the hero and the queen. In Saxo too, at this point, the queen takes the stage (v, iii, 11), her concern is wholly for Eric, whom she rewards for his cleverness of tongue. King Frotho follows her example and gives Eric an armlet; not so in *Beowulf*, where the king reserves his gifts for a later occasion.

In the English story the fight with Grendel follows, king and dright withdrawing beforehand and leaving the hall to the Geatas to hold against the foe. In Saxo, similarly, the fight with Grep follows, but this fight is preceded not by a withdrawal but by an exposure. The young king is unaware of Grep's adulterous relations with the queen, and before the villain can be killed the king must know what a villain he is, must feel his villainy in his own person. Eric therefore repeats the exposure already made in the flyting, and Hanunda confesses her fault. It would manifestly be more appropriate if the flyting took place in the hall and in the king's presence, for then no repetition of the exposure would be needful. In other words, the sequence of events in *Beowulf* is the sequence best suited to Saxo's story as well, and it seems altogether likely that this was the sequence in the original story of which Saxo's is a descendant. The fight with Grep and the fight with Grendel differ in many ways, but also have their points of likeness. I have already mentioned the fact that the fight with Grep takes place in the presence of the court, whereas that with Grendel takes place in their absence. In both fights the villain is the attacker. Grep attacks Eric, while Grendel attacks Hondscioh, in both cases the attack is made on one of the strangers, not on one of the Danes, and in both cases it is not the slayer of the villain but another member of the company who is the object of the villain's attack. In *Beowulf* the villain not only attacks but slays his man. In Saxo, however, Roller comes to the rescue in time to save Eric's life. Weapons are banned in *Beowulf*, but used freely in Saxo. The villain is only maimed and disabled in *Beowulf*, he is actually slain in Saxo. In both stories the fight takes place in the hall itself.

Grendel's defeat moves the Danish king to a speech of thanksgiving (928ff), in the course of which he formally adopts Beowulf as his son (946ff). Frotho, on the contrary, is displeased at Roller's deed, although he cannot deny that justice has been done. This difference between the two stories goes back to the difference between the two kings, as I have explained above. Frotho is mentally immature and for twelve years has been letting Grep and his fellows do his thinking for him. He finds it hard to shake off their dominance, even after their villainy has been fully exposed. And when he does free himself of their influence, it is only to fall under the influence of Eric. The mental immaturity of Frotho answers to the physical senility of Hroðgar, but the two kings, both weak,

are so unlike in the nature of their weakness that it is not surprising to find the two stories correspondingly different.

The episode which follows in both stories may be called the fight with the villain's would-be avengers. It consists of two parts (1) the challenge, and (2) the fight itself. In *Beowulf*, where Grendel's mother is the only avenger, the challenge is made as one would expect a hall-haunting troll to make it: the avenger raids the hall, carries off Æschere, the king's thane, and recovers her son's arm, which Beowulf had hung up as a trophy of victory. Beowulf accepts this challenge, seeks out the avenger in her lair, and kills her there, together with her disabled son. The fight does not take place at the hall, but at the mere beneath which the two trolls live, and it is a striking peculiarity of the duel that the contestants struggle under water and yet on firm ground (that is to say, at the bottom of the mere). Between the challenge and the fight proper there is a considerable interval, measured in hours. In Saxo, Grep's brothers issue the challenge. Their challenge is accepted, and a fight is settled upon. The interval between challenge and fight is three days. The fight does not take place at the hall, but at sea, and it is a striking peculiarity of the contest that the contestants struggle on the water and yet on firm ground (that is to say, on the ice, the frozen surface of the sea). In the fight, all the would-be avengers of Grep are killed. The fight differs from that in *Beowulf* in that it is not a duel, but it resembles the fight in *Beowulf* in that no avenger of Grep is left alive. After the challenge, the would-be avengers of Grep are ordered out of the hall by King Frotho, and they withdraw, never to return. Their next and last appearance is on the ice, for the fight. This banishment seems odd, although Frotho tries to explain it in terms of conventional courtesy to guests.¹⁴ The withdrawal of the would-be avengers of Grep corresponds, however, to the withdrawal of the would-be avenger of Grendel; in both cases this withdrawal is compulsory, though in the case of Grendel's dam it may be called a retreat, or even a flight.

In *Beowulf* the challenge is preceded by a feast (1010) and by a giving of gifts: the Danish king rewards the hero for his exploit (1020ff). In Saxo these events take place, not before the challenge, but between the challenge and the fight. The feast is described in Saxo v, iii, 14; the giving of gifts, in v, iii, 15. The two thus come in immediate sequence, quite as in *Beowulf*; in both cases feast and giving of gifts may be looked upon as belonging to a larger whole, namely, the celebration which followed the death of the oppressor. It must be added, however, that Frotho is an unwilling celebrant. He gives his sister Gunwara to Eric in

¹⁴ It is worthy of note that Westmar and Götware, father and aunt of Grep, are not told to leave the hall

marriage, indeed, but the initiative was Eric's, not the king's, who by a trick was forced into doing something he did not wish to do and had no thought of doing. Here again the trait has been transformed in terms of Eric's characteristic cleverness. The nature of the gift is another matter. We have here a reward for heroism familiar enough in story, a reward which Beowulf might well have received (though he did not) and which his counterpart Biarco, of Saxo's second book, actually received. Roller is rewarded in like manner, but not at this point in the story, see below.

After the slaughter of Grep's would-be avengers on the ice, Gøtware, the widow of Colo and the aunt of Grep, has a flyting with Eric. Her purpose is vengeance; Eric loses his life if he is beaten in the flyting. Gøtware is not represent as a would-be avenger of Grep. She seeks to avenge her three sons, who had taken part in the battle on the ice, and had there been killed along with the sons of Westmar. If Gøtware is a relic or reminiscence of Grendel's dam, we must suppose that the latter's attempt at vengeance had become dissociated from her, presumably because of her sex (cf. *Beowulf* 1282ff), and had been attached to male avengers, while in return she had been given a method of fighting, namely, the flyting, more suitable for a woman and certainly most appropriate in Saxo's story. Anyhow, in Eric she met her match: he, not she, won in the war of words. Frotho later had her stoned to death for connivance at Grep's adultery with the queen. Saxo gives us yet another avenger in the person of Westmar. He is represented as an old man, however, and his attempt to avenge the death of his twelve sons is foredoomed to failure. *Beowulf* has no character that answers to Westmar. With Gøtware and Westmar perish the last members of the family of Grep, the Danish king's hall is cleansed indeed.

In *Beowulf* the hero receives further gifts after he has overcome Grendel's mother (1866ff), these serve also as parting gifts; after receiving them he sets sail for home. So also in Saxo (v, iii, 19). But the knife and sheath which Frotho gives to Eric reach their new owner in a curious way. Frotho throws the knife at Eric, in an attempt to kill him. The throw misses, however, and Eric calmly takes it for granted that Frotho meant to give him a present, and since he has been given the knife he asks for (and gets) its sheath as well. Saxo comments as follows on the king's state of mind at this point: *Ita alienæ simulationis industria delentus emissum maligne telum benigne possidendum concessit*. That same night, however, Gunwara woke Eric and advised him to flee at once, as Frotho's good will could not be counted on. The strangers flee accordingly. The king pursues, but through Eric's trickery has a narrow escape from drowning. Eric and Roller save his life, and after some

conversation the king becomes permanently reconciled to the new state of things. He divorces his queen, and gives her to Roller to wife. The two brothers then go back home, taking their wives with them. Roller's reward seems a bit odd, but it is best taken as booty. Roller slew Grep, and thereby fell heir to Grep's mistress. In the same way Biarco, in Saxo's second book, killed Agner and thereby fell heir to Agner's bride, Ruta.

Our comparison has brought out many likenesses between the two stories, so many, indeed, that we may plausibly conclude that both tales go back to the same original. The chief points of difference are two: (1) in the English poem, the villains are man-eating trolls, while in Saxo they are lustful, cruel warriors, (2) Beowulf undertakes and carries through the adventure as sole leader of his crew, while Roller has a companion, Eric, who, though he leaves to Roller the chief exploit, namely, the slaying of Grep, has ousted him from the leadership and has taken over most of his activities. Moreover, the conception of Eric as a clever talker and trickster, and the conception of Frotho as a minor, have had profound effects on the story. The differences between the two tales, then, are great. As for the resemblances, I have pointed them out in detail above. We may be sure of one thing at least: in the Grep story of Saxo we have an interesting and instructive parallel to the Grendel story as it has come down to us in English heroic poetry, a parallel which lends support to the view that not only the historical but also the fabulous material in *Beowulf* is of Scandinavian origin.¹⁵

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¹⁵ This paper was written for the projected volume in honor of Professor R. W. Chambers, of University College, London, but the outbreak of war in Europe made the editors of the volume give up their project. At their request, and in accordance with my own wishes, I publish the paper separately and dedicate it to Professor Chambers.

II

ROBERT MANNYNG OF BRUNNE: A NEW BIOGRAPHY

A NEW study of the life of Robert Mannyng of Brunne finds its justification in the belief that one of Chaucer's most interesting predecessors in the art of story telling deserves to be better known than he is. Since all accounts of the life of Robert Mannyng are based upon his own statements about himself, the present attempt at a reinterpretation may be clarified by quoting the pertinent passages to begin with.

I. From the Prologue to *Handlyng Synne*¹

To alle crystyn men vndir sunne,	1
And to gode men of Brunne,	
And speciali alle be name,	
þe felaushepe of Symprynghame,	
Robert of Brunne greteþ ȝow	5
In al godenesse þat may to prow.	
Of Brunnewake ² yn Kesteuene,	
Syxe myle be-syde Sympryngham euene,	
Y dwelled yn þe pryorye	
Fyftene ȝere yn cumpanye,	10
In þe tyme of gode dane Ione	
Of Camelton, þat now ys gone.	
In hys tyme was y þere ten ȝeres,	
And knewe and herd of hys maneres,	
Syþyn with dane Ione of Clyntone,	15
Fyue wyntyr wyþ hym gan y wone,	
Dane Felyp was mayster þat tyme	
þat y began þys englyssh ryme	
þe ȝeres of grace fyl þan to be	
A þousynd & þre hundred & þre	20

II From the Prologue to *þe Story of England*³

Lordynges that be now here,	1
if ȝe wille listene & lere	
All the story of Inghlande	
Als Robert Mannyng wryten it fand,	
& on Inglysch has it schewed,	5
not for þe lerid bot for þe lewed,	
ffor þo þat in þis land[e] wone	

¹ Ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall *EETS* Original Series 119, 123 (London, 1901-03), II 57-76 ² So the Dulwich MS. Harley and Bodley have *Brymwake*

³ Ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall *Rolls* Series (London, 1887), II 1-10, 135-144

þat þe Latyn no Frankys cone,
 ffor to haf solace & gamen
 In felawship when þai sitt samen. 10

.
 Of Brunne I am, if any me blame,
 Robert Mannyng is my name,
 Blissed be he of God of heuene
 þat me, Robert, with gude wille neuene,
 In þe third Edwardes tyme was I 15
 when I wrote alle þis story,
 In þe hous of Sixille I was a throwe,
 Danz Robert of Malton þat ze know,
 did it wryte for felawes sake,
 when þai wild solace make 20

III. From Langtoft's *Chronicle*: Pt. II of *Story of England*⁴

Now of kyng Robyn salle I git speke more, 1
 & his broþer Tomlyn, Thomas als it wore,
 & of Sir Alisandere, þat me rewes sore,
 þat boþe com in skandere for dedes þei did þore.
 Of arte he had þe maistrie, he mad a coruen kyng 5
 In Cantebrige to þe clergie, or his broþer were kyng.
 Siþen was neuer non of arte so þat sped,
 Ne bifore bot on, þat in Cantebrigge red.
 Robert mad his fest, for he was þore þat tyme,
 & he sauh alle þe gest, þat wrote & mad þis ryme. 10

IV. Closing lines of Langtoft's *Chronicle*

Now must I nede leue here, of Inglis forto write, 1
 I had no more matere of kynges lif in scrite.
 If I had haued more, blithly I wild haf writen,
 What tyme I left þis lore, þe day is for to witen,
 Idus þat is of May left I to write þis ryme, 5
 B⁵ letter & Friday bi IX þat zere zede prime.

From these passages, then, our knowledge of the life of Robert Mannyng must be derived. One other passage is of some significance

⁴ Ed. by Thomas Hearne, M A (Oxford, 1725) II, 336-337

⁵ Hearne notes that the dominical letter should be D In his preface, p xxxiii, he quotes the Colophon "Expliciunt gesta Britonum & Anglorum in lingua materna per Robertum Mannyng transumpta anno Christi millesimo CCC^{mo} tricesimo VIII Idus Maij, littera dommaticali D prima IX tempore Regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu XI^o" J A Herbert in *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1910), III, 306, notes "The scribe has made two mistakes not only has he put B in one place and D in another for the Dominical letter, but he has made May, 1338 fall in the 11th instead of the 12th year of Edward III However, we need have no doubt as to which year he meant, when we remember that the Ides of May fell on Friday in 1338, and not for six years before nor for eleven years after"

since it shows an intimate knowledge of the two Gilbertine houses of Sempringham and Sixhills. In the translation of Langtoft's *Chronicle*, Mannyng inserts after the account of the treachery and death of Llewellyn, a detailed account of the life and death of his daughter Wencilian, who was taken as a child to Sempringham Priory and lived there for fifty-four years, beloved of all and mourned deeply at her death, which took place between undern and prime on June 7, 1337. Her cousin Gladys, the daughter of David, he continues, who was a nun at Sixhills, had died the year before. Then he adds with his characteristic simplicity:

Of Wencilian wrote I here next Leulyn story,
Scho was his douhter dere, to bere him company ⁶

A study of the foregoing passages establishes certain facts about the poet:

1. His name was Robert Mannyng, of Bourne in Kesteven, in the southern part of Lincolnshire.
2. He dwelt in a priory for fifteen years, ten years with John of Camelton, and after his death, five years with John of Clynton.
3. He began his *Handlyng Synne* in 1303, when Philip was master.
4. He translated the *Story of England* in the time of Edward III, at the request of Dan Robert of Malton (though this fact was misunderstood by Hearne, probably because he failed to recognize the causative sense of "did it wryte")⁷
5. For a time he was at the Gilbertine house at Sixhills. He was familiar with the history of persons at both Sempringham and Sixhills.
6. At some time in his life he was at Cambridge and apparently knew Alexander and Robert Bruce.
7. He ended his translation of Langtoft's *Chronicle* on Friday, May 15, 1338, though he would gladly have gone on writing the *Story of England* if he had had more material.

With these facts established, however, there remain certain questions about which scholars have disagreed. These I shall now consider.

The first question is: To what priory does Mannyng refer in the Prologue to *Handlyng Synne*, when he says, "Y dwelled yn þe pryorye / Fyftene zere yn cumpanye;" does he mean Bourne or Sempringham? Hearne, in the preface to his edition of Langtoft's *Chronicle* says:

⁶ *Op. cit.*, II, 243.—Max Thummig has commented on this passage. See "Ueber die altenglische Übersetzung der Reimchronik Peter Langtofts durch Robert Manning von Brunne." *Anglia*, xiv (1891-92), 75. See also Herbert, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

⁷ *Op. cit.* Preface, p. xxxii. "The true Sirname of this great Man was Mannyng, but being (as I believe at present) born at Malton in Yorkshire, he was from thence frequently call'd Robert of Malton."

After he had left Sixhill, he became a Canon of Brunne, or Bourne, a Priory of Black Canons in the same county . Here he lived a great many years, continuing there, unless I am mistaken, to the time of his Death ⁸

And Hearne's interpretation finds a modern echo in a more positive statement by C Pask Matthews in a pamphlet entitled *The Story of the Abbey Church of Bourne*, which I found for sale in the church at Bourne in the summer of 1938. Says Matthews "Robert Manning, Robert de Brunne, coming from the Priors of Sexhill and Sempringham, was Magister in Bourne Abbey from 1303 until his death in 1340"⁹

That this interpretation of Mannyng's evidence was early open to question is shown in Sir Frederic Madden's Introduction to his edition of *Havelok the Dane*. There he says:

It appears very extraordinary, that Hearne, the publisher of Robert of Brunne . . . and a host of others have been so mistaken in their account of this writer.

But it appears to us . . . that Robert Mannyng was *born at Brunne*, but was never a Canon in any monastery of that place, for he equally calls himself of Brunne soon after the year 1303 and in 1338 It appears also, that he was a Canon of the *Gilbertine Order*, and for fifteen years, i e , from 1288 to 1303 professed in the *Priory of Sempringham*, and it is from this circumstance he alludes so repeatedly to the foundation . . . that he afterwards removed to *Brymwake*, in *Kesteven*, six miles distant from Sempringham, where he wrote the prologue to his first work What became of him for some time after this we have no means of ascertaining, but between the years 1327 and 1338 he tells us he completed his translation of Langtoft, and *during that period* was a short time in the House of Sixhille . . . the Prior of which, *Dan Robert of Malton*, CAUSED the work to be undertaken . . . Should the lists of Priors of Sempyngnam and Brunne ever be discovered, the truth or error of the above statement will be rendered decisive.¹⁰

Madden's belief that Mannyng lived at Brymwake arises from the puzzling reading of the Harleian and Bodleian manuscripts of the *Handlyng Synne*—Brymwake, for the Brunnewake of the Dulwich manuscript. John W. Hales, in a letter in *Academy*,¹¹ makes clear that the Brymwake or Brunnewake is merely Brunne or Bourne, the poet's native town, the *wake* suffix deriving from "its lord Hugh Wac and his successors in the days of old." He clarifies this interpretation by suggesting a more accurate punctuation of the *Handlyng Synne* passage—i e

⁸ *Ibid*

⁹ Pp 10-11 G G Coulton in his recent *Mediaeval Panorama* (New York Macmillan, 1938), p 527, refers to Mannyng as an Austin Canon, thus assuming that he was connected with Bourne Abbey

¹⁰ *Havelok the Dane* ed by Sir Frederic Madden Roxburghe Club (London, 1828), Introduction, p xiii, note

¹¹ John W Hales "Robert of Brunne," *Academy*, xxxi (Jan 8, 1887), 27

placing "a full stop after 'evene' instead of 'prow'" Lines seven and eight are then in apposition with line five, and the difficulty of locating a non-existent Brymwake Priory is removed.

It is Madden's last statement, however, that suggests the clue for solving the puzzle as to whether Mannyng was at Sempringham Priory or Bourne Abbey when he wrote his *Handlyng Synne*. Since the Gilbertine Order was exempt from Episcopal visitations, we do not have a complete list of the priors of Sempringham, but we do have records of the three men Mannyng mentions: John of Camelton or Hamilton, John of Clynton or Glington, and Dan Philip, who was master when he began his translation. Also we have evidence that from 1292 to 1313 the abbot of Bourne was one Thomas de Calstewith,¹² whom Mannyng does not mention at all. It would seem abundantly clear, then, that it was with Sempringham Priory and not with Bourne Abbey that Mannyng was connected when he wrote his *Handlyng Synne*.

If we have established the fact that he was of the Gilbertine Order at Sempringham rather than of the Arrouasian reform of the Augustinian Order at Bourne, the next question which arises is: Can we determine the period of his sojourn? The date he gives is 1303, and he says that he dwelt in the priory (it may be noted by the way that he refers to it as a priory, not as an abbey) for fifteen years. Therefore, says Madden, the period was from 1288 to 1303. And 1288 is the year accepted by scholars generally for Mannyng's entrance into the priory.¹³ The first doubt I have seen cast upon that date is in the letter of Hales, previously cited, where he says in closing: "The dates usually given for his residence at Sempringham are, I believe, inaccurate, but I must not prolong this already long note."¹⁴ As far as I can discover, no further investigation of the problem has been published; but in an unpublished master's thesis, Miss Hazel Fosgate attempts the obvious task, suggested by Madden and long overlooked, of determining the dates of the men Mannyng mentions.¹⁵ Since, as Miss Fosgate points out, the name of John of Hamilton or Camelton, under whom Mannyng says he lived for ten years, occurs

¹² *Victoria History of the County of Lincoln* ed by William Page, F S A. (London, 1906), II, 178

¹³ See among others Frederick J Furnivall, *Introd to The Story of England* Rolls Series (London, 1887), p v, C L Kingsford, "Mannyng, Robert," *D N B*, p 80, George F. Warner *Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Muniments of Alwyn's College of God's Gift at Duxwich* (London, 1881), p 348, Aemilius William Zetsche, *Ueber den I Teil der Bearbeitung des "roman de Brut" durch Robert Mannyng of Brunne* (Leipzig, 1887), p 1

¹⁴ *Op cit*, p 27

¹⁵ Hazel E Fosgate, *Studies in Robert Mannyng's "Handlyng Synne" with an edition of his thirteen original stories* Master's Thesis, Mount Holyoke College, 1916 Miss Fosgate (now Mrs Lew H Morse) has given me permission to quote from her thesis.

in the records of the order as late as 1312, Mannyng could hardly have lived five years with John of Camelton's successor before 1303. Miss Fosgate says:

It is obvious, too, that Robert's words,

‘dane Ione
Of Camelton, ðat now ys gone’

must have been written later than 1312, and the lines

‘Syðyn with dane Ione of Clyntone
Fyue wyntyry wyð hym gan y wone’

must have been written not earlier than 1317, five years after 1312¹⁶

Thus Miss Fosgate would change the year of Mannyng's entrance into Sempringham Priory to about 1302, only a year before his beginning of the *Handlyng Synne*

In her discussion of the men Mannyng mentions in his Prologue to the *Handlyng Synne*, Miss Fosgate does not, however, pursue a distinction pointed out by J. A. Herbert¹⁷ between the priors of the house of Sempringham and the masters of the whole Gilbertine Order. Pursuing that point further, we find that the masters of the Gilbertine Order from about 1250 to 1350, which must include the lifetime of Mannyng, were:

William, elected 1251	Roger de Bolingbroke, elected 1283
Patrick, elected 1262	Philip de Burton, elected 1298
John de Homerton, elected 1276	John de Ginton, elected 1332, resigned 1341
	Robert of Nevenby, elected 1341 ¹⁸

During that same period, though as has been said, there is no complete list of the priors of the house of Sempringham, there are records of the following names:

Roger, mentioned in 1282¹⁹
John of Camelton or Hamilton, mentioned in
1298,²⁰ 1301,²¹ 1305,²² 1312.²³

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 10. ¹⁷ *Op cit*, III, 304-305. ¹⁸ *Vic Hist*, II, 186

¹⁹ *Vic Hist*, II, 186 This Roger was, according to Herbert (*op cit*, p. 305) the same as the Roger de Bolingbroke elected Master of the Order in 1283, on the death of John de Hamerton.

²⁰ Herbert, *op cit*, p. 305, quotes mention from charter (Add Ch 20652) of “venerabilis vir frater Johannes de Camelton, Prior de Sempingham”

²¹ *Le Livre de Reis de Britanie e Le Livre de Reis de Engleterre* ed by John Glover, M A Rolls Series (London, 1865), p. 326

²² Herbert, *op cit*, p. 305, quotes mention from charter (Add Ch 20964) of “domine Johanne priore de Sempingham,” and adds, “This last John is no doubt our author's John of Clyntone or Clattone, and he may probably be identified with John de Glynton named above” Since John of Camelton was still prior as late as 1312, however, Herbert must be mistaken in his identification ²³ *Le Livre de Reis*, p. 328.

John of Glinton, mentioned in 1325,²⁴
1331,²⁵ 1332,²⁶ 1335,²⁷ 1341²⁸

Thus we have in Mannyng's "Tone of Camelton" and "Tone of Clyntone" priors of the Gilbertine House at Sempringham, and in "Dane Felyp," as Herbert has pointed out,²⁸ Philip de Burton, Master of the Order from 1298 to 1332, and consequently at the time Mannyng began his *Handlyng Synne* in 1303. In view of all this evidence it seems clear that Miss Fosgate is correct in changing the conventionally accepted dates for his sojourn at Sempringham. The years 1302-17 appear to fit as nearly as can be determined the fifteen years Mannyng mentions.

The place and the time of his connection with the priory established, the next debatable point is: What was his status? Furnivall says of this: "From the way in which Robert of Brunne speaks of priests in his *Handlyng Synne*, and the awe he has of them I assume that he was not in full orders, but more likely a lay brother or a canon of the Gilbertine Order."²⁹ That this view, though echoed by Preussner,³⁰ Boerner,³¹ and Kunz,³² clearly represents a misunderstanding of the organization of the Gilbertine Order is made clear by Miss Rose Graham.³³ The order was composed only of canons and nuns, who were learned, and lay brothers and sisters, who were not. Mannyng could not, then, have been "a lay brother or a canon." He must have been one or the other. Since the determination of his status at the time of writing the *Handlyng Synne* is closely connected with the question as to when he was at Cambridge, we may first consider the evidence on the second point before arriving at a conclusion on the first.

Mannyng's own statement about his presence at Cambridge is con-

²⁴ *Calendar of the Close Rolls* Preserved in the Public Record Office Edward II, iv, 513 "John de Glenton, prior de Sempringham" For the years 1317 (*Ibid*, ii, 498), 1324 (*Ibid* iv, 321), 1326 (*Ibid* p 635), and 1329 (*Ibid* Edw III, i, p 580) there are references to John or Brother John, Prior of Sempringham, without specification of surname

²⁵ *Ibid*, Edw III, ii, p 328 "Brother John de Glynton, Prior of Sempyngham"

²⁶ *Vic Hist*, ii, 186 See list on p 20

²⁷ *Close Rolls* Edw III, iii, p 513 This reference, dated after John de Glynton had become Master of the Order, contains the names of "John, Master of the Order of Sempyngham" and "Philip de Barton, formerly master of the said order"

²⁸ *Op cit*, iii, 305 Also *Vic Hist*, ii, 186. ²⁹ *The Story of England*, Introd, p v.

³⁰ Oskar Preussner, *Robert Mannyng of Brunne's Uebersetzung von Pierre de Langtoft's Chronicle und ihr Verhältniss zum Original* (Breslau, 1891), p 53

³¹ Oskar Boerner, *Die Sprache Robert Mannyns of Brunne und ihr Verhältniss zur Neuenglischen Mundart* (Halle, 1904), p 4

³² Alfred Kunz, *Robert Mannyng of Brunne's Handlyng Synne verglichen mit der anglonormannischen Vorlage, William of Wadlington's Manuel des Pechiez* (Königsberg, 1913), p 54.

³³ Rose Graham, *S Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines* (London, 1901), p 14. Also Fosgate, *op cit*, p 11.

tained in the third passage quoted at the beginning of this discussion. The first three lines of the passage are a close translation of the source, as a glance at the original will show.

Du fols rey Robyn qe voet plus parler,
De sir Thomas de Breus se poet amentiner,
Et de sir Alexander, de qi me dout le quoe^r ³⁴

Those which follow are an interpolation in the translation of Langtoft, and show Mannyng's knowledge of Alexander Bruce's artistic ability, as it was demonstrated at Cambridge "or his broþer were king" Of this interpolated passage Furnivall says:

Robert of Brunne tells us that he had been at Cambridge and had there known Robert of Bruce and his brothers, Thomas and Alexander, of whom Alexander was the best artist of his time. .³⁵

And C. L. Kingsford, writing in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, has the following comment.

He would seem to have been educated at Cambridge, for he speaks of having been there with Robert de Bruce, the future king of Scotland, and his two brothers, Thomas and Alexander. If so, it is evident, from the way in which Mannyng refers to the Bruces, that this must have been subsequent to his entry at Sempringham, for Robert de Bruce, the eldest was born only in 1274. It may be, however, that Mannyng is referring to a casual visit, for the Gilbertines had a house at Cambridge ³⁶

The Gilbertine House at Cambridge to which Kingsford refers is described in the following passage from the *Calendar of Papal Registers* under the date of 1290:

Mandate to the archdeacon of Stowe to grant the place held by the Friars of Penitence of Jesus Christ, which they are about to leave, to the master and brethren of Sempringham, who often send members of their order to study at the castle of Cambridge, and need a house there, in which they intend to have a canonry. .³⁷

But Mannyng does not say, of course, that he was connected with this house. A careful examination of his statement shows, moreover, that he does not say he knew Thomas Bruce at Cambridge. His mention of Thomas is a mere translation of his source. It is about Alexander that he interpolates his passage. Then the lines

³⁴ *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft* ed. by Thomas Wright (London, 1866) II, 374

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, Introd., p. xii ³⁶ p. 80

³⁷ *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland* ed. by W. H. Bliss (London, 1893), I, 514

Robert mad his fest, for he was þore þat tyme
& he sauh alle þe gest þat wrote & mad þis ryme

offer the ambiguity: Did Robert Bruce make Alexander's feast or his own? What is the antecedent of *his*? Miss Graham assumes that Robert made the feast for himself and says: "He [Mannyng] was present at the feast which Robert made, perhaps at his inception for his degree."³⁸ Miss Fosgate, who has made the most careful study of Mannyng's presence at Cambridge, concludes:

Just when Robert Mannyng joined this company of students cannot be determined, nor can it be proved that he attended Cambridge as a Gilbertine canon. The date of his life at Cambridge probably falls between 1298 and 1306. This is to be gathered from the facts about the Bruce family. Alexander, the fellow student of Mannyng at whose feast he was present was the fourth son of Robert Bruce, King Robert's father. The eldest son, Robert, was born in 1274, hence Alexander's birth year can be placed no earlier than 1278. With this year as a basis, one can date the year of his taking his master's degree not earlier than 1298.³⁹

This deduction of Miss Fosgate's is based upon the fact that twenty was the minimum age for obtaining the Master of Arts degree.⁴⁰ If, however, the feast was given by Robert for himself, as Miss Graham believes, the date might have been as early as 1294. In any case the latest possible date would be 1306, the year in which Robert became king.

I have been able to find no corroborative evidence of the connection of either Robert or Alexander Bruce with Cambridge. No account of the life of Robert, as far as I have been able to find, mentions his education, though Agnes Mure Mackenzie believes that he had the usual esquire's training, perhaps on his grandfather's English lands.⁴¹ The rush of political events in which he became involved early in his career makes it seem unlikely that he took his Master of Arts degree at Cambridge, or anywhere else. Alexander, on the other hand, appears to have been the scholar of the family, holding the position of Dean of Glasgow before his untimely death in 1307.⁴² The probable interpretation of the passage seems to me to be, then, that Mannyng, finding mention of Robert Bruce and his brothers, Thomas and Alexander, in Langtoft,

³⁸ *Op cit*, p 159 ³⁹ *Op cit*, pp 13-14

⁴⁰ Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*. New edition by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden (Oxford, 1936), II, 352

⁴¹ *Robert Bruce, King of Scots* (New York: Macmillan, 1935), p. 74

⁴² See Mannyng's translation of Langtoft's *Chronicle* pp. 336-337, Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-188, Andrew Lang, *A History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation*. Third Ed. (Edinburgh, London, 1903), I, 209-210, Fosgate, *op. cit.*, p. 14

recalled his acquaintance with Alexander at Cambridge and his presence at the feast which Alexander's elder brother Robert, who had come to Cambridge for the occasion, made for him at the time of his inception for the Master of Arts degree. Following, then, Miss Fosgate's suggestion, I should date Mannyng's presence at Cambridge tentatively between 1298 and 1302, the year of his probable entrance into Sempringham.

To be sure, it has been the conventional view that Mannyng was sent from Sempringham to the Gilbertine House at Cambridge,⁴³ the conventional view being based upon the supposition that his years at Sempringham were from 1288 to 1303. It is possible that Mannyng's presence at Cambridge may have been a mere casual visit,⁴⁴ but it seems to me that his reference to Alexander and his presence at the feast indicate a greater familiarity with the situation than would have been gained on a mere visit. The evidence appears to point to the fact that he studied at Cambridge for a time before he entered Sempringham Priory.⁴⁵ It is interesting to speculate that Mannyng might have gone up to Cambridge to study in his early teens, along with many other poor scholars; that he might have become a novice at St. Edmund's Hall, the Gilbertine Priory established in 1291, and served under its prior Philip de Burton, who became in 1298 Master of the Order of Sempringham,⁴⁶ that Mannyng's personal acquaintance with Philip influenced his mention of him in the Prologue to *Handlyng Synne*, that having completed his education at Cambridge, he came to Sempringham Priory in 1302, where a year later he began his translation of Wadington's *Manuel des Pechiez* for "lewed men." But it must be admitted that for this interesting speculation there is no evidence.

Regarding Mannyng's status at Sempringham, it is clear, as has been said, that Furnivall's views were governed by a misunderstanding of the organization of the Gilbertine Order. Kunz's presentation of the problem, though based on suggestions of Furnivall, seems surprisingly contradictory.⁴⁷ Mannyng seems not to have been in orders, he argues, because in the first place he appears to stand in great awe of priests, in the second place he reproaches priests for not doing their duty, and in the third place he uses language he could hardly have used if he had been a priest. The inconsistency of these arguments is so obvious that in view of the essential probabilities of the case, they may be discounted. According to the Gilbertine Rule no lay brother might have a book or

⁴³ Graham, *op cit*, p. 159, *St. Gilbert of Sempringham*. The "Notre Dame" Series of Lives of the Saints (London, 1913), p. 226.

⁴⁴ *DNB* p. 80. ⁴⁵ See *Vic Hist*, III, 184, Fosgate, *op cit*, p. 13.

⁴⁶ Herbert, *op. cit*, III, 305-306. ⁴⁷ *Op cit*, pp. 54-56.

be taught to read.⁴⁸ And although Miss Graham recognizes the possibility that the rule might have been relaxed,⁴⁹ it seems unlikely that a lay brother would have been at Cambridge, either before or after entering Sempringham Priory, or that he would have been given permission to translate his two works for the benefit of "lewed men," the later *Story of England*, as he expressly states, at the request of Dan Robert of Malton, probably his prior. It seems clear, then, that in 1303 at least, Mannyng must have been a canon, and therefore not under twenty years of age.⁵⁰ If this conclusion is sound, it follows, as Miss Fosgate points out, that the year of Mannyng's birth "was at least not later than 1283, twenty years before the beginning of the *Handlyng Synne*"⁵¹

One further note on Mannyng's status at Sempringham seems pertinent. After making the suggestion that Mannyng was probably a lay brother—not in full orders, Furnivall continues: "The post I should pick out for him was that of the *Magister* fit to teach the novices, and no doubt the brethren unable to read their Office."⁵² Miss Fosgate is inclined to accept this suggestion of Furnivall since she points out that Mannyng's probable study at Cambridge would make him one of the more learned members of the Order.⁵³ Of the duties of this position Miss Graham says:

Canons and nuns served a long noviciate. The boy was received for probation at the age of fifteen, but could not become a canon until he was twenty. He was put under a Master, who instructed him in the service of the Church, the Rule of the Order, and taught him "letters" . . . The Master of the Novices instructed [the lay brothers] "in religion and the Rule." He taught them only the Pater Noster, the Creed, the "Miserere mei Dominus," and the verses and responses which they used at the Hours; these they learnt by heart, for no lay brother might have a book.⁵⁴

Further support for the view that this may have been Mannyng's position is to be found in the fact that both of his works are avowedly designed for the "lewed" and both bear evidence of being intended to be read aloud. Kunz has called attention to certain stylistic traits of the *Handlyng Synne*, such as the frequent references to the source,⁵⁵ the use of direct address to his readers or hearers,⁵⁶ the frequent occurrence of expletives or line fillers,⁵⁷ the use of repetitions for the inattentive reader,⁵⁸ the prayer to God or Christ for help before beginning any

⁴⁸ Graham, *op cit*, pp. 73, 159 ⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 159 ⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 72.

⁵¹ *Op cit*, p. 11 ⁵² *Op cit*, p. vi ⁵³ *Op cit*, p. 14

⁵⁴ *Op cit*, pp. 72-73 ⁵⁵ *Op cit*, pp. 20-21. ⁵⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 25-26.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 26 ⁵⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 29-30.

new theme of his work.⁵⁹ Miss Fosgate attempts to account for certain peculiarities of Mannyng's style by saying:

Robert would have ample opportunity to preach to the village rustics, and to get those habits of expression which are characteristic of his written work. He constantly states that he is writing for the "lewed", yet in ll 10799-800 he addresses his readers as

"3e men þat are now yn present,
þat have herd me rede ȝys sacrament" (the mass)

Such a reference would seem to indicate that Robert had officiated before the laity, either in the church at Sempringham or in the chapel to pilgrims. Whether the suggestion that Robert had had some experience in preaching to the laity be accepted in explanation of his peculiarly personal and entertaining style, or whether his success be laid to his intuition, the fact remains that much of Robert's writing has the striking phraseology, the clearness, vividness, and directness of the successful spoken sermon.⁶⁰

Miss Fosgate is mistaken, I think, in her interpretation of the two lines she quotes. Mannyng does not refer here to his own officiating at the mass, but in writing his *Handlyng Synne* he bears constantly in mind the fact that he will read the poem aloud. He is just completing the long section on the third sacrament, that of the mass. The lines that follow those quoted by Miss Fosgate make the meaning clear.

3e men þat are now yn present,
þat haue herd me rede ȝys sacrament,
how ouer alle þyng hyt haþ powere,
þe sacrament of þe autere,
As y haue here to ȝow shewed
—Nat to lered onely, but eke to lewed,—
3e lewed men, y telle hyt ȝow,
þese clerkys kun hyt weyl y-now,
Pray we alle oure creatoure
þe sacrament oure sauoure
þat body and soule, he wyl vs saue,
And we hym loue, and he vs haue!

Then immediately he goes on to the discussion of the fourth sacrament—penance. All of these characteristics of style mentioned by Kunz and Miss Fosgate may be easily explained when we realize that for both poems Mannyng had a listening audience chiefly in mind and that he used, therefore, the stylistic traits common to narratives intended to be heard.⁶¹

The passage just quoted recognizes two groups of hearers, though I

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 53. ⁶⁰ *Op cit.*, p. 18

⁶¹ See my article "Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages," *Speculum*, XI (1936), 88-110.

am well aware that the line "Nat to lered onely, but eke to lewed" represents a variation of a common alliterative expletive. Is it not possible, however, in accordance with Furnivall's suggestion and Miss Graham's recognition of the duties of the Master of the Novices, to believe that in "3e lewed men" Mannyng refers here to the lay brothers who can neither read nor write and for whom his poem is chiefly intended, and in "pese clerkys" to those novices who are now being taught their letters and undergoing the long probation before they can become canons? It seems not unlikely. If Mannyng held the position of Master of the Novices, it seems to me also that the apparently inconsistent references to clerks and priests that have disturbed Furnivall and his followers may be explained. Mannyng, himself a canon, is writing with two groups of hearers in mind: the "lewed men" or lay brothers, for whom he adopts a simple, friendly manner that he may not awe them with his learning, and the novices who will one day be canons and in whom he wishes to instil the duties of the priesthood.

The final question which arises in regard to Robert Mannyng of Brunne, since there is no reason to doubt his own statement concerning the time of his translation of Langtoft's *Chronicle*, is: Was he the author of the disputed *Medytacyuns of þe soþer of our lord Ihesu*, translated from Cardinal Bonaventura? The *Medytacyuns* appear with the *Handlyng Synne* in both the Harleian and the Bodleian manuscripts, and J. Meadows Cowper⁶² and T. L. Kington-Oliphant⁶³ have argued in favor of Mannyng's authorship. Cowper's chief arguments are that both Mannyng and the author of the *Medytacyuns* take great liberties with their originals and that both express the sentiment that the "lered" should teach the "lewed." He adds, however, "Against these in favor of Mannyng being the translator we must place the undoubted difference of dialect between the *Medytacyuns* and the *Chronicle*." Such a difference, he feels, can be accounted for only by the liberties taken by scribes with the manuscripts they copy. Kington-Oliphant argues for common authorship chiefly on the basis of parallel passages between the *Medytacyuns* and *Handlyng Synne*, parallels which do not appear to me convincing. On the whole, while admitting the possibility that Mannyng may yet be proved to be the author of the *Medytacyuns*, on the basis of our present information, I am inclined to agree with Furnivall that "It contains no definite characteristics of him, so far as I can see."⁶⁴ Should it ever be shown convincingly that Mannyng is the

⁶² *Medytacyuns of þe soþer of our lord Ihesu*. E E T S Original Series 60 (London, 1875), Intro., pp. xiii-xvii.

⁶³ *The Old and Middle English* (London: Macmillan, 1878), p. 464.

⁶⁴ *Op. cit.*, Intro., p. xiv, n.

author, the date Cowper assigns to the *Medytacyuns*, about 1315–30, would fit in well with what we know of Mannyng's biography. It could have come between the *Handlyng Synne* and *þe Story of England*, the first begun in 1303 with its Prologue written no earlier than 1317, and the last completed in 1338,

It may be added that a Robert of Malton likely to be the person Mannyng mentions I have failed to find in any records. It seems probable that he was the prior of Sixhills and was given the surname Malton from his native town of Malton in Yorkshire, as Mannyng himself was called Robert of Brunne.

On the basis, then, of the evidence just examined, we may consider the following a tentative chronological sketch of the life of Robert Mannyng of Brunne:

1283 (or earlier)—Born at Bourne in Kesteven, Lincolnshire

1298 (or earlier)—1302—Perhaps at Cambridge (whether or not at the Gilbertine House, St Edmund's Hall, cannot be determined), where he knew Alexander Bruce and attended a banquet given by Robert Bruce before he was king

1302–17 (or later)—A canon at Sempringham Priory under John of Camelton and John of Clynton. Here he may have been Master of the Novices

1303—Began *Handlyng Synne*, at which time Philip de Burton was Master of the Order

1317–27 (or later)—Probably still at Sempringham, though there is no evidence.

After 1317—Prologue to *Handlyng Synne*. Possibly *Medytacyuns* belongs to this period, though there is no conclusive evidence of Mannyng's authorship

1327 (or later)—1338—Working on *Story of England* at request of Dan Robert of Malton, probably prior of Sixhills, where Mannyng resided for a time.

May 15, 1338—Finished *Story of England*.

Only two dates in this life are certain, but with these as a foundation and the poet's few statements about himself and his associates, we are able to piece together a not too improbable biography for this very human predecessor of Chaucer. About his personality and his art there is more to be said when it is possible to discover among many manuscripts the exact source of his great compilation of stories. This is a work which is still in progress.⁶⁵

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⁶⁵ Charlton G. Laird, "Manuscripts of the 'Manuel des Peschiez,'" in *Stanford Studies in Language and Literature* (1941), p. 100.

III

AUTHOR'S REVISION IN THE *CANTERBURY TALES*

COMMENTATORS on the text of the *Canterbury Tales* have hitherto proceeded very largely on the basis of personal preferences, comparing the manuscript readings and accepting those which commended themselves to the judgment of the critic, and rejecting the others as due to perversions or carelessness on the part of the scribes. Obviously this method of determining the text represented an eclectic rather than a scientific process

However, it is coming to be recognized increasingly in recent years that the variations among the manuscripts are not entirely attributable to the scribes, but that Chaucer himself from time to time revised his text, adding or cancelling links, smoothing his lines, and even altering the arrangement of the Tales. "Chaucer's poetry," Professor Manly declares, "is in the main of so fine a quality that it could not possibly have been produced in a single spontaneous outpouring, but must have been elaborated with critical and loving care before it attained the brilliancy and smoothness which characterize his best work" (II. 501). This judgment, however, was not grounded so much upon Manly's high appreciation of the literary perfection of the *Canterbury Tales*, as upon the results of his painstaking collation of manuscript readings.

As he proceeded with his task Manly found himself obliged to modify his earlier views in regard to manuscript relationships because it became evident "that in many of the tales the text is derived not from a single archetype but from texts which sometimes represent different stages of composition" (II. 39). Single copies, which were in circulation among Chaucer's friends before 1400, "were made use of by the scribes who, after Chaucer's death, attempted to assemble the parts of the unshaped *Canterbury Tales*. That such single copies disappeared after the assembled copies were produced is nothing to be surprised at, . . . Here we will only emphasize the fact that such copies account for the existence of author's variants" (II. 37-38)

"It is not strange," Manly continues, "that Chaucer should have made more changes and additions than appear in the MSS that have come down to us. But the evidence for alterations in the text of C T is much more extensive than we are accustomed to think" (II. 38). By way of illustrating his statement Manly presents a considerable list—though not intending it to be exhaustive—of "passages added or rejected by the author himself."

In a review of the Manly-Rickert volumes I examined Manly's list

of passages in detail¹ and pointed out the highly significant fact that with hardly a single exception the unrevised (and therefore earlier) readings in the passages cited by Manly are those contained in manuscripts of the *d*-group. Chaucerian editors in general (and Brusendorff in particular) have disparaged the readings of this large group as being inferior to those in the standard text. But it now appears that this inferiority is not altogether due to scribal deterioration, but is in considerable measure explained by the fact that the standard text has profited through revision by Chaucer himself. Accordingly the manuscripts of the *d*-group assume prime importance for the student of Chaucer's text as affording a secure basis from which to judge alterations introduced in the process of revision.

Obviously this recognition of the basic importance of the textual tradition preserved in the *d*-manuscripts opens a new line of approach to the problem of manuscript classification and one which could not be adequately discussed within the limits of a review. The present article is intended to follow out this line of investigation to some more general conclusions. But it will not be necessary in the course of this discussion to repeat all the details of the evidence already presented.

THE CLERK'S TALE

I may begin this inquiry into Chaucer's revisions with the Clerk's tale, since the extant manuscripts enable us in the case of this tale to trace unmistakably successive stages in the development of the standard text. A large group of manuscripts lack the Wife of Bath stanza (E 1170-76) and place lines 1195-1200 of the Envoy after line 1212.² In the Introduction to his study of the classification of MSS Manly states that E 1170-76 was "absent from the pre-C T version" and that E 1201-12 "Preceded 1195 in first draft for C T" (II. 38).

Twenty-one MSS follow this arrangement and En² also is to be reckoned in this group (see Manly I. 137) though it has lost two leaves after E 1166. In addition to these, Py agrees in placing 1195-1200 after line 1212, though it differs by showing the WB stanza; Py and Tc² belong to the *b* group, Nl, To, Ld¹ and Ra⁴ are "anomalous" MSS. The other seventeen MSS belong to the *d*-group.

"That these MSS constitute a genetic group," Manly recognizes, "is proved not only by the solidarity of the groupings but by the absence of any cause for agreement in variation" (II. 243). "What are the possi-

¹ *M L N*, LV (1940), 613-619.

² For a more detailed statement of the situation and a list of the MSS composing this group, see my paper, "The Evolution of the Canterbury Marriage Group" (*PMLA*, XLVIII, 1041 ff.)

bilities?" he asks somewhat tentatively. "Perhaps Chaucer originally wrote the tale without any allusion to the Wife of Bath, possibly even ending it at 1169 (as in *Bo*¹ *Hk*)" (II 244). In view of his earlier mention of the "pre-C T version" of the Clerk's tale,³ the first of these "possibilities" would seem to be a certainty, but the second can hardly be considered seriously in the light of the description of the three MSS (*Bo*¹, *Ph*², *Hk*) in Manly's first volume. *Bo*¹ and *Ph*² are both dated between 1450 and 1480, and *Hk*, though slightly earlier (1440-50), is "apparently derived from a basic MS which had become badly disarranged and had lost many tales" (I 286).

In the chapter on Early and Revised Versions the writer (? Miss Rickert) expresses a strong conviction that Chaucer's composition of the story of Griselda antedated the *Canterbury Tales*. After calling attention to the fact that the Clerk's tale, "like the Knight's and Man of Law's [and, one may add, the Squire's] is definitely divided into parts," the writer concludes: "The division into parts is so definitely suitable to a tale intended to be recited or read to a special audience that one cannot help attaching some significance to this division" (II 500). This is a plausible suggestion, and as an additional indication of pre-C T composition one may point out that the Envoy at the close of the Clerk's tale carries the heading, "Lenvoy de Chaucer" instead of "The clerkes envoy."

Indeed, there are five MSS (*Ha*¹, *Ll*¹, *Np*, *Ph*⁴, *Ra*⁴) which lack the Clerk's Prologue and begin the tale at E 57. These manuscripts are miscellanies which contain Lydgatean and other non-Chaucerian pieces, with only selections from the *Canterbury Tales*. These, however, cannot be regarded as surviving texts of the Griselda story in its pre-C T stage because in their arrangement of the Envoy they show the later form of the text.

No manuscripts are extant, then, which represent the pre-C T stage of the Clerk's tale, and the MSS of group *d*, which lack the WB stanza and place lines 1195-1200 after line 1212, may be accepted as offering the earliest surviving form of the text. The subsequent steps in its development are briefly stated by Manly as follows: "The next stage would be that exhibited in MSS of the *b* and *c* groups, which have the WB stanza and the lines of the Envoy in the usual order. Still later would come the binding of CIT and MeT together by the link (E 1213-44) echoing E 1212" (II 244).

Manly recognizes in this statement that the earliest stage of the text is represented by group *d*, the intermediate stage by groups *b* and *c*

³ The same opinion is expressed also in Vol. I, pp. 286 and 458.

and the final stage by Ellesmere and group *a*, which give us what is known as the standard text. The situation in the Clerk's tale thus agrees with our observations based on an examination of Manly's list of author's alterations, and supports the opinion that the manuscripts of group *d* represent an early stage in the textual tradition of C T.

THE ORDER OF THE TALES IN BLOCKS *D* AND *E*

According to the earlier arrangement lines 1195-1200 stood at the end of the Envoy and the shift of this stanza to its present position was obviously made in order that the Envoy might conclude with the line,

And lat him care and wepe and wringe and waille,

thus introducing the headlink of the Merchant (E 1213-44), which begins:

Wepying and waylyng care and oother sorwe.

This link, as Manly observes, "was apparently not written until after the order of lines at the end of the Envoy had been changed" (II. 243). He fails to note, however, that whereas the Merchant's tale stands at the head of the "Marriage Group" in MSS with the original order of the lines in the Envoy, it has been shifted to follow the Clerk in groups *a* and *c*, which have the Wife of Bath stanza and the changed order of the Envoy. This conflicting manuscript testimony makes it necessary to consider which was the original arrangement, and also whether this change in order is another instance of an alteration by the author himself. That in the course of revising his work Chaucer took occasion not only to smooth his lines but also to change the arrangement of the tales is demonstrated by the well-known case of the Man of Law, who immediately after announcing that he would "speke in prose" proceeded to tell the story of Constance in rime-royal.

The tales of the Marriage Group stand in the order E²DE¹ in seventeen *d* MSS and seven *b** MSS, as well as in the irregular N1 and the conglomerate Ry¹. In two irregular MSS (Tc¹ and Ra³) the order is E²E¹D, and in two others (Mc and Ra¹) the sequence is E¹DE². On the other hand, in E1, and all MSS of groups *a* and *c* these tales stand as in the standard text: DE¹E². In the article referred to above I discussed the shifting order of these tales (*PMLA*, XLVIII, 1045-56) and presented evidence to show that the order E²DE¹ represents Chaucer's earlier plan. Without repeating the details of this evidence, the conclusions may be briefly summarized.

1. The Wife of Bath's Prologue opens the discussion of marriage with an abruptness which strongly suggests that "wo in marriage" was a subject already under consideration. But if the Merchant's tale, with

its copious citation of "authorities" had immediately preceded, the Wife's opening lines would be at once explained. Without waiting to be called on by the Host, she put herself forward to continue the discussion by contributing from her own experience.

2. The Merchant's tale shows far more direct and extensive use of Deschamps' *Miroir de Mariage* than does the Wife's Prologue. Moreover, the *Miroir* also supplied the *structural* basis for the discussion of marriage in the Merchant's tale. In the WBP, on the other hand, the borrowings consist of fugitive and comparatively incidental reminiscences, confined to nine of the ninety-seven chapters of the *Miroir*, all of them occurring in the Epistle of Repertoire de Science. It seems reasonable to suppose that Chaucer's earlier reaction to Deschamps' poem would be found in the tale which exhibits the most direct relationship to it—in structure as well as phrase.

3. Lines 183–184 of the Merchant's tale

For sondry scoles maken sotil clerkis
Womman of manye scoles half a clerk is,

find an echo in lines 44^{e-f} of the Wife's Prologue:

Diverse scoles maken parfyt clerkes
And diverse practyk in many sondry werkes
Maketh the werkman parfyt sekirly;
Of fyve husbondes scolei yng am I

One might conceivably argue that the couplet in the Merchant's tale is the echo and the lines in WBP the original. But on this point the manuscript evidence is decisive. For in the Wife's Prologue these lines occur in one of the five passages "added by Chaucer in a single MS after he had finished the text of WBP and from it were copied into the ancestor of a single genetic group" (Manly II 191). The only MSS which have them are groups *a* and *b* and Ch, Ii, Ry, Se, Si. In the Merchant's tale, on the other hand, lines 183–184 are present in *all* manuscripts. How is this unanimity to be accounted for if they are echoed from a passage which in the WBP is restricted to a particularly small group of manuscripts?

4. The omission of the Clerk-Merchant link (E 1213–44) in all MSS of group *d* as well as of group *c* is of direct significance in determining the original order of the tales in Blocks D and E. For the linking of these tales was consequent not only on the revised arrangement of the stanzas in the Clerk's Envoy, but also on the shift of the Merchant's tale from the head of the Marriage Group to its present position following the Clerk. A further indication that the Clerk-Merchant link was added comparatively late is the notably small number of manuscripts which

include it: only the twelve MSS of group *a** and Ha⁴, the irregular To and Ry¹, and five MSS of group *b* (where it is obviously misplaced following SqT)

With reference to the arrangement of the Marriage Group tales one may add, by way of general observation, that when the manuscripts are ranged in such clearly defined alternative groups, the division is most naturally explained by assuming some change in Chaucer's plan. And in that event the MSS of group *d*, which, as we have seen, lack the traces of Chaucer's textual revision, would unquestionably be taken to represent the earlier arrangement.

THE MAN OF LAW'S ENDLINK

Another outstanding difference between group *d* and the standard text is its inclusion of an endlink (B 1163-90*) following the Man of Law's tale. This endlink is also found in the manuscripts of groups *b* and *c*, but is lacking, on the other hand, in Hg, El, and all the MSS of group *a*.

Though the Man of Law's endlink is universally regarded as genuine, it has been the occasion of more perplexity to Chaucerian scholars than perhaps any other passage in the *Canterbury Tales*. I shall not weary the reader's patience by reviewing the history of the controversy which has been waged concerning these twenty-eight lines, but shall confine myself to the present status of the problem, as it is set forth by the most recent investigators.

In considering this matter it will be well to take up first the question of the manuscript readings "squier," "somnour," and "shipman," which are found at line 1179, and afterwards to inquire as to the function of the link in the scheme of the *Tales*.

The reading "shipman," adopted by Skeat and retained in the Globe Chaucer and Robinson's edition, occurs only on the Selden MS, which Manly dates 1450-70. That editors gave any serious consideration to the linking of the Man of Law and Shipman in this single MS was due to their desire to avoid a topographical inconsistency by bringing B¹ and B² together. As Skeat stated the case, "It is necessary for the mention of Rochester in B² to precede that of Sittingbourne in D." It should be observed, however, that the order of the tales in Selden (A E¹ D E² F¹ B¹ B² G, etc.) leaves this inconsistency still present.⁴ Since the appear-

⁴ Editors have laid too much stress on the topographical allusions in determining the order of the tales. Manly justly remarks "Chaucer did not lay out a general plan for the whole journey to Canterbury and return and assign each block of tales to its proper place in this plan. . . . When he changed his intentions with regard to the use of a particular tale, he did not always remove all traces of its previous use" (II 490).

ance of the *Oxford Chaucer* the only scholars who have come forward to defend the reading "Shipman" are Frederick Tupper⁵ and Tatlock.⁶ Emphatic against this reading is the pronouncement of Manly: "Se is a late MS much contaminated and edited, its reading, 'Shipman' has no claim to respect" (III. 453)

Six MSS (Ha⁴ Ln Mc Py Ra¹ Ra³) at line 1179 read "somnour" Ha⁴ is an early, though anomalous, manuscript. The other five are designated by Manly as *b** MSS—that is, manuscripts which do not belong to the *b*-group proper but which affiliate with it in some tales.⁷ It should be noted further that four of the MSS which read "Somnour" carry headings in which this link is designated "the prologe of the squier", and in all except one⁸ of these six MSS it is the Squire's tale which actually follows. Tatlock, who formerly argued for "Somnour" as the original reading in this line, has recently abandoned this view: "The rollicking speaker here cannot have been that surly fellow, nor would a man who had a suppressed desire to show off his parrot Latin have boasted that there was but little Latin in his maw (Here I retract a note on p. 218 of *Devel and Chronol.*)" (*PMLA*, L, 116 note). Despite the very slender support given to the reading "somnour" by these few irregular MSS Manly favors this as the original reading (See II 42) and he introduces this reading in his text.

On the other hand, thirty MSS and Cx¹ Cx² (including all the regular members of groups *b*, *c*, and *d*) read "Squier" at line 1179. In nearly all of these the Man of Law's endlink carries the heading "Prolog of the Squier," and in all of them it is the Squire's tale which actually follows. Miss Hammond pointed out that Shipman, Somnour, and Squier all begin with an initial "S," and she suggested that the variation was perhaps due to some illegibility or contraction in the archetypal MS. This is possible, but if the difference arose through faulty copying, the error was clearly on the part of the scribes who wrote "somnour."

The objections of some editors to accepting the reading "Squier" in line 1179 are not based upon manuscript evidence, but upon their feeling

⁵ "The Bearings of the Shipman's Prologue," *JEGPh*, xxxiii, 352-372.

⁶ "The *Cant Tales* in 1400," *PMLA*, L, 115-116.

⁷ Manly's definition of the *b** MSS is as follows: "Throughout CT, Group *b* is associated with a variable number of irregular MSS which because of their continually fluctuating combinations cannot be assigned to any constant group" (II 79).

⁸ The single exception is Ha⁴, which ends abruptly at line 1185, leaving an unfinished couplet. Ha⁴, according to Manly, "is associated with the large composite group of MSS, forming with some member or members of this an independent subgroup, usually apart from the main line of tradition" (I 221). In the order of tales (B¹DEF) Ha⁴ agrees with the MSS of group *a* as opposed to groups *b*, *c*, or *d*.

that lines 1178-90 are not consistent with the character of the Squire—in other words upon subjective judgment.

The objection most insistently urged is that in line 1178 the speaker swears "by my fader soule," whereas the Squire's father was living and moreover was actually present. But Professor B. J. Whiting (*Speculum*, viii, 537), commenting on this objection, points to a passage in Froissart's Chronicle which reports that when the Black Prince received news in August, 1370, of the surrender of Limoges he was much angered and *swore by the soul of his father* to take vengeance.⁹ And in a paper read at the meeting of the Modern Language Association in 1940, Professor Whiting cited other instances in which this oath was used by persons whose fathers were still living.

Again, it is objected that the Squire, who was a blithe young man concerned principally with love and fluting, was an unlikely person to raise a protest against the Lollard parson, and further that in cutting the parson off he was guilty of rudeness out of keeping with his generally courteous demeanor.

But one must consider the particular situation. The speaker, whoever he was, had been bored by the tale of Melibeus with its "termes queinte of lawe," and a desire to wake the company up with a lively tale would be an entirely natural reaction on the part of a youthful philanderer like the Squire. Moreover, his reference to himself as "My joly body" accords with our impression of the Squire's disposition. Indeed, Professor Manly, who regarded this endlink as a stray bit of cast-off furniture which a scribe could attach at pleasure to any tale for which a link was lacking, suggests that the scribe of \sqrt{cd} * "chose Sq to use with this discarded link, perhaps influenced by 'my joly body' (1185)" (ii. 190).

As to the speaker's outspoken antipathy toward Lollard preaching, one should consider the possibility that it may have been called forth by some particular circumstances. The military exploits of the Squire are stated in these lines:

And he hadde been somtyme in chyvachie
In Flaundres in Artoys and Pycardie (A 79-80)

Professor Tatlock, endeavoring to identify the campaigns which Chaucer here has in mind, observes: "I find in Walsingham no record whatever of an English campaign in Flanders between 1359 and 1383, or between 1383 and 1395. But in 1383 there was one which exactly fits the conditions. In May of that year, Henry le Despenser, the militant Bishop

⁹ "Si jura l'âme de son père que chierement comparer il feroit cil outrage à tous ceulz de le cité," *Chroniques de J. Froissart*, Livre Premier §663, ed. Siméon Luce (*Soc. de l'Histoire de France* 188), vii, 243

of Norwich, with the benediction of Pope Urban VI, and to the indignation of John Wyclif, led from England an expedition, which he gave all the airs of a Crusade, against the schismatic French adherents of the antipope Clement"¹⁰ And after tracing the movements and the disastrous outcome of this "chivachie" he concludes: "Surely the inference is not forced that Chaucer meant the Squire to have been in this expedition." This interpretation of Chaucer's lines is accepted without hesitation by Professor Robinson: "In the case of the Squire the reference is doubtless to the so-called crusade of Henry le Despenser, Bishop of Norwich" (p. 754).

No one seems to have perceived, however, that the Squire's participation in this crusading expedition would at the same time account for his explosive reaction when the Host announced: "This Lollere heer wil prechen us somewhat " It will be sufficient, without pursuing the inquiry through the chroniclers and original documents, to quote from the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*:

Despenser's crusade had raised a loud outcry against him on the part of Wyclif and his followers Wyclif wrote a special tract against it—the "Cruciata contra bella Clericorum"—during the time that the crusade was on foot, and he repeatedly refers to the subject in terms of severe reprobation elsewhere in his writings

One notes also that when the Bishop returned to England after his inglorious campaign he was received with reproaches by John of Gaunt Clearly the Squire would have had more personal grounds than either Somnour or Shipman for his resentment toward the Lollard parson.

In concluding this rather detailed consideration of objections raised by those who are unwilling, in the face of all manuscript evidence, to recognize B 1163-90 as a Man-of-Law-Squire link, one may remind the reader that Chaucer himself apparently was not satisfied with this link, since he suppressed it in the later arrangement of the tales in the standard text.

The suppression of the Man-of-Law endlink is a matter which involves the broader question of the function which this link was intended to serve. This is a question which evidently caused Professor Manly some perplexity. In discussing this link in Volume III he recognizes that it properly belongs after the Man of Law's tale, but adds: "Which tale Chaucer intended the link to introduce is, however, a difficult question" (p. 453). In the Introduction to his study of MS classification, Manly affirms positively that this endlink was "Written by Chaucer, but later cancelled" (II 38). But in his chapter on the Order of the Tales, which

¹⁰ *Develop and Chronol*, pp. 147-148

represents his final opinion, he expresses some reservations in regard to the matter:

It is clear that ML Endlink belongs to an early stage in the development of Chaucer's plan and that he finally did not intend to use it for introducing and connecting with MLT any tale now extant. One cannot say with certainty that the link was cancelled, but it undoubtedly seems to have been cancelled so far as use with any of the present texts is concerned. It might have been intended for use at a later time in connection with some tale which Chaucer did not live to write (II 491-492)

Despite Manly's hesitation to "say with certainty that the link was cancelled," the evidence of the MSS seems to leave no possible alternative.

Consider the situation: there are two links, each of them appearing in the manuscripts *in the same position*, immediately before the Squire's tale. One of these links (Man of Law's endlink) consists of twenty-eight lines and the other (Merchant-Squire link¹¹) of thirty lines—almost precisely the same number. The first of these links is lacking in twenty-two MSS¹² and the other link is inserted in *practically this identical group of manuscripts*¹³. It is significant that only two disarranged MSS (Ry¹ and Se) include *both* links¹⁴. Unless, then, we are disposed to regard this as a coincidence elevated to the realm of miracles, we must recognize an essential connection between the disappearance of one link and the insertion of the other. But if the Merchant-Squire link was designed to supply the lacuna created by cancelling the Man of Law's endlink, we are forced to conclude, not only that the earlier link was intentionally cancelled by Chaucer, but that the speaker introduced in the discarded link was the Squire, rather than the Somnour or the Shipman.

¹¹ E 2419-40, F 1-8. Earlier editors designated these lines as the Merchant's Epilogue and the Squire's Prologue. But McCormick, Tatlock, and Manly rightly insist that they comprise a single unit, and indicate their function as a Merchant-Squire link.

¹² The following MSS lack the ML endlink: El, Hg, Gg, the five MSS of group *a* and fourteen other MSS as follows: Ad¹, Ad³, Bo¹, Ch, En³, Ha⁵, Hk, Ld¹, Ma, Nl, Ps, and To. I do not include the mutilated Ad² which has only 31-507 and 702-822 of the MLT, nor Mg which once contained the endlink but has lost B 744-1190.

¹³ There are nineteen of these: El, (Gg), the five MSS of group *a* and twelve other MSS as follows: Ad¹, Ad³, Bo², Ch, En³, Ha⁴, Ha⁵, Ld¹, Ps, Ry¹, Se, and To. Gg once contained this link but is now defective at this point. The two MSS of Bo¹, which appear in the former list, shifted from an exemplar in which the tales were arranged according to type *a* to one of type *d* and thus missed both Merchant and Squire tales.

¹⁴ Ry¹ according to Manly "cannot be regarded as anything more than a conglomeration of tales" (I 479) and Se "is so thoroughly contaminated that it is often nearly impossible to distinguish between its genetic relationships and those due to correction . . . and is merely a bad 15 c. edition of no textual authority" (I 496).

Manly's further suggestion that Chaucer left this link in a state of suspended animation hardly seems to require serious consideration, in view of the fact that in no other case, so far as we can judge, was a link written in advance of the tale it was designed to introduce. When Chaucer wrote it, as Manly concedes, the reference to the "termes quaint of lawe" in the tale just concluded leaves no doubt that it was intended to follow the Man of Law. And the phrase "my joly body" which the speaker applies to himself as well as his statement "ther is but litel Latin in my mawe," shows conclusively that Chaucer had a definite person in mind. If we say that it was some one of the pilgrims whose tale "Chaucer did not live to write," we must throw out not only the Squire but also the Somnour and the Shipman, since we have tales assigned to all three of these. Manly's suggestion, therefore, is opposed not only by the evidence of the manuscripts but by general considerations of probability.

PLACING BLOCKS *D* AND *E* IN THE CANTERBURY FRAME

As we have seen, Chaucer did not at first arrange the tales of the Marriage Group in their present order. Furthermore, it seems evident that when he composed these tales he had not even determined the position which they were to occupy in the Canterbury series. Later he provided a place for them by cancelling the Man of Law's endlink and installing them between the Man of Law and the Squire—the position they occupy in *E1* and the manuscript of group *a*—but it is clear that this involved an alteration of the earlier plan.¹⁵

In groups *b*, *c*, and *d* the endlink joining the Man of Law to the Squire was still retained, and this made it impossible to introduce Blocks *D* and *E* between *B*¹ and *F*¹. Moreover, Chaucer clearly intended the Franklin to follow the Squire, for he composed a 36-line link (*F* 673–708) to bind these tales together. This Squire-Franklin link is found in *E1*, in four of the group-*a* MSS and also in *Ad*¹, *Ad*³, *En*³, *Ha*⁵, *Ld*¹ and *Ps*.¹⁶ For some reason this link seems to have been overlooked by the scribes of groups *b* and *c*,¹⁷ but it was known to the ancestor of group *d*,

¹⁵ This shift in Chaucer's arrangement naturally resulted in some confusion on the part of the scribes. The significance of these shifts in the position of *D* and *E* was ably discussed in 1932 by Dr. C. R. Kase in his study, "Observations on the Shifting Positions of Groups *G* and *DE* in the MSS of the *Cant. Tales*," *Three Chaucer Studies* (Oxford Press, New York). His conclusions have not thus far been refuted. Additional evidence in support of his general thesis is supplied by the materials made available in the Manly-Rickert volumes. It seems desirable to restate the essential basis of his argument, amending it by recognizing Chaucer's shift in the Marriage Group tales.

¹⁶ *Gg* also once contained this link, but no longer has it on account of the loss of leaves.

¹⁷ Group *c* is distinguished in general from the others by its lack of links. But it *does* show the *ML* endlink.

and it presented a special problem to him in his effort to find a place to introduce the tales of the Marriage Group. The Man of Law endlink prevented him from placing these tales *before* the Squire, and the Squire's tale was followed by a link to the Franklin which began, "In faith Squier thow hast thee wel yquit." He was unwilling to sacrifice this specially interesting passage of thirty-six lines, and yet since the Squire's tale lacked its conclusion, this position seemed to present the most favorable opportunity. So he merely altered the text of the link by substituting the word "Marchaunt" for "Frankleyn," thus making a bridge from the Squire's tale to the Merchant's, which, it will be remembered, was the first of the Marriage Group tales according to the earlier arrangement.

This transformation of the Squire-Franklin link to a Squire-Merchant link must have been effected very early, for it is found, not only in all the *d*-MSS, but also in Hengwrt, a manuscript written a decade before Ellesmere. According to Manly, "Hg represents the earliest attempt after Chaucer's death to arrange in a single MS the tales and links left unarranged by him" (II. 477). But in showing the altered form of Chaucer's Squire-Franklin link, Hengwrt was evidently following the lead of the ancestor of group *d*.

We shall get a clearer picture of the relationship of groups *b*, *c*, and *d* by comparing the arrangement of the tales in each. In the following table X represents the non-Chaucerian Gamelyn:

<i>c</i>	A	X	B ¹	sq	F ¹		D	E ¹	E ²	F ²	G	C	B ²	H	I
<i>d</i>	A	X	B ¹	sq	F ¹	sq-me link	E ²	D	E ¹	F ²	G	C	B ²	H	I
<i>b</i>	A		B ¹	sq	F ¹	me prolog	E ²	D	E ¹	F ²	G	C	B ²	H	I

It will be noted that the altered Squire-Merchant link of group *d* does not appear in the other two groups. In the case of group *c* the reason for this is obvious, since in group *c* the tales of the Marriage Group stand in the revised order and a Squire-Merchant link was therefore impossible. In the case of group *b* the disappearance of this link is probably due to the insertion of the Merchant's Prologue (E 1213-44) in this group after Sq T instead of in its proper position following ClT. Manly says it is unknown "whether this misplacement in $\sqrt{b^*}$ occurred after or before $\sqrt{d^*}$ had placed MeT after SqT with the adapted Sq-Fk Link" (II. 266). However, the three *b** MSS which lack the Merchant's Prologue, as well as Hg and Nl, still retain the Squire-Merchant link, showing clearly that this preceded the insertion of the Prologue. The two links never appear in combination.

Both groups *c* and *b*, then, diverge from group *d* but along different lines; and in both cases the movement is toward the later tradition as

represented by group *a*. Group *c* in the Clerk's tale has the Wife of Bath stanza and the Envoy arranged according to the revised order; also it has adopted the order of *a* for the tales of the Marriage Group. Group *b* has dropped the tale of Gamelyn, and for the altered Squire-Merchant link characteristic of group *d* has substituted the Merchant's Prologue, otherwise found only in Group *a*.

THE CLERK-FRANKLIN AND MERCHANT-SQUIRE LINKS

The manuscripts of group *d*, it will be remembered, altered Chaucer's original Squire-Franklin link to a Squire-Merchant link and followed the Squire by the Marriage Group tales arranged E² DE¹. According to the normal arrangement in this group, therefore, the Clerk's tale is immediately followed by the Franklin's tale, which had been postponed from its original position. Eleven MSS of group *d*—all of them manuscripts which in the Clerk's tale lack the WB stanza and show the unrevised form of the Envoy—have a link of two 7-line stanzas introducing the Franklin's tale, although the scribe of Fi mistakenly placed these two stanzas after the Merchant's tale.¹⁸

These two stanzas, which in group *d* constitute the most characteristic type of Clerk-Franklin link, present a somewhat complicated problem in their relationship respectively to E 2419-40 and F 1-8. Though these lines in the standard text were formerly designated as the Merchant's Endlink and the Squire's Prologue, they stand together in all the MSS of group *a*, and McCormick, Tatlock, and Manly agree that they should be regarded as a single unit which may best be described as a Merchant-Squire link. The appearance of this Merchant-Squire link, as we have noted above, coincides in the manuscripts containing it with the discarding of the Man of Law's endlink (which likewise had served to introduce a tale by the Squire). Consequently it clearly does not represent the earlier stage of Chaucer's plan.

Moreover, this Merchant-Squire link is not found in any manuscripts of groups *b* or *c*, nor was it possible in the regular manuscripts of group *d*, in which the Merchant was followed by the Wife of Bath.¹⁹ On the other hand, in four group-*d* MSS (Ht, Ra², Ii and Fi) the tales in Block D and the Clerk's tale had been shifted to a position after the Franklin's.

¹⁸ In three MSS (Ry² Bw and Ha²) these two 7-line stanzas are preceded by the Host stanza (E 1212^a-^e) with the heading, "Here endith the Clerk of Oxenford And here begynneth the prolog of the frankleyn." The first scribe of Ln seems also to have intended this arrangement, for on f. 91^a he copied the Host stanza headed "þe prolog of the Frankeleyns tale" and then left space for 16 lines (See Manly I 334).

¹⁹ Three group-*d* MSS (Bw, Ld², Ry²) have a spurious link of sixteen lines following E 2418 introducing the Wife of Bath (text in Manly-Rickert vi, 3), but with this we are not here concerned.

In Hg also, though Block D was unaccountably placed ahead of MLT, the Clerk's tale was thrown after the Second Nun's. In consequence of these shifts the Merchant's and Franklin's tales were brought together, and accordingly these manuscripts contain the Merchant-Squire link altered to a Merchant-Franklin link. Hg is the earliest manuscript to show the Merchant-Squire link in this altered form, and though it is not certain that the alteration originated with this manuscript, it will be convenient to refer to this altered text of F 1-8 as the Hengwrt version.²⁰

Though recognizing the Merchant-Squire link as a unit, it will be more convenient in the present discussion to examine the two sections (E 2419-40 and F 1-8) separately, since the first of the two 7-line stanzas in the MSS of group *d* is related to the Merchant's endlink, while the second is to be considered in its connection with the Squire's Prologue.

Let us now proceed to consider the first of these rime-royal stanzas in group *d* in its relationship to the Merchant's endlink in the standard text (E 2419-40). Though editors commonly treat both stanzas alike as spurious, the first stands in strongest contrast to the second, and has every appearance of being genuine. Moreover, this impression, based upon its literary quality, is confirmed by the verbal relationship existing between this stanza and lines 2427-32 of the Merchant's endlink. This stanza giving the Host's reaction to the story of Griselda is introduced at the end of the Clerk's tale. I quote the text of these lines as printed by Manly (III. 481; see also II. 286):

- I have a wyf although she pore be
 2 And ȝet she hath an hepe of vices lo
 For of hir tonge a mochel shrewe is she
 4 And to my wyl the contrary wol she do [And Ry²; For SI¹, Lc.]
 Ther of no fors let alle suche thynges go
 6 But wit ȝe what in counsail be it said
 Me reweth sore that I am to hir teyd²¹

The language of this stanza is thoroughly Chaucerian²² and the lines showed verbal identity with lines 2427-32 in the Merchant's endlink.

²⁰ To^b inserts the Hengwrt version of F 1-8 between the Clerk's tale and the Merchant's Prologue (E 1213-44). In this case the resourceful scribe altered "Frankeleyn" to "Merchaunt."

²¹ Preserved in Bw, Dl, Ha², Lc, Ld², Mg, Nl, Ry², SI¹. It occurs also in Fi, but is there misplaced between E² and F². Also it stood originally in En², but the text has disappeared through the loss of leaves in the MS (see Manly I. 137).

²² To object that "the rhymes of 11, 2, 4, and 5 indicate that the combination belongs to the fifteenth century" (Manly, *Cant. Tales of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 1928, p. 85) is a serious misstatement of fact. Skeat's explicit statement on this point is strictly correct. "When the long *o* is absolutely final, as in *go*, *do*, Chaucer considers these as permissible rimes, and pairs them together freely" (*Oxf. Chaucer*, VI, xxxv).

Indeed, this 7-line stanza is referred to by scholars generally (and by Manly, III. 481) as a shortened form of E 2419-40. In a recent discussion of this passage,²³ however, I expressed the opinion that this stanza in the *d*-MSS following the Clerk's tale was the original kernel which Chaucer afterwards expanded into the Merchant's endlink. It is gratifying now to discover that the same suggestion had been put forward many years ago in a footnote by Dr. Furnivall in the *Six-text Chaucer*. "It is possible that the 7-line stanza was the original form of the lines and that it was altered to suit the present 8-lines of the Merchant's Link" (p. xvii*, note 2)

The eleven manuscripts of the group *d* which contain this 7-line stanza preserve the characteristic features of the group *d* tradition: they place the tales of the Marriage Group in their original order, and in the Clerk's tale (unlike Hg and Ht) they lack the WB stanza and retain the unrevised arrangement of the Envoy. I pause to remark in passing that the omission in the group *d*-MSS of both the Merchant's Prologue and the Merchant's endlink is in itself very significant. Several scholars have called attention to the striking difference in tone between the Merchant's Prologue and his tale, and it seems altogether likely that both Prologue and endlink represent later additions.²⁴ But why did the scribes of group *d* overlook both of these links if they were already present in Chaucer's text? The absence of these links, therefore, is a further indication that group *d* preserves an early stage of the Chaucerian text.

If this 7-line stanza had been constructed by a scribe whose purpose was merely to secure a rime-royal stanza expressing the Host's reaction to the Griselda story, one would suppose that he could easily have achieved his object by picking up the "Merye wordes of the Hoost" (E 1212 ^{a-e}) which, though left unutilized by the *d*-scribe, must have been available, since they are extant in twenty-two MSS, as well as in Caxton and Thynne's prints.

It is very doubtful also whether any scribe would have been capable of rearranging these three couplets so neatly into a rime-royal stanza. In the 7-line stanza the logical connection of the lines is perfect: I have a wife who, though she is poor like Griselda, has nonetheless a heap of vices, for (in contrast to Griselda) she is a shrew with her tongue and does contrary to my will. No matter—let such things pass! But do you know—in confidence be it said—I sorely regret that I am tied to her.

On the other hand, the welding of these lines into their context as an endlink to the Merchant's tale results in some forced connections.

²³ "Three Notes on the Text of the *Cant. Tales*," *MLN*, lvi (1941), 169

²⁴ See my observations, *PMLA*, xlviii, 1044-45, and A. C. Baugh, *Mod. Phil.* xxxv, 24-26.

For example:

But douteless as trewe as any steel
I have a wyf thogh þat she poore be

If this means, it is as true as steel that I have a wife, the statement is banal, if it means, I have a wife who is doubtless as true as steel, the inversion is awkward. Furthermore, no logical connection appears in the statement that she is true as steel *though* she is poor. Finally, although the obvious reference to Griselda in the 7-line stanza has been somewhat blurred in the Merchant's endlink by the suppression of the fourth line,

And to my wyl the contrary wol she do,

an unmistakable trace of it remains in the phrase "thogh þat she poore be," which in its position following the Merchant's tale is wholly inappropriate. Incidentally, I protest against branding this suppressed line as "spurious" (See Manly's note on 2430 in VI 503). That the phrasing in this line is characteristically Chaucerian will be evident to anyone who notes the instances of "contrary" in the *Chaucer Concordance*.

The expression of the Host's marital sentiments reaches a natural culmination in the concluding line of the 7-line stanza:

Me reweth sore that I am to hir teyd

The six lines which follow in the Merchant's endlink (2433-40) have every appearance of being a postscript (like the Wife of Bath stanza in the Clerk's tale) added by the Host as a humorous allusion to the doughty champion of feminism. Who the object of the allusion in line 2436 was "it nedeth not for to declare." Further evidence that Chaucer had the Wife in mind appears in 2438,

Syn wommen konnen outen swich chaffare,

which is a definite reminiscence of the Wife's words in her Prologue:

With daunger oute we al oure chaffare (D 521)

On the other hand, those who regard the 7-line stanza of the group-*d* MSS as a scribal rewriting of E 2419-40 are obliged to suppose that the *d*-scribe, perceiving that the references to the Merchant's tale were not suitable following the story of Griselda, salvaged only three couplets from this 22-line link and deliberately threw away the other 16 lines in his effort to secure a satisfactory endlink for the Clerk's tale. Such reckless improvidence in dealing with a genuine Chaucerian link, however, has no parallel in the procedure of the scribes. Chaucer himself, as we know, was thrifty in adapting lines to fit a new context. Nor were the scribes less thrifty. An example of the actual method which the

scribes employed in this situation appears in the case of two group-d MSS (Pw, Mm, and probably also the fragment Pl—see Manly i. 447). In these manuscripts the Marriage Group still stood in its original order (E² DE¹) and consequently the Merchant-Franklin link (according to the Hengwrt adaptation) followed immediately after the Clerk's tale. The scribe of Pw was thus faced with the problem of adjusting the lines in the Merchant's endlink to suit the Griselda story. But, instead of discarding all but three couplets of this endlink—as he would have done according to the procedure assumed by the editors—he sought to remove the difficulty by making slight phrasal alterations. In line 2420 he changed "Now swich a wyf" to "Alle euel wyues" and in 2425 for "By this Marchauntes tale" he substituted "By mony ensamples," and in this way removed the most obvious references to the Merchant's tale. The scribe of Mm (and probably also the scribe of Pl)—less observant or less conscientious—was not disturbed by the appearance of these lines in a link following the tale of Griselda, but copied the Hengwrt version of the Merchant-Franklin link without troubling himself to fit it to the new context. Such were the *actual* methods of scribes.

The text which stands in Pw and Mm thus represents the final result in a series of changes, involving both the order of the tales and the text of the link. In view of this situation one is surprised by Manly's statement: "The ancestor of Pw Mm Ph³ probably represents the earlier form, as it had at this place the full text of the Me-Sq Link with only such modifications as were necessary because of its changed functions" (II. 483), and also by his depreciative reference to the eleven MSS which seem to preserve the regular features of the group-*d* tradition: "The other members of group *d* show instead of the original form of the link a new form consisting of two seven-line stanzas" (III. 481).

Thus far I have confined attention to the Merchant's endlink (E 2419-40): I proceed now to consider the eight lines introducing the Squire (F 1-8), which, as already stated, should be regarded as an integral part of the Merchant-Squire link. These lines present a somewhat complex problem inasmuch as they exist in three forms, being employed by the scribes for three distinct purposes, according to the order of the tales in their respective manuscripts.

In the standard text as represented by E1 and the MSS of group *a*, where the sequence of the tales in E² F¹ F², F 1–8 follows the Merchant's tale and serves to introduce the Squire:

2 Squier com neer if it youre wille be
And sey somwhat of love for certes ye
Konnen thereon as muche as any man

- 4 Nay sire quod he but I wol seye as I kan
 With hertly wyl for I wol nat rebelle
 6 Agayn youre list, a tale wol I telle
 Have me excused if I speke amys
 8 My wyl is good and lo my tale is this.²⁵

The different arrangement of the tales in Hengwrt required the alteration of these lines so as to introduce the Franklin. And the Hengwrt scribe not only changed "Squier" to "Sire Frankeleyn" in the first line but also altered the second line in order to make it more suitable for the middle-aged Franklin. Accordingly, in Hengwrt and the other manuscripts of this special group F 1-2 read as follows:

Sire frankleyn com neer if it your wille be
 And sey vs a tale for certes ye

The altered reading of the second line supplies a useful clue by disclosing contact with the Hengwrt tradition where the reading of the standard text in the first line has been restored. For some later manuscripts which in F 1 read "Squier" (or absurdly "Sir Squier") continue to read in F 2. "And sey us a tale "

We are now prepared to consider the text of the second 7-line stanza which is found in MSS of group *d*. A casual reading of the text is sufficient to show that this stanza is spurious:

Sir frankelyn com neer if it your wille be
 And sey vs a tale as ye are a gentel man
 Hit shal be done trewly Ost quod he
 I wil ȝow telle as hertly as I can
 Holdeth me excused thogh I unworthi am
 To telle ȝow a tale for I wil not Rebelle
 Agayn your lust a tale now wol I telle.

One sees that these lines, though deriving ultimately from F 1-8 of the standard text, were directly based upon the Hengwrt adaptation, as shown by the reading "Sir frankelyn" and the phrases "And sey vs a tale" in the second line. The purpose as well as the method of the scribe who constructed this stanza is now evident. The manuscripts of group *d* lacked a link to introduce the Franklin. This lack the *d*-scribe supplied by borrowing from Hengwrt, or some MS of the special Hengwrt group. But in order to match the 7-line stanza giving the Host's reactions to the story of Griselda, which immediately preceded, he reorganized the eight lines of the Hengwrt text into a rime-royal stanza, with the unfortunate result presented by the lines just quoted.

²⁵ This essentially is the reading in eighteen MSS: El, group *a*, Ad¹, Ad², Ha⁴, Ha⁵, Bo², En², Ch, Ps, To², Se, Ld¹, Ry¹.

Whatever our opinion concerning these two stanzas, it is certain that they were not composed by the same author. Moreover, the second must date from a distinctly later period. For the first of these stanzas, as we have already seen, supplied the kernel which Chaucer later elaborated into the Merchant-Squire link of the group-*a* MSS. The second stanza, on the other hand, was itself based upon the Hengwrt adaptation of this link.

The addition of a spurious stanza to provide a link to the Franklin is in every way parallel to the six spurious lines added to the genuine Epilogue of the Nun's Priest's tale in four group-*a* MSS (Cn, Ma, Ad¹, En⁸) to provide a link to the Second Nun. Although such spurious links are more frequent in the group *d* manuscripts they occur also, as we have seen, in the other groups—no less than four spurious links are contained in La—a manuscript of group *c*. And the insertion by scribes of spurious links to join tales which Chaucer had left unconnected by no means invalidates the textual tradition of the tales which these manuscripts preserve.

The textual history of the Merchant-Squire link is specially complicated by the varying order of the tales in different manuscripts and the alterations introduced by scribes in the effort to adjust this link to the situation with which they had to deal. However, except for the expansion of the 7-line stanza into the Merchant's endlink, these changes were manifestly the work of scribes, and are not therefore instances of author's revision.

Several cases of author's revision in other tales which Manly has already pointed out involve less complexity and can be briefly summarized.

In the Somnour's tale, the manuscripts of group *d*^{*} are divided into two subgroups (*d*^{*1}, *d*^{*2}). These are two criteria by which these groups are clearly distinguished: (1) throughout the tale *d*^{*1} is wholly distinct from the text of group *c*, whereas *d*^{*2} follows the readings of this group. (2) Of the twelve MSS of *d*^{*1}, seven (Pw, Ph⁸, Ra², Sl¹, Hk, Ry² Ld²) as well as Fi end the tale at line 2158, thus lacking the concluding episode, whereas this episode is present in *d*^{*2} and in group *c*. Manly concludes that "the *d*^{*1} ancestor lacked 2159-2294" and that this "represents an earlier and unfinished form of SuT" (II 229). In the Somnour's tale Hg El Bo² Bo¹ stand together as a group through 1991, "where the Hg-El ancestor failed the El scribe, who used first a MS of the Gg-Si type, then one of the *cd*^{*2} type. Bo¹ shifts to *d*^{*1} at 1991" (Manly III 302).

The Physician-Pardoner link "was composed by Chaucer in parts at two different times." He originally concluded the Physician's tale with 12 lines which "stand at the end of PhT in D1 [a *d*-MS] and are followed by a blank space sufficient for eight more lines" (IV. 491). The earlier

version of this link is preserved in seventeen MSS, of which eight are of group *d*, two are of group *c* and four of group *b*. The later version is found in El, Hg, Bo², Py, group *a* and a considerable number of other MSS, including several members of the *d**-group.

The situation in the case of the Melibeus-Monk link is summarized by Manly in these words: "There were probably two copies of the text of the link, the first a much corrupted rough draft, the second a much better fair copy" (iv 217). The first is represented by the MSS of groups *b** and *cd** and the second by Hg, El, Gg, Ad³, group *a*, Ch En³ Ry² and Ln.

The Monk's tale presents one of the most instructive instances of author's alterations, with a clear line of division into two large manuscript groups. The MSS of the earlier version differ from the other by reading "bastard brother" at line 3568 and "but he saugh it noght" at line 3616. Also in this version the Modern Instances are placed between Zenobia and Nero, whereas in the Hg-El version the Modern Instances always occur at the end of the tale. "The uniformity in this respect is so absolute," Manly declares, "that it is certain that in each case the placing was done once for all by the ancestor of the whole group" (ii 407). And we are not surprised to find that all MSS of groups *b**, *cd** range themselves with the earlier version, while Hg, El, Gg, and group *a* show the later version.

The numerous instance of author's revision which have been discussed in the foregoing pages give added emphasis to the words of Manly quoted at the beginning of this inquiry: "The evidence for alteration in the text of C.T. is much more extensive than we are accustomed to think."

At the same time the detailed study of the manuscript relationships in the passages here considered confirms the conclusion which I had previously drawn from an examination of the passages cited by Manly as instances of author's revision: namely, that where evidences of textual alteration appear the manuscripts of group *d* in every case preserve the unrevised (and therefore the earlier) form of the text. Though this conclusion is obviously of the utmost importance in determining the classification of the manuscripts, apparently it is not recognized by Manly in his minute and painstaking survey of the Classification (ii. 41-44).

His general point of view seems to be that the manuscripts of group *a* represent the authentic text, of which the other groups present more or less imperfect and distorted versions. As Manly was well aware, group *a* forms a small minority, and its readings often differ from those in the other groups. But this situation he explains by saying: "Of these groups and single MSS, *b*, *c* and *d*, and often with them Ha⁴, stand apart from the others because they are usually found in combinations" (ii. 42). In

other words, *b*, *c*, *d* and often *Ha*⁴ stand apart because group *a* flocks by itself! "Of these combinations," Manly continues, "the commonest is *cd*, often joined by *b*, *Ha*⁴*b*, or less often *Ha*⁴ without *b*. The *b-cd* group, joined by many irregular MSS, form at times . . . a large composite group that may contain as many as forty MSS. It is only rarely, as in the Prologue, where the group is affiliated with *a*, that it gives a satisfactory text" (II. 42). In thus using group *a* as the measuring stick by which the other groups are to be tested, Manly appears still to cherish the idea of an archetypal text with which all variants are to be compared. After his liberal recognition of author's alterations, it is disappointing to find that he makes no allowance for these in his Survey but limits himself to the consideration of scribal changes. Here and there one notes apparent vacillations in his statements concerning the origin of the groups. For example, I am unable to reconcile the statement on page 42 that "group *c* represents the earliest attempt to arrange the tales," with that on page 477: "*Hg* represents the earliest attempt after Chaucer's death to arrange in a single MS the tales and links left unarranged by him." Again, his remark concerning group *b*. "It is clear that the *b* ancestor was made in blocks of several tales from texts of different affiliations—*a*, *c*, *cd* (but never *d* without *c*)"²⁶ overlooks the fact that group *b* agrees with *d* against *a* and *c* in its arrangement of the tales in Blocks D and E. But I do not wish here to point out inconsistencies in minor details, but rather to call attention to the essential contrast between his discussion of textual relationships and the order of the tales on the basis of scribal variations and the dictum with which his survey begins: "[the manuscripts] do not go back to a single archetype . . . but rather to a body of incomplete material, in different stages of composition and only in part put in order and corrected."

One of the ablest of living Chaucerians, contemplating "the extraordinary variations" of the manuscripts of the C.T. in the matter of "arrangement, omission of undoubtedly genuine passages, insertion of undoubtedly spurious passages," reports as follows: "It is hard to think of any work ever written, important or unimportant, which was intended as a unit and in which there is anything like so chaotic a condition in the early authorities. This chaotic condition is the conspicuous feature of the MSS to one familiar with them; it could hardly be worse."²⁷ In this state of discouragement it is not strange that he should become skeptical as to the validity of all manuscript testimony: "None of the MSS, however good, has any authority whatever in determining the order of the

²⁶ II. 43 Miss Rickert makes the same observation: "*b* is more frequently associated with *a* but only occasionally with *c* and never with *d* alone" (II. 486.)

²⁷ J. S. P. Tatlock, "The *Canterbury Tales* in 1400" (*PMLA*, L, 101)

'groups.' This is meant literally."²⁸ But if the manuscripts have no authority, one is moved to inquire, on what other sources can we depend? Or must those problems be abandoned as hopeless?

The chaotic conditions of which Tatlock complains consist very largely of outstanding shifts in order and the suppression or inclusion in different manuscripts of links which are universally regarded as genuine. The explanation of this situation "which has been most favored hitherto as the result of revision by Chaucer" Mr. Tatlock dismisses summarily. "It is hard to see either evidence or probability" for the idea of "two or more recensions of this fragmentary work [*i.e.* the *Cant. Tales*]" (p. 118). The difficulties in which he finds himself involved are, therefore, those which he had himself created by denying that the *Tales* were in circulation during Chaucer's lifetime (p. 105). In this opinion, however, Tatlock is not supported by Manly, who remarks: "The textual differences seem most easily explained by the supposition that some of the editors began by assembling tales which were already in circulation" (II. 489).

Both these scholars continue in effect to regard the arrangement of the tales in group *a* (*i.e.*, the standard text) as the only one which can claim Chaucer's authority. Neither of them is willing to admit, for example, that either the Man of Law sequence or the E²DE¹ order of the Marriage Group—both of which appear in the manuscripts of group *d*, supported also by other groups—may represent an earlier stage in Chaucer's own plan. And consequently, they are compelled to explain the order of the tales presented in the large majority of manuscripts as merely the result of scribal confusion and disarrangement. It is not strange that when regarded from this point of view the situation should seem hopelessly chaotic.

On the other hand, when the evidence of the manuscripts is considered *in perspective*, recognizing that Chaucer himself made repeated changes in his plan, and taking the arrangement in group *d* as representing an earlier stage, we are enabled to trace successive steps in the development of the *Canterbury Tales*. The individual instances of author's revision which have been discussed are confirmed when considered cumulatively. For it will be seen that the series of textual differences and the differences in the links and in the order of the tales all fit together in a coherent pattern. Thus they succeed to a large extent in resolving the "chaotic conditions" which admittedly exist when the manuscript problems are approached from the point of view of group *a* as representing the "standard text."

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²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 131. Manly's statement on this point is more reserved: "Not only are the prevalent patterns of arrangements in the groups *a b c d* not the work of Chaucer; there is no single MS or small group the order of which can be ascribed to him" (II. 476).

IV

"HOMICIDE" IN THE *PARSON'S TALE*

IN that section of his "tale" which treats the deadly sin of Ire, Chaucer's Parson observes that from this sin come various "stynkyng engendrures," including manslaughter, or homicide. This offshoot of Ire he describes as follows:¹

564 Of this cursed synne of Ire cometh eek manslaughter And understonde wel that homycide, that is manslaughter, is in diverse wise Som manere of homycide is spiritueel, and som is bodily

565. Spiritueel manslaughter is in sixe thynges First by hate, as seith Seint John "He that hateth his brother is an homycide."

566 Homycide is eek by bakbitynge, of which bakbiteres seith Salamon that "they han two swerdes with whiche they sleen hire neighebores " For soothly, as wikke is to bynyme his good name as his lyf.

567 Homycide is eek in yevynge of wikked conseil by fraude, as for to yeven conseil to areysen wrongful custumes and taillages

568. Of whiche seith Salomon. "Leon rorynge and bere hongry been like to the crueel lordshipes"² in withholdynge or abreggyng of the shepe (or the hyre) of servauntz, or elles in usure, or in withdrawynge of the almesse of povre folk.

569 For which the wise man seith, "Fedeth hym that almoost dyeth for hunger", for soothly, but if thou feede hym, thou sleest hym, and alle thise been deedly synnes

570 Bodily manslaughter is, whan thou sleest him with thy tonge in oother manere; as whan thou comandest to sleen a man, or elles yevest hym conseil to sleen a man.

571 Manslaughtre in dede is in foure maneres. That oon is by lawe, right as a justice dampneth hym that is coupable to the deeth But lat the justice be war that he do it rightfully, and that he do it nat for delit to spille blood, but for kepyng of rightwisnesse.

572. Another homycide is that is doon for necessitee, as whan o man sleeth another in his defendaunt, and that he may noon ootherwise escape from his owene deeth.

573. But certainly if he may escape withouten slaughtre of his adversarie, and sleeth hym, he dooth synne and he shal bere penance as for deedly synne.

574. Eek if a man, by caas or aventure, shete an arwe, or caste a stoon, with which he sleeth a man, he is homycide

575 Eek if a womman by negligence overlyeth hire child in hir slepyng, it is homycide and deedly synne.

576. Eek when man destourbeth concepcioun of a child, and maketh a womman outhere bareyne by drynkyng venenouse herbes thurgh which she

¹ I use Robinson's edition, pages 291-292

² Robinson places the quotation marks at the end of the line I insert them here to designate the end of the biblical quotation

may nat conceyve, or sleeth a child by drynkes wilfully, or elles putteth certeine material thynges in hire secree places to slee the child,

577. or elles dooth unkyndely synne, by which man or womman shedeth hire nature in manere or in place ther as a child may not be conceived, or elles if a woman have conceyved, and hurt hirslef and sleeth the child, yet is it homycide

578 What seye we eek of wommen that morden hir children for drede of wordly shame? Certes, an horrible homycide.

579 Homycide is eek if a man approcheth to a womman by desir of lecherie, thurgh which the child is perissed, or elles smyteth a womman wityngly, thurgh which she leseth hir child. Alle thise been homycides and horrible deedly synnes

Heretofore the source of these lines has remained unnoticed. Although Miss Kate Petersen has shown conclusively that the ultimate source of the extended digression upon the seven deadly sins in the *Parson's Tale* is the *Summa seu Tractatus de Viciis* of Guilielmus Peraldus,³ the Chaucerian excerpt now under consideration has no close parallel in this *Summa*. Peraldus, however, points out four sins which are said to cry out to God (*dicuntur clamare ad Deum*), of these, three—notably, the oppression of innocents (*oppressio innocentium*), sodomy (*peccatum sodomiticum*), and the withholding of servants' wages (*detentio mercedis mercenariorum*)—are similar in effect to the fourth, homicide.⁴ Thus, the Chaucerian extract has in common with the *Summa* of Peraldus only the inclusion of withholding wages as a sin associated with homicide.⁵

When he came to the subject of homicide, Chaucer, or more likely an earlier compiler,⁶ abandoned Peraldus for the moment and reverted to Saint Raymund of Pennaforte's *Summa Casuum Conscientiae*, of which Liber III, Titulus xxxiv, "De Poenitentis et Remissionibus," provided the penitential section and general structure of the *Parson's Tale*. For the homicide passage, Liber II, Titulus I, "De Homicidio," furnished the material. Despite a few divergences and the much greater length of the Latin book, the discussions of homicide in Pennaforte and in Chaucer are sufficiently alike to establish the *Summa Casuum Conscientiae* as the ultimate source of the passage in the *Parson's Tale*. Both writings distinguish between two kinds of manslaughter, spiritual and bodily, which they further subdivide according to their various aspects. In many cases, both works use the same quotations to illustrate their points.

³ Kate Petersen, *The Sources of the Parson's Tale* (Boston, 1901)

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52, see also Folio ccui of the Paris 1519 edition of Peraldus' *Summa*

⁵ *Parson's Tale*, l. 568. Petersen (p. 52) also cites some rather remote parallels between ll. 564-569 and Peraldus

⁶ The problem—did Chaucer himself compile the *Parson's Tale*—or did he translate directly from some unknown source—remains unsolved. See Robinson, p. 874, and Petersen, p. 80

Pennaforte's text,⁷ in a high abbreviated form and with the corresponding lines in Chaucer indicated by the numbers in brackets, follows:

I

[564] *Homicidium est hominis occisio ab homine facta* .

Species homicidii sunt plures nam aliud spirituale, aliud corporale [565-568] Spirituale, quo quis spiritualiter, & quadam juris fictione occiditur, quod fit quinque modis, odiendo, detrahendo, male consulendo, nocendo, victum subtrahendo [565] De Primo Joann 3. *Omnis, qui odit fratrem suum, homicida est*⁸ . .

[566] "Noli putare te non esse homicidam quando fratri tuo mala persuades. si fratri tuo mala persuades, occidis. & ut scias quia occidis, audi Psalmistam: *Fili hominum dentes eorum arma & sagittae, & lingua eorum machera acuta, id est, gladius*. . .⁹

[569] De quinto habes Dist 86 c¹⁰ *Pasce fame morientem: quisquis enim pascendo hominem servare poterat, si non pavisti, occidisti* .

[570] Corporale, quo homo occiditur corporaliter. & hoc committitur dupliciter, scilicet lingua & facto.

Lingua, tribus modis, scilicet praecepto, consilio, & defensione . . .

[571 ff] Facto, quattuor modis, scilicet justitia, necessitate, casu, & voluntate.

[571] *Justitia*, ut quum iudex, vel minister reum juste condemnatum occidit; hoc homicidium, si fit ex livore, vel delectione fundendi humanum sanguinem, licet ille juste occidatur, iste tamen peccat mortaliter propter intentionem corruptam: si vero fit ex amore justitiae, non peccat iudex ipsum condemnando ad mortem. . .

[572-573] *Necessitate* qui percutit, distingue, quia aut illa necessitas fuit evitabilis poterat enim evadere absque occisione; & tunc est reus homicidii, & tamquam pro mortali debet agere poenitentiam. aut fuit inevitabilis, quia occidit hominem sine odii meditatione, immo cum dolore animi, & se, & sua liberando, quum aliter non posset evadere, dicitur non peccare, nec astringitur ad poenitentiam, . .

[574] Casu, ut quum aliquis projicit lapidem ad avem, vel alias, & alius transiens ex imperato percutitur, & moritur. .

⁷ I use the Verona edition of 1744, pp 137 ff

⁸ From the Vulgate, the First Epistle of John, iii, 15

⁹ Line 566 of the *PT* which provides an illustration of backbiting does not closely resemble this excerpt from Pennaforte, who derived it from St Augustine. However, the proverb which Chaucer attributes erroneously to Solomon has some affinity with the italicized quotation, from Psalms lvi, 5 Skeat suggests an "imperfect recollection" of Proverbs xxv, 18 "Jaculum, et gladius, et sagitta acuta, homo qui loquitur contra proximum suum falsum testimonium" But the compiler may have called to mind the chapter "de peccato detractionis" in Peraldus (Folio ccxviii ff of the Paris edition of 1519), in particular the following "Detractor etiam monstrum est in ore gladios habens Unde ad detractorem pertinet illud proverbium xxx [14] Est generatio que pro dentibus gladios habet . . Bernhardus Gladius triceps lingua detractoris . . Dicit salomon proverbium xii [1] quod melius est nomen bonum quam divitiae multe unus qui nomen bonum alicui aufert magis nocet ei quam si ei multas divitias furaretur."

¹⁰ This refers to the *Decretum* of Gratian, Pars i, Distinctio lxxxvi, Causa xxxi. See Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clxxxvii, col. 412.

"Sicut noxius est, qui mittit lanceas, & sagittas in mortem, ita vir, qui fraudulenter nocet amico suo, & cum fuerit deprehensus dicit, ludens feci"¹¹ . .

IV

[page 143]

Varii circa homicidium casus

PRIMUS

[576] *Quid, si aliquis percutit mulierem praegnantem, vel dat ei venenum, vel ipsamet accipit, ut abortivum faciat, vel ut non concipiat; numquid talis iudicabitur homicida, aut irregularis?*

Respondeo. Si puerperium erat jam formatum, sive animatum, homicida est recte, si abortivum fecit mulier ex illa percussione, sive potatione, quia hominem interfecit .

[577, 579] "Si aliquis caussa explendae libidinis, vel odii meditatione, homini, aut mulieri aliquid fecerit, vel ad potandum dederit, ut non possit generare, aut concipere, vel nasci soboles, ut homicida teneatur."¹² .

IX

CASUS SEXTUS

[575] *De parentibus autem quaeritur, in quorum lectis interdum parvuli filii inveniuntur suffocati?*

Ad hoc dic, quod si pater, vel mater . negligenter collocaverat secum in lecto, & mane invenit eum [filium] extinctum, debet agere secundum quosdam poenitentiam trium annorum, . .

[578] "Veniens ad nos M. mulier lacrymabili nobis confessione monstravit, quod cum de quodam filium genuisset, & ille sibi saepe turgido vultu impropetasset, quod filius ejus non esset, ipsa iracundiae calore ducta, eundem filium interfecit. . ."¹³

In addition to fixing the ultimate source of the homicide passage in the *Parson's Tale*, Pennaforte's "De Homicidio" helps to clear up two problems which the Chaucerian text presents. In the first place, the Parson indicates in line 565 that he will describe six aspects of "spiritueel manslaughter," but in the lines which follow he names specifically only three: *hate* (l. 565), *backbiting* (l. 566), and *wicked counsel* (l. 567). Skeat considered the *sixe* "evidently an error for three. . . The error may easily have arisen from misreading iij as uj."¹⁴ Robinson in his note to this line follows Skeat. However, I shall try to show that the *sixe* is not an error but that the passage, while corrupt, actually suggests six aspects of spiritual homicide.

¹¹ Marginal note "SALOMON. In Parabolis, c. 26", i e, Proverbs xxvi, 18, 19.

¹² Marginal note "Ex Conc. Guarnac.", i e, Ex Concilio Wormaciense, capite 30 See Migne, PL, cxi, col 933

¹³ Marginal note "Alex. III. Tornacen. Episc.", i e, Alexandri III Papae, *Epistolae et Privilegia*, xv, "Ad episcopum Tornacensem" Migne, PL, cc, col 84

¹⁴ Skeat, *Works*, v, 463.

From the standpoint of grammatical structure, the clause comprising line 568 should illustrate line 567, which condemns the practice of wicked counseling. Thus Skeat apparently regarded it. A careful reading, however, shows that the two lines have no thought in common. Line 568 actually denounces three additional evils, notably, the withholding of servants' wages, usury, and the withdrawal of alms for the poor. Instead of serving as examples of wicked counseling, these undoubtedly represent the three missing subdivisions of spiritual manslaughter, which Chaucer, or his predecessor, failed to make clear. An examination of the sources of this passage supports this contention. The three subdivisions which Chaucer definitely specifies have their counterparts in Pennafort:

by hate	odiendo
by bakbitynge	detrahendo
in giving of wicked counsel	male consulendo

So has one of the three which he implies:

in withdrawynge of the almesse of povre folk	victim subtrahendo ¹⁵
---	----------------------------------

Of these implied aspects, a second appears in Peraldus' *Summa de viciis* as a sin associated with homicide:¹⁶

in withholdynge . . . of the wages of servauntz	in detentione mercedis mercenariorum
--	---

This leaves unaccounted for only *usury*, which Chaucer or the earlier compiler may have added on his own initiative. Inasmuch as two of the three questionable subdivisions of spiritual manslaughter appear independently of wicked counseling as manifestations of homicide in his sources, the compiler doubtlessly intended similar treatment of them in his work. Although he was working hurriedly and carelessly, his *sine* is not a mistake.

The second problem occasioned by Chaucer's text concerns the statement in line 571, "Manslaughtre in dede is in foure maneres." What are these "four maneres?" The Parson indicates the first two clearly: manslaughter by law (line 571) and manslaughter by necessity (line 572). Presumably, the third manner is by chance or carelessness (line 574). The fourth does not readily come to light. Line 575 deplores the carelessness of women who in sleeping lie over and smother their children. This leads to a discussion of various forms of infanticide (lines 576-579), all of which, according to the Parson, "been homycides and horrible deedly synnes." But the fourth manner remains unmentioned. Pennafort's *Summa de*

¹⁵ Chaucer and Pennafort also use the same quotation to illustrate this evil.

¹⁶ See above, page 52.

scribed four kinds of manslaughter in deed, "justitia, necessitate, casu, & voluntate." In compiling, Chaucer, or his model, translated Pennaforte's expression, "quattuor modis," described the first three of these, dismissed the fourth, and then picked out and pieced together certain ideas which he found in Divisions IV and IX of Pennaforte's chapter on homicide to form the section on infanticide.

The tale's eclectic nature and its numerous inconsistencies make an interesting study. For the most part, it follows Peraldus in its investigation of the seven deadly sins. When in discussing Ire it comes to the manifestation of that sin in homicide, the tale incorporates parts of the chapter, "De Homicidio," in Pennaforte's *Summa*. Again, when it arrives at detraction, a branch of homicide, it reverts to Peraldus' treatise, which discusses that vice under the heading of Envy. The tale mentions six kinds of spiritual manslaughter to be treated but does not clarify them in its text. It promises four manners of bodily manslaughter, in accordance with its source, but produces only three.

Did Chaucer himself effect this blending of materials or was he translating from a single, direct source? Prevailing opinion hold the latter view; indeed, the presence of certain penitential tracts, obligated to Pennaforte, which treat the question of sin in the manner of the *Parson's Tale*, seems to indicate that Chaucer used one treatise combining Pennaforte and Peraldus.¹⁷ Did Chaucer, then, perpetrate the botching, as described above? His source may have contained the blunders characteristic of the *Parson's Tale*, and Chaucer may have taken these over without bothering to correct them. On the other hand, the source may have been correct and flawless, and Chaucer's efforts to condense it the cause of the imperfections in his text. Indeed, these imperfections, omissions and obscurities of promised data, seem more like the work of one who was translating and condensing so hurriedly that he was unaware of the mistakes he made, than the work of a compiler. Only the appearance of the direct source of the tale, however, can determine Chaucer's precise share in its formation and imperfection.

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¹⁷ Petersen, 35 and 80.

PROVERBS IN THE WORKS OF GIL VICENTE

THOUGH Gil Vicente was court dramatist for Manuel the Fortunate and for John III of Portugal and wrote his short dramatic pieces primarily for performance at court festivals, he recognized the worth of reproducing in his dialogue the rich and racy speech of the common people, and whenever possible he availed himself of all sorts of folk-lore material.¹ Thus, we find him weaving ballads into his dialogue,² ornamenting his plays with lyrical passages inspired by traditional songs and dances, and making use of games, superstitions, incantations, terms of abuse, and other popular elements. Gil Vicente, then, antedates Juan de la Cueva in his employment of ballad verses in the dialogue, and so becomes the first to essay a practice which later, under the genius of Lope de Vega, made popular poetry an integral part of the Spanish *comedia*.

Gil Vicente is, likewise, the first dramatist on the Spanish Peninsula to make consistent use of *refranes*, the terse philosophic utterances of the common people, which had been so well utilized by his gifted contemporary, the author of *La Celestina*.³ In his use of proverbs Gil Vicente may also have been influenced by Erasmus's *Adagia*, the first edition of which, published in 1500, contained eight hundred and eighteen adages and bore

¹ Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos*, v, clxiii. "El alma del pueblo portugués no respira íntegra más que en Gil Vicente, y gran número de los elementos más populares del genio peninsular, en romances y cantares, supersticiones y refranes, están admirablemente engarzados en sus obras, que son lo más nacional del teatro anterior á Lope de Vega."

² For an exhaustive study of the *romances* in the works of Gil Vicente consult Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos, *Estudos Sobre o Romancelero Peninsular Os Romances Velhos em Portugal* (Madrid, 1907), and the Introduction to Marques Braga, *Gil Vicente Obras Completas*, I, *Obras de Devaçam* (Coimbra, 1933). See also a University of Texas unpublished doctoral dissertation on *The Dramatic Art of Gil Vicente*, by Virginia Joiner.

³ For a discussion of Gil Vicente's indebtedness to *La Celestina* see Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela*, III, *NBAE* xiv, cxlv. "También Gil Vicente debe a la *Celestina* escenas de las más picantes, y sobre todo el tipo de la alcahueta Brígida Vaz, que tan desvergonzadamente pregona sus baratijas en la *Barca do Inferno*. Sin llegar a la imitación directa, como en este caso, hay en el teatro de Gil Vicente, sobre todo en las farsas, muchos elementos celestinescos, y aun verdaderas celestinas, verbigracia, Branca Gil en *O Velho da Horta*, la bruja Ginébra Pereira en el *Auto das Fadas*, la Ana Días en *O Juiz da Beira*. Pero la genialidad lírica del autor le lleva a la creación de un arte diverso, en que la observación realista no es lo esencial, sino lo secundario. En la riqueza de lenguaje popular, en la curiosidad con que recoge lo que hoy llamaríamos material *folklórico*, y especialmente las creencias supersticiosas, los ensalmos y conjuros, las prácticas misteriosas, el autor de la *Comedia Rubena* y del *Auto das Fadas* es un continuador de la *Celestina*, pero en todo ello se mezcla un elemento poético fantástico que nos recuerda a veces la *comedia aristofánica*."

a preface praising various writers of antiquity who had made use of proverbs. Erasmus mentions among others the dramatist Plautus:

Then Plautus, the peculiar darling of the theatre, bubbles over with proverbs and says hardly anything that he did not take from the mouths of the common people or that did not pass at once from the stage into their common talk, so that for this talent above all he deserves to be ranked in eloquence with the Muses ⁴

Later editions of the *Adagia* appeared at frequent intervals, each a little augmented, and the book was so successful that no less than sixty editions were published during the author's life. In view of the fact that Gil Vicente's works seem to reflect frequently other ideas expressed by Erasmus, ⁵ it would be natural that he might, likewise, be swayed by the *Adagia*.

In introducing these proverbs into his works, Gil Vicente often characterizes them as such, and may refer to them as *verso acostumado*, *exemplo antigo*, *exemplo dioso*, ⁶ and *sengo* ⁷ *sabichoso*, as in the following instances:

Diz hum <i>verso acostumado</i> ·	E Diz o <i>exemplo dioso</i> ,
Quem quer fogo busque a lenha	que bem passa de guloso
.	O que come o que não tem
Pois diz outro <i>exemplo antigo</i> ,	(<i>Ibid</i> , 388)
Quem quizer comer comigo	Diz o <i>sengo sabichoso</i>
Traga em que se assentar.	Bom he ás vezes falar
(<i>Pranto de Maria Parda</i> , I, 389)	(<i>O Juiz da Beira</i> , II, 367)

Furthermore, in the plays of Gil Vicente are evidences of the fact that these bits of philosophical lore were often expressed in popular songs: ⁸ In the *Auto Pastoril Portugues*, for example, the word *cantiga* has its original

⁴ Preserved Smith, *Erasmus* (New York, 1923), p 40

⁵ See Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos, *Autos Portugueses de Gil Vicente* (Madrid, 1922), p. 93 "Continúo a descobrir em Gil Vicente, além do seu grande talento de escritor, tendências críticas congeniais ás do humanista de Rotterdam, que nos deu o *Elogio da loucura e os Adagios* "

⁶ Mendes dos Remedios, *Obras de Gil Vicente* (Coimbra, three volumes, 1907, 1912, 1914), III, glossario e notas, 365 "*Dioso*, adj formado por influência de *dia*, mas não sendo senão o termo idoso, por metátese, no sentido de velho, antigo, e daí, no sentido moral, digno de acatamento, de respeito " In the present study all references to the works of Gil Vicente are to the above mentioned edition

⁷ Oscar de Pratt, *Gil Vicente Notas e Comentários* (Lisboa, 1931), p 29, note 2 "*Sengo* significava o homem sabio, prudente, particularmente o velho filósofo moralista Ocorre frequentemente nos velhos textos em expressões onde concorre em sentido com *exemplo*, *sentença*, *rifão*, mas mesmo nestes casos o vocábulo, de formação popular, não perdeu a sua significação primitiva "

⁸ *Ibid* , p. 30. "Por ter sido assim, a trova cantada, uma das formas de divulgação dos *exemplos*, ou mais propriamente dos ditos sentenciosos, veio concorrentemente a darse a estes a designação de cantigas Esta palavra de mais frequente uso no plural apresenta ainda hoje, isolada ou em expressões adequadas, reminiscências desta acepção especial.

meaning of *song*, and, likewise, refers to the sententious statement invoked by the song:

Fernando, por meu mal te vi,
como lá diz a *cantiga*
(*Obras*, I, 33)

A similar reference to a popular song seems to be recalled in the *Farça do Juiz da Beira*, though, as noted by Oscar de Pratt,⁹ the last line of the *quintilla* has been lost:

Anna—Mãe, mãe, eu não sei que diga
Pero —Pae, pae, venha a rapariga,
E veremos que ella diz
E como diz a *cantiga*,
.
(*Obras*, II, 355)

Thus the word *cantiga* came to be used synonymously for a proverbial saying, and with this acceptation appears in the following passage:

Belzebu —Senhor Lucifer, isso vêde vós,
Porque todo o mal he de quem o tem.
Satanaz—Dá o demo a *cantiga*.
(*Auto da Historia de Deos*, I, 168)

The same proverb referred to in the above passage is found in the following:

Diabo—Diz lá o *exemplo velho*,
Dá-me tu a mim dinheiro,
E dá ao demo o conselho ¹⁰
(*Auto da Feira*, I, 55)

In both utterances a humorous note is sounded when the dramatist places them in the mouths of Satan and the Devil respectively.

Other proverbs that betray their origin in song, judging by the usage of Gil Vicente in the following instances, are.

Diabo—A' barca, á barca, senhores!	Venus—A moça irá dianteira
Oh que maré tão de prata!
Hum ventosinho que mata,	Muito negra a cabelleira,
E valentes remadores	Cantando mui de verdade:
"Vos me veniredes á la mano,	"Estes meus cabellos, madre,
A' la mano me veniredes.	Dos á dos me los lleva el
Y vos veredes	aire" ¹²
Peixes nas redes" ¹¹	(<i>Cortes de Jupiter</i> , I, 236)
(<i>Auto da Barca do Inferno</i> , I, 98)	

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 31. "A esta estrofe, que foi evidentemente uma *quintilha*, como se verifica pela perda do rima do 3º verso, falta a *cantiga* ou sentença invocada"

¹⁰ Cf. Gonzalo Correias, *Vocabulario de Refranes* (Madrid, 1924), p. 147 "Dadme dineros, y no me deis consejos" ¹¹ Cf. *Ibid*, p. 514 "Ya vos yacedes, peces en las redes."

¹² *Ibid*, p. 214. "Estos mis cabellitos, madre, dos a dos me los lleva el aire."

Another *cantiga* which seems to have furnished the theme for several sixteenth-century authors is the one given by Gonzalo Correas¹³ in two versions, "Amor loco, yo por ti, y tú por otro," and "Amor loco, yo por vos y vos por otro." It makes its appearance in Lucas Fernández's *Farsa o cuasi comedia*, written probably in 1509, and prepares the way for the more elaborate love-crossing theme used by both Gil Vicente and Montemayor:

(Entra primero la *Doncella* muy penada de amores por hallar al *Caballero* con el cual tenia concertado de se salir, y topa en el campo con el *Pastor*; el cual, vencido de sus amores, la requiere etc)

Doncella—No peno por ti yo cierto

Pastor —Yo por vós sí, en buena fe.

Y aún os diré

Que me teneis medio muerto

El amor que dice el otro

Podemos este decir

Sin mentir,

"Yo por vos, vos por esotro."

Doncella—Y ¿hasta acá el Amor extiende

Su poder entre pastores?

(Lucas Fernández, *Farsas y eglogas*, edition

Cañete, [Madrid, 1867], p. 61)

Gil Vicente's *Auto Pastoril Portugues*, performed before King John III on Christmas Eve in 1523, concerns itself with three young swains and three damsels—all madly in love. But, unfortunately, no damsel is in love with the swain who loves her, and hence each of the six meets rebuffs from the object of his or her love. One of the shepherds describes their plight by quoting the old folk song:

Isto chamão amor louco,

Eu por ti e tu por outro.

(*Obras*, I, 32)

This same love crossing theme is again used by Gil Vicente in the *Tragicomedia Pastoral da Serra da Estrella*, written in 1527, but whereas in the *Auto Pastoril Portugues* the difficulties are left unsolved and the play ends with the adoration of the Virgin, in the *Tragicomedia* a hermit takes three small papers with the names of the girls on them, and when the shepherds draw the names they are thoroughly satisfied with their lots. As noted by Professor J. P. W. Crawford,¹⁴ a similar circle of unhappy lovers is found in the story related by Selvagia in the first book of Monte-

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁴ See *The Spanish Pastoral Drama* (Philadelphia, 1915), pp. 93-96, "Analogues to the Story of Selvagia in Montemayor's *Diana*," *MLN*, xxxix (1914), 192-194.

mayor's *Diana* When Alamo sings to Ysmenia, he glosses the words of what Montemayor calls an *antiguo cantar*: "Amor loco, ay amor loco:/Yo por uos y uos por otro."

The source of all these unhappy affairs seems, therefore, to have been the old folk song¹⁵ which Lucas Fernández, Gil Vicente, and Montemayor used, perhaps, independently.

Gil Vicente's fondness for proverbial lore is well attested by his curious *Diálogo sobre a Resurreição*, a short piece appended to the *Auto da História de Deos* to explain Christ's redemption of man. This dialogue begins with a satirical speech that proves to be a long string of proverbs, many of which are contradictory in meaning:

Quem com mal anda, dizia Jacó,
Rabina Rabasse, Rabi Mousem,
Não cuide ninguém que lhe venha bem,
Nem he bem que alguém haja delle dó.
Quem com mal anda, chora e não canta,
Quem so se aconselha, so se depena,¹⁶
Quem não faz mal, não merece pena;

¹⁵ Still another reference to this song is found in a Portuguese eclogue of Diogo Bernardes (c. 1420-1600)

Rod —E eu de cantar muito ando já rouco,
Mas não hei de rogar, diz tu qual diga
Ines —Aquella que começa em "amor louco"
Fern —Antes de la "dulce mi enemiga"
Ines —Mas, "Sola me deixaste e naquel ermo"
Rod —Guarde-me deos de cousa tam antiga!

(*Egloga*, ix)

Cristóbal de Castillejo, too, in his *Sermón de amores* mentions the song's proverbial variant:

Ella se muere por él,
Y vos os perdeis por ella
¡Oh amor loco!
A propósito lo toco;
De un refrán "Yo por tí,
Tú por otro, y no por mí,
Antes me tienes en poco"

(*BAE*, xxxii, 153)

And Blasco de Garay, in *Cartas en refranes*, written probably in the later part of the fifteenth century, makes use of the same proverb: "Aunque no querría que dijese de mí amor loco, yo por vos, y vos por otro" Sbarbi, *El refranero general español* (Madrid, 1874-78), VII, 60

¹⁶ Garay, *Cartas*, p. 90. "El que á solas se aconseja á solas se desaconseja"; and *Refranes glosados*, likewise probably from the fifteenth century, in Sbarbi, *loc. cit.*, p. 7. "Quien a solas se aconseja, a solas se desaconseja"

Quem chora ou canta, fadas más espanta.¹⁷

Dizia minha mãe Gemilha saborida:

Filho, não comas, não rebentarás,¹⁸

Se sempre calares, nunca mentirás,

Come e folga, terás boa vida ¹⁹

Dizia meu pae Mosé Rabizarão:

Não comas quente, não perderás o dente,²⁰

Quem não mente, não vem de boa gente,²¹

Não achegues á força, não te enforcarão.

Dizia meu dono, cuja alma Deos tem.

Não peques na lei, não temerás rei,²²

Se tu te guardares, eu te guardarei;

Quem sempre faz mal poucas vezes faz bem

Dizia meu tio Rabi mallogrado.

Filho Jacob, o que fazes, dizia, Jacob Badear,

Achega-te ca, quero-te ensinar,

Não sejas pobre, morrerás honrado,²³

Falla com Deu, seras bom rendeiro,

Quando perderes, põe-te de lodo,

Se nada ganhares, não sejas siseiro.

(*Dialogo sobre a Ressurreição*, I, 175)

Gil Vicente's most conscious use of proverbial material, however, is found in the *Farça de Ines Pereira*, which from the standpoint of plot and delineation of character is considered one of his best plays. According to the dramatist's own explanation, this farce was based on an *exemplo comum* and was written to prove that he was not plagiarizing other authors, and could, therefore, devise a play on whatever subject might be given him:

A seguinte farça de folgar foi representada ao muito alto e mui poderoso Rei D. João o terceiro do nome em Portugal, no seu Convento de Tomar, era do Senhor 1523. O seu argumento he que, porquanto duvidavão certos homens de bom saber, se o Autor fazia de si mesmo estas obras, ou se as furtava de outros autores, lhe derão este tema sôbre que fizesse s. hum exemplo comum que dizem. Mais

¹⁷ Cf Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, Art , *Cantar*. Quen canta sus males espanta "

¹⁸ Cf Correias, *Vocabulario de refranes*, p 363. "No te hinchar y no reventarás "

¹⁹ *Ibid* , p 117. "Come y guelga, y tendrás vida buena "

²⁰ *Ibid* , p 343. "No comas caliente no perderás el diente "

²¹ Rodríguez Marín, *Más de 21,000 refranes castellanos* (Madrid, 1926), p 416: "Quien no miente, no viene de buena gente "

²² Correias, p 358. "No peques en la ley, no temerás al rey "

²³ *Ibid.*, p 360. "No seas pobre morirás honrado."

Besides its theme, *Ines Pereira* draws heavily from proverbial lore, as can be readily seen in the following brief analysis of the play. The scene opens with Ines at home working, while her mother attends mass. The girl complains bitterly of the hard work that keeps her in close confinement:

When her mother returns, Ines tells her of her longing for a marriage that would free her from this drudgery:

²⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 296. "Más quiero asno que me lleve que caballo que me derrueque", Íñigo López de Mendoza, *Refranes que dicen las viejas tras el fuego*, in Mayans y Siscar, *Orígenes de la lengua española* (Madrid, 1873), p. 173: "Más quiero asno que me heve, que cavallo que me derrueque", *Refranes glosados*, in Sbarbi, *El refranero*, vol. 42; and Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, Art. 1, *Asno*

²⁸ Cf. *Refranes que dicen las viejas*, p. 153: "Cantarillo que muchas veces va á la fuente, ó dexa el assa ó la fuente" In order that the proverbial nature of the dialogue of *Ines Pereira* might be more easily seen, such passages have been placed in italics. Several of these proverbs do not appear in the best known collections, and it is safe to assume that a few were doubtless original with Gil Vicente.

Al caracol parece
la tal Doña Inés,
que su casa y sus muebles
siempre van con él

Ines—Mas eu, mãe, sam aguçosa,

E vos dae-vos de vagar

Mãe—Ora espera assi, vejamos.

Ines—Quem ja visse esse prazer.

Mãe—Cal'-te que poderá ser,

Qu' ante a pascoa vem os ramos.

Não t'apresses tu, Ines,

Maior he o anno co mes

Quando te não precatares

Virão maridos a pares,

E filhos de tres em tres

(*Ibid.*, 319)

A neighbor, Lianor Vaz, drops in for a friendly call, invoking an old proverb:

. . . Eu venho

Com grande amor que vos tenho,

Porque diz o exemplo antigo

Que a amiga e o amigo

Mais aqueyta que bom lenho.

(*Ibid.*, 322)

She brings a letter from Pero Marquez, a prosperous country fellow who proposes marriage to Ines. The young girl, however, wishes a husband who is well-spoken, though he be penniless:

Ines —Porem não hei de casar

Senão com home 'avisado:

Ainda que pobre pelado,

Seja discreto em falar.

Lianor—Eu vos trago hum bom marido,

Rico, honrado, conhecido:

Diz que em camisa vos quer.

Ines —Primeiro eu hei de saber

Se he parvo, se sabido

(*Ibid.*, 322)

Lianor chides Ines for letting such an opportunity as this pass by, and quotes a proverb to strengthen her point, at which the mother, in agreement, repeats a variant of the theme of the play:

Lianor—Quereis casar a prazer

No tempo d'agora, Ines?

Antes casa, em que te pês,

Que não he tempo d'escolher.

Sempre eu ouvi dizer,

Ou seja sapo ou sapinho,

*Ou marido ou maridinho,*²⁸
 Tenha o que houver mister,
 Este he o certo caminho.
Mãe — Pardeos, amiga, essa he ella;
Mata o cavallo de sela,
E bô he o asno que me leva.
(Ibid , 324)

The haughty girl prefers, however, the saddle horse that might throw her, to the donkey that would carry her safely, and stands out firmly against Pero Marquez:

Ines—Que sempre disse e direi,
 Mãe, eu me não casarei
 Senão com homem discreto,
 E assi vo-lo prometo,
 Ou antes o leixarei
 Que seja homem mal feito,
 Feio, pobre sem feição,
 Como tiver descrição,
 Não lhe quero mais proveito.
 E saiba tanger viola,
*E coma eu pão e cebola*²⁹

Mãe— Sempre tu has de bailar,
 E sempre elle ha de tanger?
 Se não tiveres que comer,
 O tanger te ha de fartar?

Ines—*Cada louco com sua tema*³⁰
 Com hũa borda de boleima,
 E hũa vez d'agoa fria,
 Não quero mais cada dia

(Ibid , 327-328)

Two match-making Jews appear on the scene, and when the mother tries to advise Ines against listening to them, Ines quotes a proverb cautioning her to mind her own business:

Ines— *Diz o exemplo da velha,*
O que não haveis de comer
*Leixae-o a outrem mexer*³¹

Mãe—Mao conselho te aconselha.

(Ibid., 329)

Ines, however, favors the poor *escudeiro* sponsored by the match-makers,

²⁸ Correas, p 446 "Sea marido y sea sapillo"

²⁹ Rodríguez Marín, p. 83 "Contigo, pan y cebolla, y con otra, ni olla"

³⁰ Correas, p. 99 "Cada loco con su tema, y cada llaga con su postema."

³¹ *Ibid* , p 427: "¿Quién te manda mecer lo que no has de comer?"

and in selecting him as her husband she chooses "o cavalo que derruba," for no sooner are they married than the husband shows himself to be a tamer of the shrew:

Escudeiro—E vós cantais, Ines Pereira?
 Em vodas m' andaveis vós?
 Juro ao corpo de Deos
 Que esta seja a derradeira.
 Se vos eu vejo cantar,
 Eu vos farei assoviar

 Sera bem que vos caleis,
 E mais sereis avisada
 Que não me respondereis nada,
 Emque ponha fogo a tudo,
Porque o homem sesudo
Traz a mulher sopeada.

Vós não haveis de falar
 Com homem, nem molher que seja;
 Somente ir á igreja
 Não vos quero eu deixar
 Ja vos preguei as janellas,
 Porque não vos ponhais nellas
Estareis aqui encerrada
Nesta casa tão fechada,
*Como freira d'Oudivellas.*³²

Vós não haveis de mandar
 Em casa somente hum pelo,
 S'eu disser isto he novelo,
 Havei-lo de confirmar.
 E mais, quando eu vier
 De fóra, haveis de tremer,
 E cousa que vós digais
 Não vos ha de valer mais
 Daquilo que eu quiser

(*Ibid.*, 337-338)

The husband soon departs for war, but not without first cautioning his servant to keep Ines well locked in the house. Left alone, the disillusioned wife sings as she works:

Quem bem tem e mal escolhe,
Por mal que lhe venha não saraje ³³
 (*Ibid.*, 339)

³² Cf. Rodríguez Marín, p. 249. "La mujer honrada, la pierna quebrada, y en casa "

³³ *Refranes que dicen las viejas*, p. 170 "Quien bien tiene é mal escoje, por mal que le venga non se enoge "

Realizing her mistake, she comes to see that not all *escudeiros* and *fidalgos* are *cavaleiros*, and that a man who brow-beats his wife is really a coward and will never make a good soldier. If she ever has another chance at choosing a husband she will make a different selection:

Vêde que cavalarias,
Vêde ja que mouros mata
Quem sua molher maltrata,
Sem lhe dar de paz hum dia.
Sempre eu ouvi dizer
Que o homem que isto fizer
Nunca mata drago em vale,
*Nem mouro que chamem Ale,*³⁴
E assi deve de ser.

Juro em todo meu sentido
Que se solteira me vejo,
Assi como eu desejo,
Que eu saiba escolher marido,
*A' boa fé sem mau engano,*³⁵
Pacífico todo o anno,
E que ande a meu mandar.
Havia-m'eu de vingar
Deste mal e deste dano.

(*Ibid.*, 339-340)

True to Ines' estimate of her husband's lack of valor, she receives, three months later, a note from her brother relating the death of her husband as he fled from the battle-field:

Sabei que indo
Vosso marido fogindo
Da batalha pera a villa,
Meia legua de Arzila
O matou hum mouro pastor

(*Ibid.*, 340)

She demands the key from the servant and dismisses him, relieved at having once more gained her freedom:

Oh que nova tão suave!
Desatado he o nó.
S'eu por elle ponho dó,
O diabo m'arrebente.
Pera mim era valente,
E matou-o hum mouro so.
.

³⁴ Correias, p. 367. "Nunca matarás moro que se llame Hali (Entiende caballero y de cuenta; contra los medrosos y cobardes)" Cf. *Comedia de Eufrosina*, in *Orígenes de la novela*, III, *NBAE*, XIV, 65 "¡qué corazón de mancebo! nunca vos matareis Moro Ali!"

³⁵ Correias, p. 6. "A buena fe y sin mal engaño"

Agora quero tomar
 Pera boa vida gozar
 Hum muito manso marido,
 Não no quero ja sabido,
 Pois tão caro ha de custar
 (*Ibid* , 341)

When the neighbor, Lianor Vaz, again mentions the devotion of Pero Marquez, Ines is happy to marry the big-hearted, trusting fellow:

Lianor— Pero Marquez tem que herdou
 Fazenda de mil cruzados,
 Mas vós quereis avisados.
Ines — Não, ja esse tempo passou.
Sôbre quanto mestres são
*Exp'riencia dá lição*³⁶
Lianor— Pois tendes esse saber,
 Querei ora a quem vos quer,
 Dae ó demo a opinião.
Ines —Andar Pero Marquez seja,
 Quero tomar por esposo
 Quem se tenha por ditoso
 De cada vez que me veja.
 Por usar de siso mero,
Asno que me leve quero,
E não cavalo folão;
Antes lebre que leão,
Antes lavrador que Nero.
 (*Ibid* , 341-342)

The play ends with their journey to a *romaria*, where Ines plans to meet a hermit who has declared his love for her. The unsuspecting Pero Marquez carries Ines on his shoulders across a river and eagerly complies with her every request.

From the foregoing analysis it can be seen that Gil Vicente's use of proverbs throughout the farce is conscious and deliberate. Moreover, the plot is determined entirely by the proverb which furnishes its theme, and the two husbands of Ines fall into the pattern set by the *cavalo* and *asno* mentioned in the *refrán*. As has been noted, too, there are in this brief play many other proverbs, and its style, throughout, is kept in harmony with its popular theme. Additional variety and interest are secured by means of other traditional elements, such as folk dances and songs. In view of the evidence furnished by the *Farça de Ines Pereira*, it may be

³⁶ Cf Garay, *Cartas*, in Sbarbi, *El refranero*, VII, 62. "La experiencia es madre de la ciencia."

claimed for Gil Vicente, then, that he was the first of the Peninsular dramatists to make conscious thematic use of proverbs, and that in this respect also he was the precursor of the great Lope and other dramatists of the Golden Age.

Other proverbs in the works of Gil Vicente³⁷ are as follows:

A muita reprensão
 Busca mui pocos amigos ³⁸ (*Auto da Lusitania*, II, 389)
 Al Mouro muerto matallo ³⁹ (*Dom Duardos*, III, 187)
 Aquel que mucho habla
 No tiene hecho ninguno ⁴⁰ (*Amadis de Gaula*, III, 209)
 A segundo são os tempos
 Assi hão de ser os tentos ⁴¹ (*Auto da Feira*, I, 53)
 A ruim comprador
 Levar-lhe ruim bocado ⁴² (*Auto da Feira*, I, 41)
 As vezes o tempo cura
 O que a razão não sara ⁴³ (*Auto da Lusitania*, II, 389)
 Assi sêco como he
 Beberá a tôrre da sé (*Auto da Fê*, I, 59)
 Ausencia aparta amor.⁴⁴ (*Amadis de Gaula*, III, 221)
 Bom he dencaminhar
 O gato pera o toucinho (*O Juiz da Beira*, II, 359)
 Caza mata el porfiar ⁴⁵ (*Farça dos Fisicos*, II, 408)
 Echar agua en la mar ⁴⁶ (*Triumpho do Inverno*, II, 230)
 El amor verdadero
 El mas firme es el primero ⁴⁷ (*Amadis de Gaula*, III, 221)
 El asno muerto cevada.⁴⁸ (*Auto da Barca da Gloria*, III, 89)
 El casamiento alongado

³⁷ A list of forty-four proverbs collected from the works of Gil Vicente was published by Dr. Mendes dos Remedios in his edition, *Obras de Gil Vicente*, III, 366-370

³⁸ Cf. Rodríguez Marín, p. 310 "Mucho aconsejar no suele agradar "

³⁹ Correas, p. 46 "A moro muerto, gran lanzada "

⁴⁰ Cf. Rodríguez Marín, p. 412 "Quien más habla, menos hace "

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48 "A tales tiempos, tales atientos "

⁴² Cf. *Refranes que dicen las viejas tras el fuego*, p. 150 "A ruyn moçuelo ruín capisayuelo "

⁴³ Cf. Rodríguez Marín, p. 172 "El tiempo da remedio donde falta el consejo "

⁴⁴ Cf. Correas, p. 74 "La ausencia causa olvido", "Ausencia enemiga de amor."

⁴⁵ This proverb also appears in the *Nao d'Amores*, II, 133 "Porfia mata caza " See Correas, p. 401 "La porfia mata la caza "

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 563 "Echar agua en la mar "

⁴⁷ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 46. "El amor primero jamás se olvida, pepita le queda por toda la vida "

⁴⁸ *Refranes que dicen las viejas*, p. 150 "Al asno muerto, ponetle la cebada al rabo"; Correas, p. 68 "El asno muerto, la cebada al rabo", Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, Art., *asno*. Al asno muerto, la cebada al rabo quando se vienen a remunerar los beneficios, a tiempo que el hombre no puede gozar dellos por estar cercano a la muerte "

Pocas veces se vió hecho ⁴⁹ (*Floresta de Enganos*, II, 123)
 El diablo no es tan feo
 Como Apeles lo pintaba ⁵⁰ (*Amadis de Gaula*, III, 215)
 El mal, por fuerte que sea
 Llorallo no es remedio (*Ibid*, 229)
 El mucho blazonar
 Nunca hizo grande hecho (*Triumpho do Inverno*, II, 201)
 El principio de amores
 Es comienzo de tristeza ⁵¹ (*Amadis de Gaula*, III, 212)
 El que pregunta no yerra ⁵² (*Auto da Fé*, II, 7)
 El tiempo nunca usó
 De ayudar á quien lo pierde ⁵³ (*Amadis de Gaula*, III, 229)
 Em cinza t' has de tornar ⁵⁴ (*O Juiz da Beira*, II, 366)
 Em tempo de figos
 Não ha hi nenhuns amigos.⁵⁵ (*Pranto de Maria Parda*, I, 388)
 Es raiz de todo mal
 Conversación (*Comedia do Viuvo*, III, 134)
 Fermosa sem amor
 He como o sol de Janeiro,
 Que sempre anda traz do outeiro,

 Ou como poupa em queimada
 Bem pintada e mal lograda
 Ou he frol de pessegueiro
 Fermosa e não presta nada ⁵⁶ (*Comedia de Rubena*, II, 43)
 Filho de clérigo é
 Nunca bô feito farás. (*O Clerigo da Beira*, I, 343)
 França e Roma não se fez n'hum dia ⁵⁷ (*Auto da Historia de Deos*, I, 166)
 Grão e grão gallo farta ⁵⁸ (*O Clerigo da Beira*, I, 357)
 Isso he quem porcos ha menos ⁵⁹ (*Auto da India*, II, 256)

⁴⁹ Cf. Rodríguez Marín, p. 150 "El casamiento del tío Porra, que duró treinta años y no llegó la hora"

⁵⁰ Correas, p. 346 "No es el diablo tan feo como le pinta el miedo"

⁵¹ Cf. Rodríguez Marín, p. 137 "Donde hay amor hay dolor"

⁵² *Ibid*, p. 339 "Quien pregunta, no yerra, si la pregunta no es necia" See also Juan Ruiz, *Libro de buen amor*, ed. Cejador, II, 31, 955 "Ca, segund dize la fabla, quien pregunta non yerra"

⁵³ Cf. Rodríguez Marín, p. 173 "El tiempo que una vez se pierde, nunca más vuelve"; and p. 483 "Tiempo ido, para siempre perdido" ⁵⁴ Cf. Genesis, 3:19

⁵⁵ Rodríguez Marín, p. 194 "En tiempo de higos, no hay amigos"

⁵⁶ Cf. *Ibid*, p. 136 "Doncella sin amor, rosa sin olor"

⁵⁷ Cf. Correas, p. 360 "No se ganó Zamora en un hora, ni Roma se fundó luego toda"

⁵⁸ Cf. *Refranes que dicen las viejas*, p. 160 "Grano a grano, finche la gallina el papo"

⁵⁹ This proverb also appears in the *Auto da Lusitania*, II, 390 "Quem porcos acha menos, em cada mouta lhe roncão." See also Correas, p. 425 "Quien puerkos ha menos, le gruñen tras cada soto."

Mao camino leva o abbade (*Auto da Cananea*, I, 192)
 Mostraís de una muestra,
 Despues vendeís falso paño (*Trovas a Felipe Guilhem*, III, 258)
 Não he sesudo o juiz,
 Que tem geito no que diz,
 E não acerta o que faz (*Auto da Mofina Mendes*, I, 2)
 Não sam eu Marta a piadosa
 Que dou caldo aos enforcados ⁶⁰ (*O Juiz da Beira*, II, 355)
 Não se tomão trutas
 Assi a bragas enxutas ⁶¹ (*Ibid*, 362)
 No hay consejo en bien querer ⁶² (*Amadis de Gaula*, III, 228)
 No puede ser mal tan malo
 Que no tenga algun remedio (*Ibid.*, III, 209)
 Nunca dá peneirada
 Que não derrame a farinha (*Auto da Feira*, I, 56)
 Nunca cosa buena
 Sin amor se concertó (*Fragoa d' Amor*, II, 159)
 Nunca o falar descortes
 Aproveitou pera nada,

 Muito dana o mao falar
 E aproveita a cortesia (*Auto da Lusitania*, II, 390)
 O dano da molher
 Sempre lhe entra pelo ouvido (*Ibid.*, 391)
 O sages mercador
 Ha de levar ao mercado
 O que lhe comprão melhor (*Auto da Feira*, I, 50)
 Onde força ha perdemos direito.⁶³ (*Auto da Historia de Deos*, I, 148)
 Para el perro que es travieso
 Bueno palo, valiente y grueso. (*Amadis de Gaula*, III, 209)
 Para jaula es la cigüeña. (*Auto da Lusitania*, II, 400)
 Pared cayada
 Papel de locos ⁶⁴ (*Sermão*, III, 248)
 Perdida he a decoada
 Na cabeça d'asno pegada.⁶⁵ (*O Juiz da Beira*, II, 354)
 Pobreza e alegria
 Nunca dormem n'hũa cama ⁶⁶ (*Romagem de Aggravados*, I, 284)
 Por bem querer, mal haver ⁶⁷ (*Auto Pastoral Português*, I, 30)

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p 293 "Marta la piadosa, que daba el caldo a los ahorcados."

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p 362 "No se toman truchas a bragas enjutas"

⁶² Cf Rodríguez Marín, p 145: "El amor no quiere consejo"

⁶³ *Refranes que dicen las viejas*, p 156. "Do fuerça viene, derecho se pierde"

⁶⁴ *Correas*, p 384 "Pared blanca, papel de necios"

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p 390 "Perdida es la leija en cabeza de asno"

⁶⁶ Cf *Ibid*, p 396. "La pobreza hace al hombre estar en tristeza"

⁶⁷ Cf *Ibid*, p 399: "Por bien hacer, mal haber, mas no se deje de hacer"

Por si, si, e por não, não ⁶⁸ (*O Juiz da Beira*, II, 353)
 Puede ser mayor ceguera
 Que querer nadie encubrir
 El cielo con la juera? (*Comedia de Rubena*, II, 22)
 Púsose el perro en bragas de acero ⁶⁹ (*Sermão*, III, 247)
 Quando te dão o porquinho,
 Vae logo co baracinho ⁷⁰ (*Triumpho do Inverno*, II, 212)
 Que aun que tal capa me veis
 Tengo mas que pensareis ⁷¹ (*Auto da India*, II, 261)
 Que o dar quebra os penedos ⁷² (*Barca do Inferno*, I, 112)
 Que quem casa por amores
 Não vos he nega dolores ⁷³ (*Auto Pastoril Portugues*, I, 25)
 Quien no anda no gana ⁷⁴
 (*Comedia Sobre a Divisa da Cidade de Coimbra*, II, 7)
 Quem bem renega, bem crê ⁷⁵ (*Auto da Barca do Purgatorio*, I, 140)
 Quien canta no tien tormento (*Triumpho do Inverno*, II, 202)
 Quem dinheiro tem
 Fará tudo o que quizer ⁷⁶ (*Floresta de Enganos*, II, 96)
 Quem muito pede
 . . muito fede ⁷⁷ (*Pranto de Maria Parda*, I, 390)
 Quem não parece esquece ⁷⁸ (*Do Conde do Vimioso*, I, 395)
 Quien pierde marea, pierde viage (*Nao de Amores*, II, 136)
 Quereis conhecer o ruím
 Dae-lhe o officio a servir (*Templo d'Apolo*, II, 190; *Auto da Fama*, II, 44)
 Queres tú enriquecer?

 Gana mucho y gasta poco (*Triumpho do Inverno*, II, 209)
 Sabes de achaque de ygreja.⁷⁹ (*Auto Pastoril Castellano*, III, 23)
 Sob mao panno
 Está o bom bebedor ⁸⁰ (*Auto da Feira*, I, 52)
 Temo, Satan, que esta mercadoria,

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p 458 "sí por sí, no por no"

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p 504 "Vídose el perro en bragas de cerro y maravillóse" *Refranes que dice las viejas*, p 173 "Vídose el perro en bragas de cerro"

⁷⁰ Correias, p 140 "Quando te dieran la cochinita, acorre luego con la soguilla"

⁷¹ *Ibid*, p 147 "Aunque me veis con este capote, otro tengo allá en el monte"

⁷² *Ibid*, p 147 "Dádivas quebrantan peñas"

⁷³ *Ibid*, p 108 "Casado por amores, casado con dolores"

⁷⁴ Rodríguez Marín, p 414. "Quien no anda no gana"

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p 393 "Quien bien renega, bien cree"

⁷⁶ Correias, p 419. "Quien dineros tiene, hace lo que quiere"

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p 423 "Quien mucho pide, mucho hiede"

⁷⁸ Cf Rodríguez Marín, p 417 "Quien no parece, perece"

⁷⁹ Correias, p 397 "Poco sabéis de achaque de Igreja, de Iglesia."

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p 151. "Debajo de mala capa hay buen bebedor" *Refranes que dicen las viejas*, p 17. "So mala capa yace buen bevedor."

Que temos aqui, he braza no seio ⁸¹ (*Auto da Historia de Deos*, I, 166)

Toda a comedia começa em dolores

(*Comedia Sobre a Dúvida da Cidade de Coimbra*, II, 67)

Todoz loz caminos

A la puente van a dar. ⁸² (*Farça das Ciganas*, III, 241)

Tomae raposa em laço ⁸³ (*Romagem de Aggravados*, I, 291)

Una cosa piensa el bayo

y otra quien lo ensilla ⁸⁴ (*Pranto de Maria Parda*, I, 387)

Vase la vieja al molino ⁸⁵ (*O Juiz da Beira*, II, 358)

Vilão farto, pé dormente. ⁸⁶ (*Quem tem farellos*, II, 243)

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⁸¹ Correias, p. 87 "Brasa trae en su seno la que cria hijo ajeno "

⁸² Cf. Rodríguez Marín, p. 486 "Todos los caminos van a Roma "

⁸³ Correias, p. 432 "Raposa vieja no se toma en lazo ni percha", and p. 505 "La vieja raposa con lazo no se toma "

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p. 496 "Uno piensa el bayo y otro el que le ensilla " *Refranes que dicen las viejas*, p. 172 "Uno piensa el vayo, é otro el que lo ensilla "

⁸⁵ Correias, p. 219 "Fué la vieja al molino, tal vengas cual ella vino "

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 506 "Villano harto, pie entumido "

VI

SOURCES OF JOHN RASTELL'S THE NATURE OF THE FOUR ELEMENTS

WHAT "connyng Laten bokys" provided the scientific data for John Rastell's *The Nature of the Four Elements*? There were many books to choose from, in fact, so many Rastell claims, that if translators would busy themselves turning them into English, "All subtell sciens in Englishsche myght be lernyd"¹

Rastell's case against the English translators of scientific works² assumes definite importance when we consider that before 1519, the year which it is agreed he was writing,³ only one work dealing with natural science, Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De Proprietatibus Rerum*⁴ had been translated into English and printed in England. Five years earlier, Caxton had translated and printed the French cosmographical treatise: *Image du Monde*.⁵ And there is internal proof in the *Four Elements* that Rastell obtained some of his data from each of these works.

During the seventy-nine year interval between 1440, which marks the invention of printing and 1519, a significantly large number of Latin editions of the important Greek works concerning natural science came from the presses in Rome, Venice, Paris, Strassburg, and Augsburg. During this same time, new editions of important Latin works on science were put out by continental printers in even greater numbers.⁶

¹ John Rastell, *The Nature of The Four Elements* (London: Tudor Facsimile Texts, 1908) No pagination

² See H. R. Palmer, *List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics Printed Before 1641* (London, 1911); C. H. Conley, *The First English Translations of the Classics* (New Haven, 1927); H. B. Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman* (Madison, 1933)

³ The date of the play's composition is discussed by Fred S. Boas in *Introduction to Tudor Drama* (Oxford, 1933) p. 8. See also, A. W. Reed, *Early Tudor Drama* (Oxford, 1926)

⁴ Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum* trans. John de Trevisa, *Concerning the Properties of Things* (Westminster. Wynken de Worde, ca. 1495)

⁵ *Image Du Monde* trans. W. Caxton, *Murour of the World* (London: W. Caxton, ca. 1490)

⁶ The following is a list of the more important translations: Euclid, *Liber Elementorum* three; Strabo, *Geographia* eight; Aristotle, complete works three, and his separate works thirty-six; Proclus, *De Sphaera* three; Ptolemy, *Cosmographia* five, *Geographia* six, and *Almagest* one. The number of editions of Latin works is as follows: Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* fifteen; Sacrobosco, *Tractatus Sphaerae* sixteen; Albertus Magnus, shorter works on natural science seventeen; Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum* three. Cf. J. Grasse, *Tresor de Livres Rares Et Precieuses* (London, 1859), W. A. Copinger, *A Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum* (London, 1895), S. V. Panzer, *Annales Typographici* (Nurnberg, 1793-1803). See also, the catalogue of the library of Christopher Columbus, which lists 423

As the figures show, Rastell's charges were well-founded. He goes even further and declares that most of the contemporary English works

Of toyes and tryfellys be made and imprynted
And few of them of matter substancyall⁷

His taunts, however, fell on deaf ears. There were no works on "philosophy naturall," that is to say, there were no cosmographies written in England between 1476 and 1519.⁸ Germany in this period was the center of scientific learning. And it was from the works of Gregorius Reisch and Martin Waldseemüller, two of her greatest sixteenth century scholars and their predecessor, Sacrobosco⁹ that Rastell learned his Euclid, Aristotle, Strabo and Ptolemy as well as the new "arguments" in science. Sixteen editions of Reisch's *Margarita Philosophica* were printed between 1503 and 1515. He made a new translation of Ptolemy's *Geographia* and published it in Rome in 1508.¹⁰ Waldseemüller published the first edition of his *Cosmographiae Introductio* with an accompanying map and globe in 1507, and there were five more editions printed by 1518. His great edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia* was printed in Strassburg in 1513.¹¹

Since the plot of the *Four Elements* and the several controversial issues concerning authorship and date of composition have been so thoroughly treated by C. F. Tucker Brooke,¹² A. W. Reed,¹³ and F. S. Boas¹⁴ in their

books and mss. compiled by his son, Ferdinand *Catalogue of the Library of Ferdinand Columbus* facsimile A. M. Huntington (New York, 1905), and *El Bibliotheca Colombino Catalogo* ed. Servando Arboli y Farvando (Seville, 1888) Vols. I-VI. For an account of the 1515 edition of the *Almagest* and the importance of Gerard de Cremona's *Preface* see Karl Young, "Chaucer's Aphorisms from Ptolemy" *SP*, xxxiv, 1-7. ⁷ *Op. cit.*

⁸ See E. G. Taylor, "Catalogue of Geographical Works" *Tudor Geography 1485-1583* (London: Methuen, 1930), Appendix I, p. 171.

⁹ A bibliography of Sacrobosco's important work *Tractatus de Sphaera* (ca. 1250) has been compiled by Otto Harrassowitz. He lists three mss. from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, nine prints from the fifteenth century, and thirty printed editions from 1470 to 1626. Sixteen editions of the work appeared between 1488-1519, usually with additions and under various titles, *De Sphaera*, *Opus sphaericum figuris*, etc., *Sphaericum Opusculum*. See, Otto Harrassowitz, *Bibliography of Tractatus de Sphaera* (Leipzig, 1922).

¹⁰ *A list of the Editions of the Margarita Philosophica 1510-99* ed. Wilberforce-Eames (New York: N. Y. P. L., 1886) gives an account of each edition and also, the pirated editions printed by the Strasburg printer, John Gruninger.

¹¹ The life and works of Waldseemüller are best treated in D'Arvezac-Macaya's *Martin Hylacomylus Waldseemüller, Ses Ouvrages et Ses Collaborateurs* (Paris, 1867). Besides the *Cosmographiae Introductio* Waldseemüller wrote a treatise on architecture and perspective for Gruninger's 1508 and 1511 pirated editions of Reisch's *Margarita Philosophica*. His other works are *Instructio Manuductionem Praestans*, etc. (1511), and an edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia* (1513-20) both published in Strassburg.

¹² C. F. Tucker Brooke, *The Tudor Drama* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1911).

¹³ *Op. cit.* ¹⁴ *Op. cit.*

respective critical studies of the play, only Rastell's sources will be presented here.

For the sake of simplicity and clearness, passages from the *Four Elements* and the corresponding sources are juxtaposed to each other in parallel columns. These are grouped under each of the ten points that are listed in the Prologue as "contayning the divers matters" to be discussed in the play.

I. Of the sytuacyon of the IIII elements that is to sey the yerth the water the ayre the fyre and of theyr qualytes and propertese, and of the generacyon and corrupcyon of thynges made of the commyxton of them.

Textus de Sphaera

Universalis autem mundi machina in duo dividitur in aetheream scilicet et elementarem regionem. Elementaris quidam alterationi continuae pervia existentes in quattuor dividitur. Est enim terra tamque mundi centrum in medio omnium sita circa quam aqua circa quam aer circa aerem ignis illic purus et non turbidus orbis luna attingens ut ait Aristotles in libro meteororum, sic enim ea disposuit deum gloriosus et sublimis. Et haec quattuor elementa dicuntur quam vicissim a semetipsis alterantur: corrumpuntur et generantur. Sunt autem elementa corpore simplicia que in partes diversarum formarum minime dividi possunt. Ex quorum commixtione diversa generatorum species fiunt.¹⁵

Margarita Philosophica

Di Generationem mutationem a non esse ad esse, et Corruptionem ab esse ad non esse libro ii supra defineras. *Mag* Probe. Hic autem eadem repetenda censui: ut planiora fiant. Non enim intellegendum est vel generationem a simpliciter non esse incipi vel etiam corruptionem ad purum nihil terminari: quorum primum creationi secundum autem annihilationi deputa-

Four Elements

The great worlde be holde lo devydyd wondersly
In to two regyons wherof on I call
The etheriall region with the hevyns hye
Conteynyng the plenettys, sterres and spheris all
The lower region callyd the elemental
Conteynyng these IIII elementis below
The fyre the ayre the water and yerth also
But yet the elementis and other bodyes all
Beneth take theyr effectys and operacyons
Of the bodyes in the region ethereall
By theyr influens and constellacyons
They cause here corrupcyons and generacyons

.

These elementis of themselfe so syngle be
Unto dyvers formys can not be devydyd
Yet they commyx to gyder dayly ye see
Wherof dyvers kyndes of thynges be ingenderyd
Which thynges eftsonys whan they be corrupted
Yche element I reduce to his furst estate

¹⁵ Johannes Sacrobosco, *Textus de Sphaera* (Paris: Henricus Stephanus, 1511), cap. secundum

tum est, ut autem quod volo enucleatus accipias duplicem generationem ab Aristotele distinctam prosequemur . Generatio vero simpliciter dicta rursus bifarie scinditur Quaedam enim est per quam in primam materiam substantialis forma statim introducitur, et corruptione opposita omnis forma usque ad materiam primam rursus separatur Hanc Aristoteles ab alteratione distinguens ait Generatio est mutatio hujus totius in hoc totum nullo sensibili manente eodem ut subjecto ut cum ex aere sit ignis, totus aer in totum ignem transmutatur, accipiendo totum cathegorematicè non autem sincathegorematicè, non enim quaelibet pars aeris in quamlibet partem ignis convertitur manet eadem materia prima quae prius erat sub forma aeris, nunc sub forma ignis, sed haec sensibilis non est, ut altera descriptionis particula explicat Cum igitur materia via naturae sine formis esse non possit, necesse est ut corruptionem unius generatio alterius subsequatur ¹⁶

So that nothyng can be utterly adny-
chelte
For though the forme and facyon of
any thyng
That is a corporall body be destroyed
Yet every matter remaynyth in his
beynge
Wherof it was furst made and formyd
For corrupcyon of a body commyxyd
Ys but the resolucyon by tyme and
space
Of every element to his owne place
For who that wyll take any body cor-
porall
And do what he can it to distroy
To breke it or grynde it into powder
small
To washe to drown to bren it or to dry
Yet the ayre and fyre therof naturally
To their owne proper places wyll as-
cende
The water to the water the yerth to the
yerth tende
For yf hete or moysture of any thyng
certayne
By fyre or by water be consumyd
Yet yerth or ashes on yerth wyll re-
mayne
So the elementis can never be destroyed
For essencially ther is now at this tyde
As much fyre ayre water yerth as was
Ever before this tyme nether more nor
las ¹⁷

II. Of certain conclusions provyng that the yerth must nedes be rounde and that it hengyth in the myddes of the fyrmament, and that it is in circumference above xxi M myle

Murrou of the World

Now then plesse it you to here for to devyse playnly to you how the erthe is round . For neyther mountayne ne valeys, how somever hye ne depe it be, taketh not away fro' therthe his

Four Elements

Yet the hyllys and mounteyns of the yerth excesse
Take nothyng of hit a way the roundnes
In comparison bycause they be so small

¹⁶ Gregorius Reisch, *Margarita Philosophica* (Strasburg: J. Gruninger, 1508), Liber viii, ca. xxxiii

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*

roundenesse, no more than the galle
leveth to be round for his prickis .¹⁸

No more than the prikkes do that be
on a gall¹⁹

Textus de Sphaera

De etiam sit rotunda sic patet. Signa
et stellae non equaliter oriuntur et
occidunt omnibus hominibus ubique
existentibus, sed prius oriuntur et
occidunt illis qui sunt verus orientem,
et quo citius et tardi oriuntur et oc-
cidunt quibusdam causa est tumor
terrae Una enim et eadem eclypsis
lunae numero quam apparet orientali-
bus circa horam noctis tertiam²¹

Stud. D Therefore in reason it semyth
most conveyent

The yerth to hange in the myddes of
the fyrmament²⁰

Hum Thyne argument in that poynt
doth me confounde

That thou hast made but yet it provyth
not ryght

That the yerth by reason shulde be
rounde.

.

Stud. D. That it (earth) cannot be
playne I shall well prove the

Because the starris that a ryse in the
oryent

Appere more soner to them that there
be

Than do the other dwellynge in the
occident

The eclypse is therof a playne expery-
mente

Of the sone or mone which whane it do
the fall

Is never one tyme of the day in placys
all

Yet the eclyps generally is always

In the hole worlde as one tyme beynge

But when we that dwell here see it in
the mornynge

And they in the est beholde it in the
evenyng

And why that sholde so be no cause
can be found

But only by reason that the yerth is
rownde.²²

¹⁸ *Image du Monde* ed. O. H. Prior (London: Early Eng. Text Soc., 1912), p. 57

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*

²⁰ In the Preface to the *Murroure*, Caxton declares that "the universal erthe hangeth in the myddle of the same (firmament)."

²¹ *Op. cit.*, cap. quantum

²² *Op. cit.*

Margarita Philosophica

"De terrae rotunditate "

Dis. Potest ne quantitas terrae humano ingenio investigari? *Mag* Etiam. *Dis.* Quomodo? *Mag* Sumpto astrolabio aut quadrante per ambo foramina stellae alicujus tibi note altudinem perpendiculum in limbo consydera: et ad quamvis mundi plagam perge: donec eadem stella uno gradu altior aut depressior videatur in superficie terrae uni gradui in coeli correspondeat: quod in miliaria sive stadio propitum et in gradus coeli qui sunt 360 multiplicatum terrae ambitum dabit Unde cum juxta Ptolomei traditionem in cosmographiae gradui uni in coeli in superficie terrae correspondeant stadio 500 manifestum est quorum totius terrae ambitus habet stadia 180,000 Haec faciunt miliaria Italica 21,600. . .²⁴

Stud D. But I knowe a man callyd expyrens
Of dyvers instrumentys is never without
Cowde prove all these poyntys and yet by his scyens
Can tell how many myle the erthe is a bowte²³

(Rastell gives the earth's circumference as "above xxi M myle.")

III Of certeyn conclusions provynge that the see lyeth rounde uppon the yerth.

Mirroure of the World

"How the four elements been set."

The fyre which is the firste (element) encloseth this ayer in which we bee and this ayer encloseth the water after which holdeth hym all aboute the erthe all in lichewise as is seen of an egge and as the *whyte encloseth the yolke*.²⁵

Four Elements

Nat. The ayre which is hote and moyst also
And the fyre which is ever hote and dry
About the yerth and water Joyntly they go
And compasse them every where orbicularly
As the *whyte a bout the yolke of an egge doth lye* ²⁶

Margarita Philosophica

"De dispositione aquae "

Dis. Rotunditatem aquae quaeso manifestius ostendas videtur enim haec et sensui et rationi multum extranea. *Mag.* Quibusdam de ejus rotunditate

Ex Ye doubtles sayle northwarde ryse it (north star) wyl
And sayle southwarde it falleth styl
And that provyth the see rounde

²³ *Ibid* ²⁴ *Op cit*, Liber VII, Trac. I, cap xlviii

²⁵ *Op cit* p. 33. ²⁶ *Op cit*.

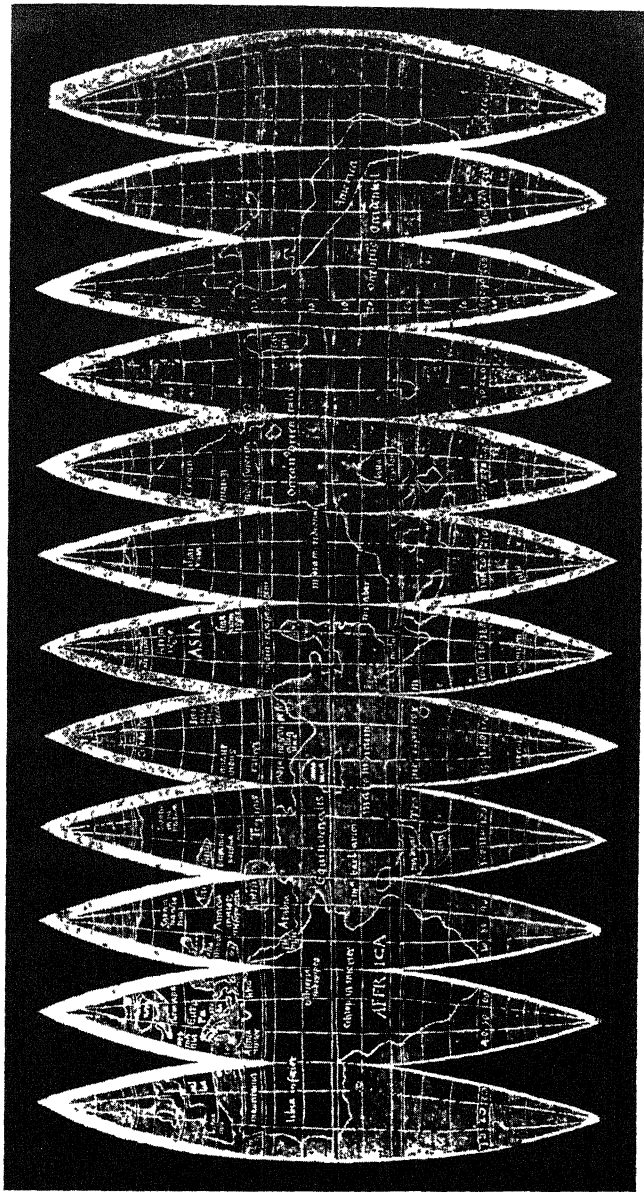
dubitantibus tale a doctis obicitur
 argumentum Si in littore maris signum
 aliquod ponitur navisque in aqua ab
 eodem in tantum aelongatur. donec
 oculus circa malum navis signum in
 littore videre non possit adhuc oculus
 in sumitate ejusdem mali existens vide-
 bit: cujus tamen oppositum de neces-
 sitate contingeret si tumor aquae non
 resisteret Nam linea a sumitate mali
 ad signum in littore positum protracta
 longior est quanque linea a pede mali
 ad idem signum ducta et ita res . . .
 per eam minus visibilis est ²⁷

Stu. So doth it in myne oppynyon
 But knowe you any other conclusyon
 To prove it rounde save that alone
Ex Ye that I know ryght well
 As thus marke well whan the see is
 clere
 That no storme nor wawe theron doth
 pere
 This maryners can tell
 Than if a fyre be made at nyght
 Upon the shore that gyveth great light
 And a shyp in the see farre
 They in the toppe the fyre se shall
 And they on the hache nothyng e t all
 Yet they on hatches be nerer
 Also on the see where men be saylyng
 Farre from lande they se nothyng
 But the water and the skye
 Yet whan they drawe the lande more
 nere
 Than the hyll toppes begyn to apere
 Styll the nere more hye and hye
 As though they were styll growyng
 faste
 Out of the see tyll at laste
 Whan they come the shore to
 They se the hyll toppe fote and all
 Which thyng so coulede not befall
 But the see lay rounde also ²⁸

IV. Of certeyne poyntes of cosmography as how and where the see coveryth the yerth, and of dyvers straunge regyons and landys and whiche wey they lyc and of the new founde landys and the maner of the people.

In developing the fourth point, it is evident that Rastell obtained his data concerning the new world, from both a text and a map or globe. The fact that he names Amerigo Vespucci as the discoverer of the new world points significantly to his use of Martin Waldseemuller's *Cosmographiae Introductio*, in which the claim for the discovery is made solely for the Florentine. And it also suggests the use of Waldseemuller's map

²⁷ Liber VII, cap. xlii. M. E. Borish points out this parallel in "Sources and Intentions of the Four Elements" *SP* xxxv, pp. 149-163. He does not, however, note that Sacrobosco uses the same example of the ship to prove his point. Cf. *Textus de Sphaera op. cit.*, cap. sextum. The chapter heading is "De aqua sit rotunda." ²⁸ *Op. cit.*



Globe goes attributed to Martin Waldseemüller, 1509 Both continents in the new world are sketched as one The name *America* is marked on the portion in the second gothic from the top

and globe²⁹ on which he marked the name America, a Latin version of Amerigo.³⁰

The reason that Waldseemuller gives for honoring Vespucci is advanced in almost identical terms by Rastell in the *Four Elements*:

Cosmographiae Introductio

Four Elements

Et quarta orbis pars (quam quia	But this newe lands founde lately
Americus invenit Amerigen, quasi	Ben callyd america by cause only
Americi terram sive Americam, nun	Americus dyd furst them fynde ³²
cupare licet) sitae sunt ³¹	

Rastell used the *Cosmographiae Introductio* as a sort of textbook to aid him in discussing and defining various "poyntes of Cosmography."³³ And he follows closely Waldseemuller's directions for computing distance:

²⁹ In 1900 Prof J. Fischer, S. J. discovered a copy of the long lost Waldseemuller map in the library of the Castle Wolfegg in Wurtemberg. See Martin Waldseemuller, *Cosmographiae Introductio* facsimile Introduction by J. Fischer, S. J. and Rev. Franz Von Weiser, ed. Chas. G. Herbermann (New York: U. S. Cat. Hist. Soc., 1907). The globe's gores which have been attributed to Waldseemuller by Fischer, de Varnhagen, and Gallois are in the Hauslab-Liechtenstein Collection at Vienna. The markings on the gores agree in every detail with Waldseemuller's statements concerning the differences between his map "in solido quam plano." Waldseemuller, *op. cit.* Intro. by Fischer, Chap. IV, pp. 23-30. F. A. de Varnhagen, *Jos. Schöner o. P. Apianus (Buenewitz): Influencia de um o outro e de varios de seus contemporaneos* (Vienna, 1872) p. 47; L. Gallois, *Les Géographes allemands de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1890) p. 48.

³⁰ Prof. Fred S. Boas, when a guest professor at Columbia University (1935), read this paper at one of his lectures and remarked that he was convinced after studying the parallels and closely examining Waldseemuller's map, that Rastell was greatly indebted to the cosmographer for his data.

³¹ *Op. cit.* p. xxv. Waldseemuller explains further, "Nunc verso et haec partes sunt latius lustratae et alia quarta pars per Americum Vesputium (ut in sequentibus audietur) inventa est quam non video cur quis jure vetet ab Americo inventore sagacis ingenii viro Amerigen quasi Americi terram, sive Americam dicendam cum et Europa et Asia a mulieribus sua fortita sint nomina. Ejus situm et gentis mores ex his binis Americi navigationibus quae sequuntur liquide intelligi datur" p. xxx.

³² *Op. cit.*

³³ *Cosmographiae Introductio*

Four Elements

Horizon (quem finitorem quoque dicunt) est sphaerae circulus major supernus hemisphaerium ab inferiori dividens. Estque is in quem sub divo consistentium circumducentiumque oculos videtur obtutus deficere: qui et partem coeli visam a non visa dirimere cernitur. *Op. cit.* p. xi. *Poli* . . . sunt puncta coeli axem terminantia ita fixa ut nunquam moveantur sed perpetuo eodem loco maneant. *Ibid.* p. vii. (Quadrans) Cujus hic est usus. Verte eum ita ut per pinnularum foramina polum directe

The sercle partynge the yerth and skye
As ye loke streyght with your eye,
Which is called your *oryson*

Op. cit.

Ye see the North Staree in the skye
Mark well ye shall benethe it spy
That ever it doth remove
But this I assure you if you go
Northwarde an hundreth myle or two
Ye shall thynke it ryseth

Cosmographiae Introductio

Quod si scire volueris quot ab uno loco ad alium millaria sint, perpende diligenter in quibus gradibus latitudinis sint talia loca et quot gradus medient deinde vide in formula superiori quot millaria talis gradus habeat et multiplica numerum, milliarium per numerum mediorum graduum, atque milliarium numerus resultabit . . . Haec per introductione ad *Cosmographiam* dicta sufficient si te modo amoverimus prius nos in depingendis tabulis typi generalis non omnimodo sequutos esse Ptholomaeum praesertim circa novas terras ubi in cartis marinis aliter animadvertimus aequatorem constitui quaequam Ptholomaeus faecerit. . . . Fuit igitur necesse (quod ipse sibi etiam faciundum ait) ad novas temporis nostri traditiones magis intendere. Et ita quidem temporavimus rem ut in plano circa novas terras et alia quaequam Ptholomaeum in solido vero quod plano additur descriptionem Americi subsequentem sectati fuimus³⁶

videas et ad quod clima atque in quem gradum perpendiculum ceciderit eo ipso climate et elevationis gradu tua regio quinetiam *zenith* atque horizontis centrum existit.

Ibid p xxxviii.

³⁴ The stage direction earlier in the play, "Hic intrat Studios Desire portans figuram," suggests a globe rather than a map, however, Waldseemüller's map was of such large proportions and being made of wood, it could be described as a "figure." In Fr Fischer's description of it, he writes, "Although Waldseemüller in the *Cosmographiae Introductio* remarks that his map is of larger dimensions than the globe . . . the newly found original print nevertheless caused a sensation on account of its impressive size, abundant contents, and the artistic merit of its adornment. The map consists of twelve sections engraved on wood, and is arranged in three zones, each of which contains four sections. Each section measures to its edge 45×62 cm (18×24½ in.) The map, covering thus a space of three square meters—about 36 square feet—represents the earth's form in a modified Ptolemaic coniform projection with curved meridians." Waldseemüller *op. cit* Intro pp. 16–17. See also Chas G Herbermann, "The Waldseemüller Map of 1507" *Hist Records and Studies* (U S. Catholic Hist. Soc., 1904) vol. 3, pp 320–342.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*

³⁶ *Op. cit.* p. xxxvii–xxxviii

Four Elements

Stu Syr yf a man have such corage
Or devocyon in pylgrymage
Jheruzalem unto

.

How many myle is it I you pray
Exp From hens theder to goo
Syr as for all suche questyons
Of townes to know the sytuacyon
How ferr they be a sunder
And other poyntes of cosmograpfy
Ye shall never learn them more surely
Than by that fygure yonder³⁴
For who that fygure dyd fyrst devyse
It seemyth well he was wyse
And perfyte in this scyens
For bothe the se and lande also
Lye trew and just as they sholde do
I know by experyens³⁵

And how that it is nere aproched
The poynt over the top of your head
Which is callyd your *zenyth*.

Op. cit.

Almost immediately Rastell follows up this speech with an illustrated lecture on geography delivered by his mouthpiece, Experyens. As was mentioned above, it appears most likely that he used the 1507 edition of Waldseemüller's map.³⁷ And the reference to Rome, which "in the myddes doth ly"³⁸ suggests that he is calling attention to the double eagle and the papal keys, symbols which Waldseemüller uses to mark the city:

Ex Syr this ys ynglande lyeng here
 And this is skotlandy that Joyneth hym nere
 Compassyd a boutte every where
 With the occian see rownde
 And next from them westwardly
 Here by hym selfe alone doth ly
 Ireland that holsome grounde
 Here than is the narowe seey
 To Calyce and Boleyne the next wey
 And flaunders in this parte
 Here lyeth fraunce next hym joynynge
 And spaynn southwarde from thens standynge
 And portyngale in this quart
 This countrey is callyd Italye
Beholde where Rome in the myddes doth ly
 And Naples here be yonde
 And this lytell See that here is
 Is callyd the Gulfe of Venys
 And here Venys doth stande
 As for Almayne lyeth this way
 Here lyeth denmark and norway
 And northwarde on this syde
 There lyeth Iselonde where men do fyshe
 But be yonde that so colde it is
 No man may there abyde
 This See is called the Great Occyan

 Tyll nowe within this xx yere

³⁷ Waldseemüller discarded his belief that Vespucci discovered the new world and did not use the name America on his *Carta Marina* (1515). See *The Oldest Map bearing the name America of the year 1507 and the Carta Marina of the year 1516* by Martin Waldseemüller, ed. Jos. Fischer, S.J. and Rev. Franz von Weiser (Innsbruck: Wagner's Univ. Press, 1903) p. 33. A thousand copies of the *Map* were printed by 1508. Waldseemüller wrote to his friend Ringman, "Cum dis diebus Bachanalibus solatu causa, qui mihi mos est, in Germaniam venissem e Gallia seu potius ex Vogesi oppido, cui nomen Sancto Deo dato, ubi ut nostri meo potissimum ductu labore, licet plerique alii falso sibi passim ascribant, Cosmographiam universalem tam solidam quam planam non sine gloria et laude per orbem disseminatam nuper composuimus depinximus et impressimus." D'Avezac-Macaya, *op cit*, pp. 109-110.

³⁸ The line italicized in the passage below.

Westwarde be founde new landes
 That we never harde tell of before this
 By wrytynge nor other meanys
 Yet many nowe have ben there ³⁹

Rastell continues the description of the new world but not without lamenting the ill-luck of those mariners who set out in search of it and missed their goal. Prof. Boas has pointed out an autobiographical reference in the speech, and proves from early records that Rastell was one of the many ill-fated pilots who attempted a voyage.⁴⁰ But some, Rastell claims, had been successful and had "sailed streyght by the coast side above 5000 myle." There can be no doubt that he knew of the discoveries of Columbus, the Cabots and Vespucci because accounts of their respective travels had been printed and widely circulated throughout Europe.⁴¹ But as Prof. Tucker Brooke remarks, "it is more probable that the author refers to the discovery of the new-lands, not by Columbus but by Ves-

³⁹ *Op cit* Though the evidence is fairly conclusive that Rastell used the (1507) *Map* M. E. Borish writes in "Sources and Intentions of *The Four Elements*" *SP*, xxxv, pp. 149-163, "There is nothing in the *Cosmographiae Introductio* to support HARRISSE's suggestion (Henry HARRISSE, *John Cabot The Discoverer of North America* [London 1896] p. 166) that this work was used by the dramatist." Prof. Borish claims that Rastell used REISCH's map, *Typus universalis terrae* included in the (1515) edition of the *Margarita Philosophica*. The crudely drawn north American continent on this map is inscribed "Zoana Mela." And the south American continent is marked "Paria sev Prinslia, Caput s. crucis, Boccia." The text on the reverse of the map reads "Nova terrae descriptio, Nova terrae succincta descriptio." Then follows the short description "Omnium terrae ambitum ad coeli spatium puncti obtinere rationem Astronomicis demonstrationibus constat. Ita ut si ad coelestis globi magnitudinem conferatur et nihil spaci prius breve indicetur." G. REISCH, *Margarita Philosophica* (Argentoraco J. Gruninger, 1515). Prof. G. B. Parks in "The Geography of the *Interlude of the Four Elements*" *PQ*, xxvii, pp. 251-262 claims that Rastell's map is lost, and he believes it must have lacked a South American continent.

⁴⁰ F. S. Boas, *op cit*, p. 8.

⁴¹ The letter *De Insulis* which Columbus wrote to his patron Gabriel Sanchez, describing his first voyage to the new world was printed in Seville in 1493. H. HARRISSE in the *Bib. Vetustissima Americana* (New York 1866) lists sixteen editions between 1493-95. It was popular throughout Europe, and particularly in Germany. Johannes Stamler in a letter to Jacob Locher, prefixed to the former's *Dyalogus* (Augustensis E. Oglin and G. Nadler, 1507) quotes Columbus opening sentence almost verbatim.

Columbus
 De insulis Indiae supra Gangem
 nuper inventis HARRISSE, *op cit*

Stamler
 Scripsisti nuper ut de insulis
 super Gangem dudum inventis
 certiorum redderem *Op cit*.

See writer's article "Johannes Stamler's *Dyalogus*" *PMLA*, LIII, 989-997. For a complete bibliography of Vespucci's works see Sabin, 99327-99383c. This section was prepared by Dr. Wilberforce Eames. The Cabots' discoveries on the North American continent are described by Peter Martire, *De Rebus Oceanicis et Orbe novo* (Seville, 1515); also HARRISSE, *John Cabot, op. cit.*

pucci and Cabot."⁴² It is strange that Rastell does not mention Columbus either by name or give him at least a veiled tribute as he does Cabot.

And also what an honorable thyng
Bothe to the realme and to the kynge
To have had his domynyon extendynge
There into so farre a grounde
Which the noble kynge of late memory
The most wyse prynce the vii Herry
Causyd furst for to be founde⁴³

Of the three mariners, Vespucci fares best. Besides being called by Rastell the discoverer of the new world, he is without doubt the mariner who sailed "5000 myle" along the coast. His several trips down the east coast of North and South America are described in the *Quattour Voyages* which Waldseemüller bound-in with the *Cosmographiae Introductio*. Vespucci writes of sailing northward along the mainland,

. . . sub parello qui cancri tropicum describit unum polus orizontis ejusdem sex xxi gradibus elevat in fine climatis secundi. . . . Postea aiunt portum illum terramque derelinquentes ac secundum collem transnavigantes et terram ipsam visu semper sequentes ⁴⁴

When he had sailed "Dccc. lxx leucas"⁴⁴ north from the twenty-third parallel, he reached according to Waldseemüller's map, thirty-eight degrees north latitude.

In the third voyage, he writes of guiding his ship by the "South pole" star, and reaching the fifty-second meridian:

. . . geret in tantum pervagatim fuimus ut meridianum polum super horizonta illum lli gradibus sublimatum invenerimus ⁴⁵

The entire length of these several voyages extending from 38 degrees N. lat. to 52 degrees S lat. amounts to 90 degrees which reduced to miles equals 5400 or "above 5000 myle" To reduce the 90 degrees to miles, Rastell had simply to quarter Reisch's estimate of the world's circumference (21,600) or use Waldseemüller's distance chart.⁴⁶

Rastell's descriptive passages showing the life and customs of peoples in the new world seem greatly influenced by Vespucci's account:

Voyages

Neminem in hac gente legem aliquam
observare vidimus nec quidem judei
aut mauri nuncupari solide quaerunt
cui ipsi gentilibus aut pagani multo

Four Elements

And what a great meritoryouse dede
It were to have the people instructed
To lyve more vertuously
.

⁴² Brooke, *op cit*, pp 73-74.

⁴³ *Op cit*

⁴⁴ Waldseemüller, *op. cit.*, p lxvii.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, pp. xciv-sciv.

⁴⁶ Waldseemüller, *op cit.*, p. xxxvi.

deteriores sint Etenim non persen-
simus que sacrificia ulla faciant aut quo
loca orationi suae domos aliquas ha-
beant horum vitam (quae omnino
voluptuosa est) ⁴⁷

Ipsaeque illorum domus campanarum
instar constructae sunt firmiter ex
magnis arboribus solidate palmarum
soliis ⁵⁰

Heccine gens victualibus quae in terra
solida sunt penitus carent quinymmo
ex piscibus quos in mari piscantur
vivunt. Etenim apud eos qui magni
piscatores existunt piscium ingens ha-
bundat copia ex quibus ipsi plurimos
turtures ac quamque bonos pisces alios
plures ultro nobis obtulerunt ⁵²

Ferro metallisque aliis carent sed pro
ferro bestiarum pisciumque dentibus
suas sagittas armant quas etiam (ut
fortiores existant) una quoque saepe
praeurunt. ⁵⁴

And also to know god their maker
Which as yet live all bestly
For they nother know God nor the
devell

Nor never harde tell of hevyn nor hell ⁴⁸

Buyldynge nor house they have none
at all

But wodes, cots and cavys small. ⁴⁹

Fysche they have so great plente
That in havyns take and slayne they be
With stavys withouten fayle ⁵¹

For they use no maner of yron
Nother in tole nor other wepon ⁵³

In the last part of this lengthy description of the world, Rastell divides it into four parts in much the same manner that Waldseemuller does in the *Cosmographiae Introductio*:

Et (ut ab ea in qua sumus parte
incipiamus) ad Europae miditullium
Rhomanas aquilas (quae regibus Euro-
pae dominatur) posuimus atque clave
summi patris patrum in signi ipsam
fere Europam (quae Rhomanam ec-
clesiam profitetur) cinximus. Aphricam
paene omnem et Asiae partem signavi-
mus lunulis. Sarmaticam Asiaticam
notavimus anchoris quas magnus Tar-
tarus pro insigni habet. Crux rubea
praesbyterum Joannem (qui et orientali
et meridionali Indiae praeest atque in
Biberith sedem tenet) representat.
Denique in quartam terrae partem per
inclytos Castiliae et Lusitaniae reges

The Soudans contrey lyeth here by
The great Turke on the north syde
doth ly

A man of merveyulous strengthe
This sayde north parte is callyd
Europa

And this southe parte callyd affrica
This eest part is callyd ynde

.....
This quarter is India minor
And this quarter India major
The lande of Preter John

.....
But estwarde on the see syde
A prynce there is that rulyth wyde
Callyd the Cane of Catowe

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p lvi

⁴⁸ *Op cit*

⁴⁹ *Ibid*

⁵⁰ Waldseemuller, *op. cit*, p lvi

⁵¹ *Op. cit*

⁵² Waldseemuller, *op. cit*, p lxxxii

⁵³ *Op. cit*

⁵⁴ Waldseemuller, *op cit*, p xlix.

reptam eorundem ipsorum insignia
posuimus⁵⁵

And this is called the great eest see
Which goth all a longe this wey
Towardes the new landis agayne⁵⁶

V Of the generacyon and cause of stone and metall and of plantis and herbys.

Rastell does not develop this point. The following short passage seems to be based on the argument of Bartholomeus Angelicus' *De Proprietatibus Rerum* translated by John de Trevisa:

Concerning the properties of thynges

Four Elements

Elementis ben four and so there ben
four qualytees of elementes of which
every body that hath a soul is com-
posed and made as of matter And
namely mannys body that is noblest
among all the elementes and moost
nobly ordeyned among all thynges that
ben composed and made of dyverse
thynges.⁵⁸

Remember that thou art compound
and create
Of these elementis as other creaturis be
Yet they have not all lyke noble estate
For plantis and herbys growe and be
insensate⁵⁷

VI. Of the generacyon and cause of well spryngs and ryvers and the cause of hote fumys that come out of the yerth, and of the cause of the bathys of water in the yerth which be perpetually hote

Rastell seems to have depended in great part on Caxton's *Mirroure* for his data in the last five points (There is no development of the sixth point in the *Four Elements*)

Mirroure

"How the water renneth by and thurgh therthe" (chap xix)

Water like the blood runs through the veins in man's body and gooth out and yssueth in somme place, alle in lyke wyse renneth the water out by the fountains and welles.⁵⁹

In another place sourdeth water which is hoot, and that ther myght be scalded therein a pygge or ghooos, which be called bathes or baynes naturell⁶⁰

. . . the sulphur catcheth fyre and brenneth, lyke as a forneyce all brennyng shold doo And the water that hath his cours by thyse vaynes become also hoot as fyre⁶¹

VII. Of the cause of the ebb and flode of the see.

Mirroure

Four Elements

"Of the vertue of heven and of the sterres." (chap. viii)

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, reverse of chart facing p xxviii

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.* Liber quartus

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

And the see also floweth and ebbeth in his course every moneth. . But all this happeth by the mone which is one of the seven planetes ⁶³

Of the sterres and planetts by whose influence

The see is compellyd to ebbe and flowe dayly ⁶²

The arrangement of the last three points and the subject matter contained in them correspond exactly to chapters xxv to xxx inclusive in the *Mirroure*.

VIII. Of the cause of rayne, snowe and hayle.

Mirroure

"How the clowdes and rayne come comynly" (chap xxv)

When the soone spredeth his rayes upon therthe and upon the marshes, he . . draweth up the moisture which he enhaunseth on hye. But this is a moisture subtyl . . and is named vapour, and it mounteth up unto the myddle of thayer, and there disembleth and cometh to gydre and obydeh ther. . . And when it groweth over thycke, it becometh water which falleth on the erthe ⁶⁴

Four Elements

And though the water be gross and hevvy

Yet nothyng so grose as the yerth I wys

Therefore by hete it is vaporyd up lyghtly

And in the ayre makyth cloudys and mysts

But as sone as ever that it grosely is Gederyd to gyder it descendyth agayne And causyth uppon the yerth hayle snow and rayne ⁶⁵

"Of firosstes and snowes" (chap xxvi)

"Of haylle and of tempests" (chap xxvii)

The last two points are not developed by Rastell

IX. Of the cause of the wyndys and thonder

Mirroure

"Of lyghtnynges and of thonders." (chap. xxviii)

"For to knowe how the wyndes growe and come" (chap. xxix)

X. Of the cause of the lyghtnyng of blasyng sterres and flamys fleyng in the ayre.

Mirroure

"Of the fyre and of the sterres that seem to fall" (chap xxx)

And ther is seen ofte under this ayer soome sparkles of fyre, and seme that they were sterres Of which men say they be sterres which goon rennyng . . . But they be none; but it is a maner of fyre that groweth in thayer of somme drye vapour which hath no moisture within it . (the sun draws up the vapor and when it is "over hye" it is set on fire) And when it is grete and the ayer drye, it cometh al brennyng unto therthe. ⁶⁶

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⁶² *Op. cit.*

⁶³ *Op. cit.*, pp 145-146.

⁶⁴ *Op. cit.*, p 117.

⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, p 122

VII

THE MEXICAN BACKGROUND OF ALARCÓN

(Printed from *Bulletin Hispanique* page proof, dated May 27, 1940)

I THE TRADITION OF THE DRAMA IN MEXICO DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

IT is generally conceded that what differentiates the best work of Alarcón from that of his contemporaries in Spain is the serious moral purpose and the very practical code of morality that he develops. His best plays are also marked by realism of plot and characterization. They are, moreover, remarkably clean and free from objectionable elements. This is the spirit of his best plays and this is the spirit, too, of sixteenth-century Mexico as he knew it.

It must be remembered that Alarcón grew up in a part of the world, and in a city, where the Spanish element of the population was but a handful compared with the large numbers of Indians, *mestizos*, and *criollos*.¹ It was not, therefore, a society dominated by purely Spanish traditions. A great missionary work was going on among the Indians in and around Mexico City under the aegis of the Franciscan Order.

In 1524 twelve Franciscan friars reached Mexico City prepared to undertake the spiritual conquest of New Spain.² The friars were confronted by a civilization in which drunkenness, concubinage, sorcery, and human sacrifice were not considered wrong. They had to find ways, therefore, to teach the Indians Christian standards of morality. They had to teach the doctrine of marriage held by the Catholic church and induce Indians to give up their extra wives. They had to teach the Indians temperance and get them to give up *pulque*, *peyote*, and other vices.

By some happy inspiration the missionaries conceived the idea of teaching the Indians practical morality through plays written in the Mexican language.³ They realized that their method of teaching had to be graphic and concrete if they hoped to make any impression on the

¹ Joaquín García Icazbalceta in "La antigua ciudad de México," *Obras, Biblioteca de autores mexicanos*, I, (Mexico, 1896), p. 361, note 2, says "Roberto Thompson, que estuvo en México en 1556, dice que la ciudad no tenía arriba de mil quinientos vecinos españoles, pero que los indios avendados en los barrios pasaban de trescientos mil." By the end of the century, of course, the proportion of Spaniards was larger, but the natives still outnumbered the Europeans. The *Biblioteca* will hereafter be referred to as *B. A. M.*

² Icazbalceta "La Iglesia y convento de San Francisco de México," *Obras*, II (Mexico, 1896), p. 385.

³ See Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, "Comédies en langue nahuatl," in *Congrès international des Américanistes, XII^e session* (Paris, 1902), p. 1, 2, and P. Mariano Cuevas, *Historia de la iglesia en México*, (I Tlalpam, 1921), p. 383.

Indian neophytes.⁴ The plays they produced, therefore, had to be realistic⁵ and had to have an application to real life. Since drunkenness was an almost ineradicable vice among the natives, these Franciscan friars presented on the stage a drunken Indian when they put on a play dealing with St. Francis preaching to the birds.⁶ As drunken Indians actually did disturb Mass at that and at a later period, the situation represented was thoroughly realistic. St. Francis was in the midst of his sermon when the Indian came in singing and causing a great disturbance. St. Francis lectured him on the subject, but the Indian kept right on making a noise; so the Saint had some devils drag him off to a realistically portrayed inferno.

Another fundamental aspect of Aztec civilization was the belief in witchcraft, magic, and devil lore. This had proved and continued to prove the stumbling-block of the Church in New Spain. In the play just mentioned St. Francis went on with his sermon. Suddenly some sorceresses appeared upon the scene with magic potions, brews for married women.⁷ They too were consigned to hell. Thus did the friars try to make the drama a practical medium for religious and moral instruction.

This practical and realistic mode of teaching was applied in still another type of play. When *La conquista de Jerusalén* was produced in 1539, the hordes of Indians who played the part of infidels were actually baptized then and there.⁸ In *La natividad de San Juan* (1538), an actual baptism took the place of the circumcision: the new-born babe, the parents and friends of the family really took part in the play.⁹

The Franciscans, of course, were not dramatists, so they naturally used existing Spanish plays and added and subtracted elements until they had a play that would fit the new environment.¹⁰ The constant cry of the church in New Spain was "no dar mal ejemplo a los indios." For this reason Spanish plays were pruned of undesirable elements. When *La destrucción de Jerusalén* was performed, the scene in which the mothers eat their own children was omitted.¹¹ In such a play as *El Sacrificio de Isaac*

⁴ José María Vigil, *Reseña histórica de la literatura mexicana*, Mexico, n. d., p. 102.

⁵ The stage setting of the Franciscan plays in Mexico was undoubtedly far in advance of any used in Spain at that time. That was the Indian contribution. As the Indians were astonishingly talented in the arts and crafts, they represented very concretely everything that happened on the stage. See the description of the stage setting of *Adán y Eva*, 1538, in Fray Toribio de Benavente o Motolinía, *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España* (Barcelona, 1914), Part I, Chapter 15.

⁶ Motolinía, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* No title is given for this play. It was performed in 1539.

⁷ Motolinía, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*: "Tornaba luego el santo a proceder en el sermón, y salían unas hechiceras muy bien contrahechas, que con bebedizos en esta tierra muy fácilmente hacen malparir a las preñadas . . ." ⁸ *Ibid.* ⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Francisco de Icaza, "Orígenes del teatro en México," *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 1915, p. 58, p. 60, note 1. ¹¹ *Ibid.*

the relationship between Abraham and his Egyptian concubine Hagar was left so vague that the Indians never suspected that she was more than a friend of the family or, at most, a sister of Abraham.¹² It would never do to let the natives know that concubinage existed in Biblical times!

Thus it will be seen that in Mexico every effort was made to have plays as clean and decent as possible so that the Indian wards of Church and State would not be led astray. That this was not always the spirit of even the religious drama in Spain is well known to all students of the subject.¹³ In Spain in the early sixteenth century even members of the clergy produced plays whose irreverent and salacious elements would not have been tolerated in New Spain. In Mexico the Spanish element of the population tried to introduce indecent dances in connection with the Corpus Christi festival; but the church led by a Franciscan Archbishop, forbade them. Interested in the evangelization of the natives, the church made a greater effort to control dramatic production than it did in the mother country. This means that the drama in New Spain was dominated by the missionary zeal characteristic of the period. The spirit of sixteenth-century Mexico, then, was certainly not that of sixteenth-century Spain. In the Mexico of that period no liberal spirit is evident. Even the Inquisition functioned there with more zeal than in the mother country. A perusal of the unpublished correspondence of the Mexican Inquisition with the Inquisitor General in Spain reveals the fact that the Mexican officials often complained that inspection of book shipments was very lax at the port of Seville. They begged and prayed that prohibited and other undesirable books be kept out of the Indies.¹⁴ As for the drama, the zeal of the Inquisition in New Spain went so far as to order performed before it all "comedias, representaciones, pasos espirituales y profanos."¹⁵ This decree

¹² Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Sacrificio de Isaac, Auto en lengua mexicana* (Florence, 1899), "Advertencia," p. 4. Icaza, who discusses this *auto* in the article abovementioned, expresses surprise that the missionaries should have presented a play dealing with the subject of sacrifice inasmuch as the terrible sacrificial rites of the Aztec religion had not yet been forgotten. The play was undoubtedly used, however, to teach the Indians that human sacrifice is wrong, since God in the *auto* expressly forbids it.

¹³ For the drama in Spain consult J. P. W. Crawford, *The Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega* (Philadelphia, 1922).

¹⁴ Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Sección VII, *Suprema Inquisición*, Libro IV, "Registro de cartas y despachos," 1-1050 ff. A letter of April 16, 1600, referring to books, says in part "vienen sin hacerse en ellos las enmiendas que están mandadas por el catálogo, y en la persona que visita los libros allí hay descuido. Suplicamos a V. S.^a mande . . . que de aquí adelante hay en el visitarlos muy particular cuidado."

¹⁵ The text of the decree of 1598 is reproduced in Fernández del Castillo, "Libros y libreros del siglo XVI," *Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación*, VI (Mexico, 1914), p. 533 ff. As the decree says "de cuatro o cinco años a esta parte," the date when this censorship went into effect must have been 1593 or 1594.

went into effect about 1593. Before this time the censorship had been, as in the mother country, in the hands of the bishop and officers appointed by them. But between 1593 and 1598 this censorship was taken over by the entire body of the Inquisition. In 1598 it was turned over to the *Ordinario del Santo Oficio*, as the noise of the actors interfered with the other activities of that body.

It was in this atmosphere that Alarcón grew up. During his school days in Mexico City rigid censorship of the drama obtained. The plays Alarcón saw were undoubtedly very clean and decent. In spite of the fact that the Inquisition had to exercise such watchful care over plays and books toward the end of the century, the missionary spirit of the drama had not died out.

During the latter half of the century a devoted group of Franciscan friars was still directing the education of the Indians in and around Mexico City. We are concerned here with only two members of the group, Fray Juan de Torquemada and Fray Juan Bautista. These men were connected at different times with one of the most important centers of Franciscan labors in Mexico: the church known as the *Capilla de San José de los Naturales* situated hard by the Monastery of St. Francis.¹⁶ It was in spite of its name the largest church in Mexico and rivalled the Cathedral in the brilliance of its functions. Here most of the Indians of Mexico City congregated, together with other elements of the population.¹⁷ Here Sunday afternoon sermons during Lent and Advent, attended by large numbers of Spaniards and natives,¹⁸ urged repentance and confession of sins. The sermons dealt with the hard facts of everyday life: drinking, stealing, lying, immorality, slander, gluttony, and other homely vices.¹⁹ And they were copiously illustrated with examples taken from real life. To make more vivid to the Indian what happened to the evil-doer, some of these examples were dramatized.²⁰ This type of play was called a

¹⁶ Torquemada, *Los veinte y un libros rituales y monarchia indiana* (Madrid, 1723), Book xx, Chapter 79.

¹⁷ Torquemada, *op. cit.*, Book xvii, Chapter 8. Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana* (Mexico, 1870), Part I, Book iv, Chapter 20.

¹⁸ Torquemada, *op. cit.*, Book xx, Chapter 79.

¹⁹ See Fray Juan Baptista, *A Jesu Christo S. N. ofrece este sermonario en lengua mexicana su indagno sieruo*, (Mexico, 1606). The copy in the García Collection lacks the title page, but it is given by José T. Medina in *La imprenta en México*, II, (México, 1909), p. 30. The celebrated Bernardino de Sahagún, in *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, Paris, 1880, says in the Prologue to the Tenth Book: "Si l'on veut porter une sérieuse attention sur la prédication évangélique et apostolique, on verra clairement que les prédicateurs catholiques ont pour devoir de s'occuper des vertus et des vices, dans le but de détourner des uns et d'attirer vers les autres."

²⁰ Torquemada, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* See also Juan Bautista, "Prólogo del autor," in *Confessionario en lengua mexicana y castellana*, (Mexico, 1599), reproduced by Icazbalceta, *Biblio-*

Neixcutilli, an Aztec word meaning an example or guide for one's conduct²¹ The two Franciscans mentioned were responsible for the introduction of these dramatized *ejemplos* sometime during the 1580's or 1590's Fray Juan de Torquemada said he had composed many such "comedias" and stated that their use became general among missionary workers²² Though little is known of this type of play, it seems to have enjoyed great popularity in Mexico and was still performed in the late seventeenth century.²³

There was nothing romantic about the Franciscan drama in Mexico during the sixteenth century The tradition was didactic and practical. It is certainly true that Spain too produced some serious plays and some plays whose purpose was to teach²⁴ But these plays were the exception rather than the rule Many Spanish plays had elements that would not have been tolerated in Mexico²⁵ Perhaps that type of play could even be called the tradition of the mother country

Alarcón was probably a frequent spectator in the Capilla de San José. As a member of the Audiencia his work took him into that part of the city Someone will doubtless object that Alarcón certainly could not profit

grafía mexicana del siglo 16 (Mexico, 1886), p. 350 ff. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso has translated an Indian play which deals with the theme of the glutton. He calls it *La petite Vieille et le gamin son petit fils*. This was published in the *Comédies en langue nahuatl* already mentioned. The existence of such a play may indicate a tradition. Though it is a farce, the glutton is punished.—Fernández Guerra y Orbe, A., *Don Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza* (Madrid, 1871), p. 127, 129–130, speaks of the farces performed in Mexico.

²¹ Rémi Siméon, *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* (Paris, 1885).

²² Torquemada, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* "introduce las Representaciones de los exemplos los Domingos, y hize en la Lengua Mexicana estas dichas Comedias, o Representaciones, que fueron de mucho fruto a estas gentes, y aora lo son, porque desde entonces iá se acostumbra, por algunos Ministros, en muchas partes, o haciendolas ellos de nuevo, o aprovechandose de las muchas que yo tengo hechas, y otras, que el P. Fr. Juan Bautista hizo de mucha elegancia y erudición."

²³ Icazbalceta, "Introducción" in *Coloquios espirituales y sacramentales . . . del presbítero Fernán González de Eslava* (Mexico, 1877), p. xxiii, note 1.

²⁴ Léo Rouanet, *Colección de autos, farsas y coloquios del siglo XVI, Biblioteca Hispánica* vols. v–viii. Such plays as *La residencia del hombre* (ix and l), *Auto de la lepra de Naamán* (xviii), *Auto del Emperador Juveniano* (xxiii), *Auto de la Verdad y la Mentira* (xv) and others have a serious moral purpose. Most of them, however deal with general virtues and vices and the emphasis is usually on plot rather than on character. The *Auto de Tobías* (xxi) is a better example, perhaps, of the type of play that must have gone into the making of the Alarconian *comedia de carácter*.

²⁵ Such plays as *Egloga de Cristino y Febea* by Juan del Encina, *Egloga nueva* by Diego Durán (?), *La comedia pródiga* by Luis de Miranda; *Farsa del matrimonio*, *Farsa de la hechicera*, *Farsa de Tamar*—all by Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, the plays of Torres Naharro, and others too numerous to mention. See Crawford, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 51, 78, 81, 106, 110 *et passim*.

by the Indian plays because he did not know the language. We have no positive proof that he knew Mexican, but we may infer that he did. It would be strange that Alarcón, a criollo living in Mexico in the sixteenth century, knew nothing of the Indian language if Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, living there in the seventeenth, could write poems in it. Alarcón's father must certainly have known it or he could not have dealt with the Indians as a miner in Tasco. Alarcón's brother Pedro held his benefice in Tenango because he knew Mexican.²⁶ And Hernando Ruíz de Alarcón, who is reputed to have been his brother, wrote a treatise on Indian superstitions which shows a knowledge of the language.²⁷ So far as Alarcón himself was concerned, it does not seem possible that he could have prosecuted with any success the pulque cases entrusted to him if he had no knowledge of the Mexican language.²⁸ Criollos, moreover, in New Spain usually learned it.²⁹ Even the Spaniards spoke a corrupt Mexican which the Indians could understand.³⁰ Moreover, according to reliable evidence, Spaniards attended the Indian plays in large numbers. Under these circumstances it is to be supposed that Alarcón, given his fondness for the theater, must surely have frequented the Capilla de San José.

In view of this background in Mexico, it is not surprising that Alarcón's best work should have been didactic and that it should have stressed every-day virtues and vices. It is hard to see how Alarcón, born and raised in a country where the ecclesiastical spirit reigned supreme, could have incorporated in his plays the conventional morality of the Spanish *comedia*. What Señor Henríquez Ureña terms his personal moral code was the missionary code of the New World and of ecclesiastical literature in general.³¹ It had found expression at an earlier period in the Christian *exempla* and it may be for this reason that Torquemada and Juan Bautista called their plays *ejemplos*.³² Perhaps Alarcón was even recalling these plays of New Spain in the closing lines of *Las paredes oyen*:

²⁶ See my "Apuntes y documentos nuevos para la biografía de Don Juan Ruíz de Alarcón y Mendoza," *Boletín de la Real Academia Española de la Historia*, xciv (Madrid, 1929), p. 68.

²⁷ *Tratado de las supersticiones de los naturales de la Nueva España* (1629), (Mexico, 1892).

²⁸ See my *Apuntes*, pp. 76-78.

²⁹ Icazbalceta, "La instrucción pública en México durante el siglo xvi," *Biblioteca de autores mexicanos*, I, p. 262. "La forzosa comunicación cotidiana con los indígenas, y lo muy extendida que estaba entre los criollos la lengua mexicana, ocasionó la introducción de muchas palabras de ella en el trato común."

³⁰ "Prólogo," *Sermonario* (Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía mexicana*, p. 362).

³¹ The ideas in Alarcón's plays are to be found in Juan Bautista's *Sermonario* and in other missionary writers.

³² The dramatized *ejemplo* was advocated as a means of purifying the drama by the interlocutors of the anonymous *Diálogos de las comedias* (1620?), published by D. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España* (Madrid, 1904). See pp. 225-230.

Y pues este ejemplo ven
 Suplico a vuesas mercedes
 Miren que oyen las paredes,
 Y a toda ley hablar bien.³³

Be that as it may, there is no doubt that Alarcón and the missionaries embodied in their work the ideas of the clerical exempla of an earlier period,³⁴ and if from one point of view Alarcón is the most modern of the Spanish dramatists of that period, he is at the same time the most medieval.

Of all his contemporaries, Francisco de Quevedo was the only one who recognized Alarcón for what he was. In his *Sátira contra Don Juan de Alarcón* he says:

¿Quién como lego aprendió
 La doctrina y la cartilla?
 Quién parece con sotana
 Empanada de ternera?
 Y ¿quién, por lo extraordinario
 Se viste un escapulario?
 Quién, siendo esquilón de ermita,
 Un costal de huesos es?
 Corcovilla.³⁵

It would perhaps not have been any great exaggeration if Alarcón's contemporaries had named him "el fraile franciscano de la Nueva España."

As a resident of Mexico during the late sixteenth century, Alarcón came in contact with still another tradition of the drama: that of the Spanish element of the population. As higher education in Mexico for *criollos* and Spaniards was in the hands of the Jesuits, the Augustinians, and Dominicans,³⁶ Alarcón must have been brought in contact with a more elegant type of play than that produced by the Franciscans. The

³³ *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, xx, (Madrid, 1852), p. 62. This will be referred to hereafter as *B A E*. Also compare the concluding lines of *Quien engaña más a quien*.

³⁴ Even the *Huehuetlatolli*, conversations between a father and a son, supposedly of Aztec origin (translated by Juan Bautista, Alonso de Molina, Juan de Torquemada and others), show the influence of the *Disciplina clericalis*, *Castigos y documentos del Rey Don Sancho*, *El libro de los castigos* by Don Juan Manuel and other similar Christian forms. See *Colección de documentos para la historia mexicana*, published by Antonio Peñafiel (Mexico, 1897).

³⁵ *B A E*, xx, pp xxx-xxxii

³⁶ González Peña, *Historia de la literatura mexicana* (Mexico, 1928), pp 12-13. The Dominicans and Augustinians even had chairs in the University of Mexico as can be gathered from a letter in the Archivo de Indias, Audiencia de México, "Cartas y expedientes del Virrey vistos en el Consejo," 58-3-18.

Jesuit *Colegios* specialized in the humanities and in the niceties of literary expression. Classical authors were adopted as models. Terence was very popular in New Spain if one is to judge by the books shipped there from Spain.³⁷ This literary tradition found expression, of course, in the plays produced by the Jesuits and to some extent in those of the Dominicans.³⁸ The purpose of the plays was always serious, and sometimes the moral was taught in such a realistic way that many were converted. Such was the case at any rate with *El Triunfo de los santos*, performed in 1578.³⁹

The history of the secular drama in Mexico is rather obscure. There is little evidence of dramatic companies in New Spain before the end of the sixteenth century. A letter of March 28, 1604, written by the Viceroy to the King would indicate that the secular drama did not become popular until the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁴⁰ That it existed toward the close of the preceding century, however, is amply proved by this letter and by the decree of the Inquisition already cited in which the noise of the actresses is specifically mentioned. This decree gives ample evidence, too, that nothing indecent was permitted in secular plays. That the purpose of the drama as a whole in New Spain was serious and not frivolous may be gathered from a passage in the *Epístola al insigne Hernando de Herrera*, written in Mexico by Eugenio Salazar de Alarcón toward the end of the century:

Ya el preguntar, y responder perfecto
Las Musas en diálogo se atreven
Con gusto del oyente más discreto.
No faltan ya Poetas que repreben
Con sátira mordaz y airado celo
A los que iniquidad y vicios beben.
Ya el cómico que bien lo bueno alaba

³⁷ *Libros y libreros del siglo XVI*, pp. 263-281.

³⁸ It is not to be supposed that these primitive dramatists concerned themselves with literary theory. Yet it seems likely that they unconsciously applied, as did Italian critics, the Averroistic interpretation of the Aristotelian "enthymeme" or example. Thus teaching by example came to be the tradition in New Spain. The Horatian principle of the "utile et dulce" was never lost sight of, yet the "utile" was given the preference. This may explain why Alarcón emphasized the useful, whereas Lope chose what was pleasant.

³⁹ Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, p. 414, quotes the letter of Father Morales in which this play is described. "que no parecía ser sola representación, como se vió claramente en el efecto que obró el Señor, de un nunca visto sentimiento y lágrimas y conversión de muchos a su divino servicio, publicando lo que no habían hecho muchos sermones les había Dios comunicado con esta obra, y que bastara a convertir turcos que se hallaran presentes . . ."

⁴⁰ Archivo de Indias, *Audiencia de México*, "Cartas . . .": 58-3-15. "En esta ciudad se había comenzado (antes de mi venida) el uso de las comedias y después creció y se multiplicaron compañías que no prohibí por las causas que en Castilla no se prohíben y parecerme más fuertes aquí algunas dellas."

En representación sabrosamente,
 Y las costumbres malas desalaba
 El bien y el mal nos pone allí presente
 Siguiendo el caso hasta el buen suceso
 Con que el atento pueblo gusto siente ⁴¹

This serious spirit of the drama must also have impressed Luis Belmonte Bermúdez, for after years of wandering in the New World and some few of residence in Mexico, he declared that he was tired of Spanish *comedias* because only the silliest were successful ⁴²

In the light, then, of what Alarcón probably knew of the drama in Mexico, it is not surprising that his best plays should have a serious moral purpose. He was the product of a different tradition, a different background. The *sobriedad* and *mesura* noted by Señor Henríquez Ureña was this sober, serious spirit of New Spain. It is not remarkable in view of this background that Alarcón should have become "the greatest dramatic moralist Spain has ever produced."⁴³

II NEW WORLD REMINISCENCES IN ALARCÓN

Spanish critics have consistently denied that Alarcón reveals his Mexican origin. They base this denial on the absence of so-called American local color in his plays. The distinguished critic Menéndez y Pelayo left Alarcón out of his *Antología de la poesía hispano-americana* on that ground.⁴⁴ At the same time he gave Bernardo de Balbuena a prominent place in it as the first real poet of New Spain. The present writer admits that Alarcón does not make many conscious references to Mexican life and customs. In fact, one must catch him off his guard. How different the case of Balbuena! He was consciously trying to describe Mexico.⁴⁵ Alarcón, on the other hand, was competing with Spanish playwrights of recognized ability and at the Spanish court where no one admitted that any good could come out of the Indies,⁴⁶ and where because of his courteous ways he was insulted with the epithet "zalamero," and where his Mexican origin and mode of speech may have won him that other epithet of "zambo."⁴⁷ Certainly Alarcón made his plays as Spanish as he could. He imitated Spanish playwrights *consciously*, and it was that imitation

⁴¹ Published in Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos*, iv (Madrid 1889), p. 253 ff.

⁴² J. T. Medina, *Biblioteca hispano-americana*, II (Santiago, Chile, 1900), p. 154, quotes this passage from *La aurora de Cristo* (Seville, 1616).

⁴³ G. T. Northup, *An Introduction to Spanish Literature* (Chicago, 1925), p. 284.

⁴⁴ I (Madrid, 1893), p. LVIII.

⁴⁵ In *Grandeza mejicana* (Madrid, 1829).

⁴⁶ Juan de Grijalva, *Crónica de la orden de San Agustín* (Mexico, 1624), p. 21, speaks with bitterness of the treatment accorded criollos in Spain and in Mexico.

⁴⁷ A person having a mixture of Negro and Indian blood.

that made him a master Without a Spain dominated by the tastes of a Philip III and Philip IV and the stage craft of a Lope de Vega, Juan Ruiz de Alarcón would never have developed into one of the great dramatists of the Golden Age And without sixteenth-century Mexico, he never would have written his greatest masterpieces It took both countries to develop his dramatic genius

Let us see now what Mexican "local color" can be found in Alarcón, what New World ideas, what reminiscences of Mexican literature and what evidence of Mexican psychology.

In *Los favores del mundo*, Act 1, Scene 1, Garcí Ruiz de Alarcón has just come to Madrid. Hernando takes him to the Parque de Madrid and points out to him the beautiful houses, saying, "Hermosas casas!" Garcí replies, "Lucidas, no tan fuertes como bellas."⁴⁸ This conversation recalls in a most striking way a dialogue by Francisco Cervantes Salazar, who went to Mexico about the middle of the sixteenth century and wrote three dialogues describing the city. In the second of these, *Civitas Mexicus interior*,⁴⁹ Alfaro, a stranger, and Zamora and Zuazo, residents of the city, go sightseeing Alfaro comments on the buildings, saying,

Todas son magnificas . según su solidez, cualquiera diría que no eran casas sino fortalezas

Zuazo replies: "Asi convino hacerlas al principio cuando eran muchos los enemigos"⁵⁰ The fortress-like character of the houses built in Mexico City during the sixteenth century is brought out by all contemporary historians and other writers.⁵¹

The conversation in the play continues as follows:

Hernando	Aquí las mujeres y ellas son en eso parecidas
García.	Que edifiquen al revés
	mayor novedad me ha hecho;
	que primero hacen el techo,
	Y las paredes después.

From the Mexican point of view "edifiquen al revés" is significant.

⁴⁸ Fernández-Guerra y Orbe cites this passage (*op cit*, pp 272-273), taking it to refer to the Alcázar. All contemporary writers speak of the fortress-like character of the Alcázar, hence the reference can not be to it I take it they are speaking of the houses of Madrid in general, for the conversation begins as follows

Hernando	!Lindo lugar!	
García		El mejor.

Todos, con él, son aldeas

⁴⁹ See "Obras de García Icazbalceta," in *B. A. M*, XII (Mexico, 1898), p 175 ff.

⁵⁰ *Idem* pp 177-178

⁵¹ Alonso de Zorita, *Historia de la Nueva España* (Madrid, 1909) p 200 Manuel Romero de Terreros, *Arte colonial* (Mexico, 1916), p 108.

Mexico was built on a small island in Lake Texcoco, and, as the population grew, floating gardens or *chinampas* were added. In this way the city gradually assumed the appearance of another Venice. When the Spaniards rebuilt the city after the conquest, many of the canals were filled up with the débris of wrecked buildings. On this uncertain foundation new buildings were erected. Thus putting in the walls and foundation came to be an engineering feat.⁵² In *El desdichado en fingir* Alarcón recalls the soggy nature of the ground on which Mexico was built when one of the characters says:

mas recelo
Cuando alzas torres al viento
Como no es firme el cimiento
Verlas todas en el suelo.⁵³

In Mexico the roof was of less importance and Alarcón's comment on the exaggerated importance of the roofs of Madrid is not strange. His comparison of the roofs to the complicated coiffure of the ladies brings out the essential difference between the roofs of Madrid and Mexico. According to Gil González Dávila the roofs of Madrid really were very ornate.⁵⁴ They might well have been compared to the "copete" in vogue among the women of Spain and Mexico. This essential architectural detail was also noted by Alfaro in the Dialogue just cited:

Alfaro Los techos son planos . . .

Zamora Pues ¿Que en España techan de otro modo las casas?

Alfaro No todas del mismo modo. En ambas Castillas (pues en Andalucía es vario el uso), la mayor parte de las casas están cubiertas de tejas curvas, . . . de suerte que la parte más elevada del edificio, . . . va subiendo . . . hasta terminar en caballete en lo más alto llevan por adorno veletas, torrecillas o cualquier otro remate. Vuestros techos planos, inventados por los Griegos, y usados ahora en Campania, tienen su nombre propio.⁵⁵

Alarcón must have been deeply impressed by these architectural details because he again refers to the roofs of Madrid in *La Cueva de Salamanca*:

Fúíme a vivir a la corte
Que parecen bien en ella
Las cabezas de las casas
A acompañar su cabeza.⁵⁶

⁵² Romero de Terreros, *op cit*, p. 116, note. Adrián Téllez Pizarro, *Apuntes acerca de los cimientos de los edificios en la Ciudad de México* (Mexico, 1900), p. 7. Luis González Obregón, *Epoca colonial, México Viejo* (Mexico), 1900, p. 140. ⁵³ *B A E*, xx, 147.

⁵⁴ *Teatro de las grandezas de Madrid* (Madrid, 1623), p. 12.

⁵⁵ *B A M*, xii, 178-179.

⁵⁶ *B A E*, xx, 88.

Another architectural reminiscence of New Spain is to be found in *Ganar amigos*. Here Alarcón speaks of the *altos muros* and *altos edificios* of Seville.⁵⁷ The high buildings of the Andalusian city offered a distinct contrast to the low, flat structures of the Mexican capital. Cervantes Salazar calls attention to this peculiarity of the buildings in Mexico City.

Zuazo convino que las casas no se hicieran muy altas para que
la ciudad fuese más salubre, no teniendo edificios elevadísimos que impidieran
los diversos vientos que con ayuda del sol disipan y alejan los miasmas pestíferos
de la laguna vecina ⁵⁸

Another passage that seems to recall Mexico City is to be found in *No hay mal que por bien no venga*. The worldly Don Domingo is looking for a house. His servant, having found one, reports as follows: "El edificio es nuevo", and Don Domingo replies:

Me satisfago
Si el riesgo pasó primero
De sus humedades otro,
Porque ni domar el potro,
Ni estrenar la casa quiero ⁵⁹

Where but in Mexico City could Alarcón have suffered from damp houses to such an extent that a dry house would seem of capital importance? It is true that the banks of the Guadalquivir sometimes overflowed. But if Alarcón suffered any discomfort in the Andalusian city on that account, it merely made more lasting the impression of what must have been a childhood memory. Mexico City suffered terrible floods in 1580, 1604, and 1607.⁶⁰ The many canals running through the city caused the greater part of it to be under water. The disastrous flood of 1607 made even the two-story houses uninhabitable and one can imagine the state the city was in when Alarcón returned to it in 1608. Moreover, the many canals and the marshy nature of the ground on which the city was built must have made damp houses the rule rather than the exception.

In the last scene of the act the location of the house is discussed and Don Domingo asks:

. . . ¿Hay herrador
Cerca de ella? ¿Hay carpintero?
Hay campanario? ¿Hay herrero?
Hay cochera?

The servant says, "No Señor," but later adds:

Una advertencia, señor,

⁵⁷ *B. A. E.*, xx, 344 ⁵⁸ *B. A. M.*, xii, 178 ⁵⁹ *B. A. E.*, xx, 182

⁶⁰ *Memoria histórica de las obras del desagüe de México*, I (Mexico, 1902), pp. 77-87. Also see Fernández-Guerra y Orbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-93.

De aquel barrio te he de hacer,
Que te puede ser molesta,
En que ahora he reparado:
Que hay muchos perros.

All of the passage quoted seems to be a subconscious reminiscence of a quarter of Mexico City with which Alarcón must have been familiar. In Alarcón's time Tacuba Street was noted for its trades and crafts. In the Dialogue cited Zuazo calls Alfaro's attention to that street, saying:

. ocupan ambas aceras, hasta la plaza, toda clase de artesanos y menestrales, como son carpinteros, herreros, cerrajeros, zapateros, tejedores, armeros, veleros, ballesteros . . .⁶¹

Eslava, a dramatist of the period, also mentions the *herreros* of Tacuba Street.⁶² All this might not be of any significance in connection with the passage if it were not for the fact that near that part of the city there was a street called Calle de los Perros.⁶³ Further proof that this district was overrun with dogs is the fact that in 1629, when Mexico was again flooded and only the central plaza of the city remained dry, the dogs of the neighborhood took refuge there, thus earning for it the name *Isla de los Perros*.⁶⁴ Alarcón probably had vivid childhood memories of this *barrio* and unconsciously recalled it in the play mentioned.

A fact not before mentioned in connection with Alarcón's vocabulary might well be discussed here. In *El semejanje a sí mismo*, a play unusually full of Mexican elements,⁶⁵ Alarcón uses a typical Aztec metaphor. Leonardo is describing how he fell from the deck of the ship in which he was going to the New World. He tried to overtake the ship.

Mas la ligera casa, que impelida
Volaba al pajaril del fresco viento.
Cuando al aire salí del agua fría,
Con la popa a mis voces respondía.⁶⁶

Elsewhere in his works Alarcón uses the gongoristic word *leño* for boat. But in this passage, which in other respects is reminiscent of gongorism, he uses the word *casa*. The interesting thing about this use of the word is that the translation of *boat* in the Mexican language contains the word

⁶¹ *B. A. M.*, XII, p. 180

⁶² González de Eslava, Hernán, *Coloquios espirituales y sacramentales* (Mexico, 1877) "Coloquio cuarto de los cuatro doctores de la iglesia," p. 63. The *coloquios* were written between 1560 and 1600 and the first edition was published in Mexico in 1610.

⁶³ Luis González Obregón, *Las calles de México*, Mexico, 1924, p. 231. A modern map also shows a "Calle de las Chocheras." ⁶⁴ Téllez Pizarro, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁶⁵ Fernández-Guerra y Orbe (*op. cit.*, pp. 93-94) cites a passage from this play describing the Mexican flood. ⁶⁶ *B. A. E.*, XX, p. 80

house: *Acalli*, boat, is made up of *atl*, water, and *calli*, house.⁶⁷ *Acalli*, was used for a canoe or small boat. Alarcón's use of this metaphor recalls a similar use by Francisco de Terrazas, a Mexican poet of the sixteenth century, who, in one of the Indian episodes of his *Nuevo Mundo y Conquista*, speaks of a "casa de madera que nadaba."⁶⁸ Surely only a person raised in Mexico would have been likely to use that particular expression!

Much has been said of Alarcón's unsympathetic treatment of women. He reflects throughout his work the clerical attitude toward them. There was, however, plenty of justification for the dramatist's attitude toward the woman adventuress. No other period seems to have produced so many women of that type. Shiploads of women arrived in New Spain during Alarcón's lifetime. Don Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of Mexico, wrote to the Council of the Indies in 1591 that six hundred women had arrived in the last *flota*.⁶⁹ He said the women did not wish to work, but were looking for well-to-do husbands. There were undoubtedly large numbers of women roaming around the New World. The woman question in Mexico must have been rather acute if we are to judge by an anonymous sonnet:

Mujeres que se venden por dineros,
Dejando a los mejores más quejosos . . .
Señores que no mandan en su casa
Jugando sus mujeres noche y día.⁷⁰

Eslava, too, satirizes women who always pursue money or clothes.⁷¹ Alarcón reflects in his works this agitation of the subject on both sides of the Atlantic.

Alarcón's plays are characterized by an unusually high standard of sexual morality as compared with that of other playwrights of the time. Whatever Alarcón may have been in his private life in this respect, his dramatic policy was usually "no dar mal ejemplo." His plays preached to the Spanish public what the missionaries preached to the Indians. The question of marriage and of sexual morality was always in the foreground in New Spain.⁷² It is not surprising that Alarcón's plays should reflect to some extent these problems of his native land. Nor is it astonishing that Alarcón never cultivated the *Celestina* type of play. The remarkable

⁶⁷ Remi Siméon, *op. cit.*

⁶⁸ "Francisco de Terrazas y otros poetas del siglo XVI," in *Obras de García Icazbalceta*, B. A. M., II, p. 235; p. 237: "Con la casa de agua al través dimos."

⁶⁹ Archivo de Indias, 58-2-11.

⁷⁰ *Obras de García Icazbalceta*, B. A. M., II, p. 282. See also Mendieta, *op. cit.*, Book IV, Chapter 33.

⁷¹ *Op. cit.* *Coloquio séptimo de Jonas profeta*. See also Gil González Davila, *Teatro eclesiástico de la primitiva iglesia de las Indias occidentales* (Madrid, 1649), p. 33.

⁷² Mendieta, *op. cit.*, Part I, Book III, Chapter 33.

purity of the theater in New Spain certainly exerted a profound influence on his work.

Alarcón shows his Mexican origin, too, in certain traits he ascribes to his characters. Any one who knows the Mexican people will agree with Señor Henríquez Ureña that Alarcón's preoccupation with courtesy is typically Mexican.⁷³ Any woman who has traveled in Mexico and Spain can testify to the astonishing difference between the common people of those two countries with regard to courtesy. I have no hesitation in saying that Mexico is the most polite country in the Western World.

Historical proof is not lacking, however, of Mexican politeness. Bernardo de Balbuena calls attention to it in *La grandeza mexicana*. An example of very polite phrasing is the *Adoración de los reyes*, an *auto* in the Mexican language.⁷⁴ The courteous treatment of one's fellow beings is one of the important features of the *Huehuetlatolli* or "Pláticas con que estas gentes indianas doctrinaban a sus hijos."⁷⁵

As possible reminiscences of New World literature some unusual parallels between Alarcón and Eslava are interesting. The most striking example is to be found in the *Coloquio Tercero*, Act III in a scene between Adulación, Vanagloria, and Gusto. The first two play a trick on Gusto. They put on his nose a pair of glasses by means of which Gusto imagines that he has suddenly risen in the world:

- Vanagloria. ¿Quién eres, Gusto?
 Gusto. Soy caballero, valiente, rey, duque, capitán mozos, pajes,
 pasá aquí, poné allí, mirad que soy vuestro amo y señor .
 Vanagloria. Quitate los anteojos espera, daca mis anteojos . . .
 Adulación. Ya se los quité ¿Qué eres, Gusto?
 Gusto. Hijo de la Golosina, criado del cocinero, y soy al que Diligencia
 dió de palos.
 Adulación. Ya se los torné a poner. ¿Qué eres, Gusto?
 Gusto. ¿Qué soy? Infante, y servíme que os mataré. Afuera, no se
 iguale nadie conmigo.⁷⁶

This passage is called *la prueba de los anteojos*, and suggests *La prueba de las promesas*.⁷⁷

An interesting parallel can be established between *El obraje divino* and

⁷³ It is true, of course, that the Renaissance was very much occupied with the doctrine of the gentleman. *Il cortegiano* had suggested a code for gentlemen which France and Spain were quick to copy. Therefore Alarcón's code owes something to this literature of the gentleman.

⁷⁴ Translated by Francisco del Paso y Troncoso and published in Florence in 1900.

⁷⁵ See note 34.

⁷⁶ *Op. cit.*, *A la consagración del Doctor Don Pedro Moya de Contreras*, p. 37.

⁷⁷ The actual source of both plays is of course Juan Manuel's famous Exemplo XII in *El Conde Lucanor*.

No hay mal que por bien no venga. Both deal with the conversion of a worldly man. El hombre mundano and Don Domingo express similar ideas:

Hombre Mundano	Lo que más me satisface Es ser de todos querido, En buen punto fuí nacido, Pues que todo se me hace De la suerte que lo pido ⁷⁸
Don Domingo	Las voluntades conquisto, Y mil veces asegura De una grave desventura A un hombre el estar bien quisto ⁷⁹

In both plays clothes are used to symbolize the worldliness of the principal character: in Eslava's *Coloquio* a beautiful embroidered *tudesquillo* serves the purpose, whereas in Alarcón a cape and a hat of medium proportions indicate Don Domingo's love of comfort.

It is possible that Alarcón is recalling another passage of Eslava in *La prueba de las promesas* in the discussion between Lucía and Tristán referring to the title of *don*. Lucía makes light of Tristán's *don* and the latter answers with "Remoqueticos al don"! In the *Coloquio Diez y seis*⁸⁰ there is a conversation between a page called Remoquete and a certain Don Cojín in which the title of *don* is made light of.

The few suggestions made of the rather subtle influence exerted on Alarcón by his Mexican background should make it apparent that if Alarcón's plays are thoroughly Spanish on the surface, they have undercurrents here and there of a somewhat Mexican spirit.

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⁷⁸ B A E, xx, 8 ⁷⁹ B A E, xx, 181

⁸⁰ Eslava, *op cit*, *Del bosque divino donde Dios tiene sus aves y animales*, p 125.

VIII

THE ANIMADVERSIONS OF BISHOP BOSSUET UPON THE QUAKERS AND QUIETISTS

THE power of Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet's intellect is not yet spent; few theologians—Catholic or Protestant—have wielded a major premise so cogently, that premise for him, *hors de l'église, point de salut*; and of this premise, the most impressive conclusion is still, after two hundred and fifty years, the work entitled *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*. It is quite true that his adversaries, for the moment dismayed by the appalling results of the Reformation, as therein portrayed, rallied and returned to the attack, asking whether, indeed, variation was necessarily so great an evil, whether in fact it was not the very genius of Protestantism; to which there is but one answer, and that pragmatic rather than metaphysical. But here, too, the Bishop of Meaux was singularly equipped, for the penchant of his thought is assuredly towards the Visible,¹ the *Six Avertissements aux Protestans sur les Lettres du Ministre Jurieu contre l'Histoire des Variations* were in the nature of a brilliant counter-attack; they were to be the Bishop's last word on this question. What, asks Bossuet, is the result of disobedience to the Church Universal? He concludes, "que faute de se soumettre à une autorité si inviolable, on se contredit sans cesse, on renverse tous les principes qu'on a établis, on renverse la Réforme même et tout ce que jusqu'ici on y avoit trouvé de plus certain, et qu'enfin on se jette dans le fanatisme et dans les erreurs des Quakers."² His Ultima Thule, then, of nonsense, was the doctrine of the Society of Friends.

Now, the Bishop of Meaux was not wont to draw conclusions from hearsay, in the entire course of his polemical career, which included disputation with such formidable opponents as the savant, Richard Simon, and the dexterous Fénelon, to say nothing of Pastor Jurieu himself, it was never Bossuet's documentation which was impugned but his premise. So that when he reserves his "enfin" for the Quakers, we may regard it both as well founded in his own reading and as expressive of his whole-hearted

¹ M. Rébelliau, "Bossuet's most acute biographer," comments on the bishop's tendency to treat disputes less by dialectic than by citation of facts "Notons que, cependant, l'époque où Bossuet étudiait à Paris, fut celle où la 'théologie positive,' c'est-à-dire, l'étude historique des Pères et des antiquités de l'Eglise commençait de se substituer à la théologie purement métaphysique et logique. On peut croire que cette tendance nouvelle eut sur Bossuet une influence appréciable" *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Française*, (Petit de Julleville), v, 261-262.

² "Troisième Avertissement" Bossuet, *Œuvres*, Lebel edition (Versailles, 1816), xxi, 233-234.

abhorrence of "fanaticism." For that is precisely what Quakerism meant to the Bishop of Meaux. And, be it noted, he drew a distinction between "fanatic" and "protestant." The dream of his life, pursued from youth to old age, from his polemic against the Huguenot Ferry's catechism in 1655, to his correspondence with Leibnitz in 1701, was to reconcile the Protestants with the Roman Church,³ and that, too, was the lofty purpose of the *Histoire des Variations* and of its complement, the *Six Avertissements*. It was neither politic nor was it natural to Bossuet's disciplined spirit to resort to invective in pursuance of his aim, his ingrained reverence for tradition was sincere, and he felt that to those amenable to even a false tradition, appeal might still be made, all others were definitely beyond reason, *hors de salut*; in a word—fanatics. Protestants, by that date, had a tradition, false though it was, according to the Bishop of Meaux. That tradition, that authority, was presumably the Bible. But, he continues, what has been the inevitable outcome of the Reform, with its rejection of the authority of the tradition of the Church and with its glorification of the individual. Do Protestants realize the enormity of the statements their pastors, Jurieu and Claude, are making? Do they realize that these ministers have themselves overthrown the maxims that had hitherto been believed by their own people to be the most constant? "How," asks Bossuet, "could such a thing have come to pass? I will tell you," he answers, "in a few words. It is because they have at last recognized that this article of the Reform is no longer tenable, viz: that one knows the sacred books to be canonical, not so much by the consent of the Church Universal as by the witness and inward persuasion of the Holy Spirit. The ministers have clearly perceived that to make all the faithful believe, for instance, that they can judge of the divinity of the *Song of Solomon*, by mere appreciation, unassisted by tradition, would be too manifest an illusion, or, to be frank about it, downright fanaticism. But to refer the seekers to the authority of the Church would be dangerous. What to do? The shortest way out of the dilemma," continues the Bishop, "was to say that the question of canonical and apocryphal books has nothing to do with faith nor is it relative to the belief of the unlettered."

But, inasmuch as there must be some authority upon which even the unlettered may lean, and inasmuch as for Protestants that must be the Bible, this device has now been discovered—to say that faith begins by feeling things in themselves (*par sentir les choses en elles-mêmes*) and that by the taste which one has for these things, one learns also to appreciate the books in which they are contained (*par le goût qu'on a pour les choses, on apprend aussi à goûter les livres où elles sont contenues*).

³ "La dispersion lui fait horreur," says Faguet, *Dix-Septième Siècle*. p. 399

"This," Bossuet pursues, "is what minister Claude, that man whom the Protestants are now calling their invincible Achilles, and minister Jurieu, are saying And here are his words: 'It is the doctrine of the Evangel and of true religion which makes its divinity felt by the simple, independently of the book in which the doctrine is contained.' " Bossuet proceeds with his quotation of Jurieu: " 'In a word, we do not believe that that which is contained in a book is divine because that book is canonical, we believe that such and such a book is canonical because we have felt that what it contains is divine and we have felt it as one senses the light when one sees it, the heat when one is by the fire, the bitter and the sweet when one eats.' And so," concludes Bossuet, "the believer no longer bases his faith upon the scriptures, but after having formed his faith within himself, independently of the divine books, he begins the reading of those books, it is not, therefore, to learn what God has revealed that he reads them, he knows that already, or rather he feels it, and I leave you to imagine whether, with that conditioning, he will find anything in those sacred books excepting what he will have already have believed himself to have seen in them, as one sees the sun, whether he will find anything in them excepting what he will already have believed himself to have felt, as one feels the cold and warmth Now that," exclaims Bossuet, "is precisely what the fanatics are teaching, as is evident by their theses, for here are the statements which the Quakers, or Tremblers (les Quakers ou les Trembleurs) that is to say, the most averred fanatics have published and then translated into French in these words."

Bossuet now cites his authority, which, as our investigations have proved, is none other than the *Theses Theologiae* of Robert Barclay,⁴ the distinguished Quaker apologist. Now, the most significant of these theses, II and III, which Bossuet cites, in part, are those bearing on immediate revelation and scriptures, in which the superiority of this inner light to reason or scripture is sharply stated.⁵ "These divine inward revelations,

⁴ Bossuet's reference (xxi, 217) reads *Les Princ de la Vêr etc. avec les Thèses théolog impr à Roterd en 1675 Th 2, p 21-22* The "Thèses théolog" are Barclay's fifteen Theses (or propositions) which are usually printed with the complete *Apology*, but in this instance, with John Crook's *Truth's Principles* (1663), identification is established by the list in Smith's *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books* (London, 1867), I, 487.

⁵ The translation into French was exact, as may be seen by the comparison of the English text of the *Apology* cited above, with the following citation from Bossuet's version in *Troisième Avertissement* Les révélations divines et intérieures, lesquelles nous croyons absolument nécessaires pour former la vraie foi, comme elles ne contredisent point au témoignage extérieur des Ecritures, non plus qu'à la saine raison, aussi n'y peuvent-elles jamais contredire. Il ne s'ensuit pas toutefois de là que ces révélations divines doivent être, soumises à l'examen du témoignage extérieur des Ecritures, non plus qu'à celui de la raison naturelle et humaine, comme à la plus noble et la plus certaine règle et mesure car

which we make absolutely necessary for the building up of true faith, neither do nor can ever contradict the outward testimony of the scriptures, or right and sound reason. Yet from hence it will not follow, that these divine revelations are to be subjected to the examination, either of the outward testimony of the scriptures, or of the natural reason of man, as to a more noble or certain rule or touchstone: for this divine revelation and inward illumination, is that which is evident and clear of itself, forcing, by its own evidence and clearness, the well-disposed understanding to assent, irresistibly moving the same thereunto, even as the common principles of natural truths move and incline the mind to a natural assent, as that the whole is greater than its part, that two contradictory sayings cannot be both true, nor both false." (here Bossuet interpolates, "whence follows the third thesis that 'from these revelations of the Spirit of God to the saints have proceeded the scriptures,' of which the thesis gives a sort of classification" and then continues thus) "nevertheless, because they are only a declaration of the fountain and not the fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the adequate primary rule of faith and manners. Nevertheless, as that which giveth a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit, from which they have all their excellency and certainty"; Bossuet now prepares the final blow. "When they say that the Scriptures are only the second rule, necessarily conformable, however, to the first, which is faith already formed within, with all its certitude via revelation before the scripture, they only express in other terms what we have just heard from the mouths of your ministers: that before all reading of the divine books one has already felt all truth within, as one feels the cold and the warmth, that is to say, in a manner of

la révélation divine et illumination intérieure est une chose qui de soi est évidente et claire et qui contraint par sa propre évidence et clarté un entendement bien disposé à consentir et qui le meut et le fléchit sans aucune résistance; ne plus ne moins que les principes naturels meuvent et fléchissent l'esprit au consentement de vérités naturelles, comme sont. Le tout est plus grand que sa partie. Deux contradictoires ne peuvent être ensemble vrais ou faux. D'où (interpolates Bossuet) s'ensuit la troisième thèse que "*de ces saintes révélations de l'Esprit de Dieu sont émanées les Ecritures*" dont la thèse fait une espèce de dénombrement, et puis elle poursuit en cette sorte, "Cependant ces Ecritures n'étant seulement que la déclaration de la source d'où elles procèdent et non pas cette même source, elles ne doivent pas être considérées comme le principal fondement de toute vérité et connoissance, ni comme la règle première et très-parfaite de la foi et des mœurs; quoique rendant un fidèle témoignage de la première vérité elles en soient et puissent être estimées la seconde règle subordonnée à l'esprit, duquel elles tirent toute l'excellence et toute la certitude qu'elles ont." *Œuvres*, xxi, 217-218.

which there can never be any doubt, a situation which necessarily operates in this way: that one does not evaluate his sentiments according to Scripture and refer them to it as to the first rule, as one had always believed in the Reform, but that one calls this prepossession of his judgment a revelation of the Spirit of God." The patience of the great authoritarian is exhausted: "Find me," he exclaims derisively, "a suier way to make fanatics. The Reform falls at last into this misfortune, and," he concludes, "it was the inevitable result of such teachings." So much then for the Quakers

Almost a decade elapsed before the indefatigable defender of Catholic tradition turned his eyes upon the new mystics in his own land. Of all Bossuet's polemics, that with his protégé, Fénelon, is the most dramatic. The hurried publication in January, 1697, of *Les Maximes des Saints*⁶ caused the long smouldering animosity between the recently appointed Archbishop of Cambrai and Bossuet to burst into flame. "Une des plus violentes et des plus déplorables querelles qui aient divisé l'Eglise de France."⁷ Nor was the struggle ended until eighteen months later, when Innocent XII, somewhat against his personal feelings, issued a condemnatory brief, censuring twenty-three of the forty-five propositions which comprise *The Maxims*.

"This work," declares Cherel, "may fairly pass as the résumé of an immense effort of religious thought."⁸ What was that "immense effort," and why did it excite the determined opposition of the Bishop of Meaux, causing him to exclaim, "Il y va de toute la religion,"⁹—"il ne s'agissoit de rien moins que d'empêcher la renaissance du quiétisme, que nous voyions recommencer en ce royaume par les écrits de madame Guyon que l'on y avoir répandus."¹⁰

Apart from all other considerations—which we shall, however, discuss—it sufficed for Bossuet that the teachings of the Quietists had already been condemned by the Holy See, and that the *Maxims of the Saints* seemed to be identical in tendency and tone with the proscribed *Spiritual*

⁶ *Les Maximes des Saints* constituent l'événement important de la querelle du quiétisme leur apparition mettait le feu aux poudres, et la lutte ne pouvait prendre fin qu'avec la défaite de l'un des partis en présence." Gabriel Joppin *Fénelon et la Mystique du pur Amour* (Paris, 1938), pp. 99–100.

⁷ J. Calvet, *La Littérature Religieuse de François de Sales à Fénelon* (Paris, 1938), p. 492. Certain ejaculations of Bossuet are, indeed, "violent and deplorable", his reference to Fénelon as "une bête féroce qu'il faut poursuivre pour l'honneur de l'épiscopat et de la vérité, jusqu'à ce qu'on l'ait terrassée" is most unhappy. Yet "truth" is above all, "Saint Augustin n'a-t-il pas poursuivi Juhen jusqu'à la mort?" Deschanel, *Le Romanisme des Classiques* (Paris, 1888), p. 305. ⁸ Cited by Joppin, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁹ Citation by Lanson, *Bossuet* (Paris, 1894), p. 411.

¹⁰ Bossuet, *Relation sur le Quiétisme, Œuvres*, xxxix, 549.

Guide of Molinos¹¹ The Spaniard, Molinos, was a false mystic, "un des plus grands scélérats qu'on puisse s'imaginer",¹² the Pope had said so, and, argued Bossuet, referring to the writings of the French Quietists, ". . . ce langage mystique est celui des faux mystiques de nos jours, d'un Falconi, d'un Molinos, d'un Malaval, auteurs condamnés mais non celui d'aucun mystique approuvé"¹³ Fénelon rejects the accusation with horror: "Il me dénonce à l'Eglise (chose horrible) comme un second Molinos. . . Il va jusqu'à me reprocher le *fanatisme* et le *dérisme*"¹⁴ In Bossuet's own mind, then, there was not the slightest reason for hesitation in condemning the Quietists and their works, the Pope had condemned Molinos, Fénelon, Madame Guyon taught what Molinos taught, therefore, why hesitate?

But the new mystics or Quietists proved themselves more formidable antagonists than the Quakers, who, as far as we know, made no reply to the animadversions of the Bishop of Meaux. In the first place, there existed within the Church itself an honored tradition of mysticism with which Bossuet was none too familiar; furthermore, that tradition was now invoked by the "enigmatic" Archbishop of Cambrai, the "souple" Fénelon, of whom Bossuet, in the course of the controversy, angrily exclaimed: "Qui pouvoit imaginer tous les tours qu'il donneroit à son esprit . . . Le monde n'avoit jamais vû d'exemple d'une souplesse, d'une illusion, et d'un jeu de cette nature . . . l'Eglise n'a point d'exemple de semblables subtilitez."¹⁵ The task, then, which confronted the Bishop, in the present instance was to demonstrate that French quietism opposed the tradition of the Church; "Il faut délivrer l'Eglise du plus grand ennemi qu'elle ait jamais eu",¹⁶ specifically, he strove to prove to the Holy See that *The Maxims of the Saints* deserved to be placed upon the Index.

Apart from the all sufficient and compelling argument drawn from the papal authority and precedent, what, in *The Maxims* themselves, deserved censure, according to the Bishop of Meaux? We have already discovered in Bossuet's *Avertissements aux Protestans* his abhorrence of "fanaticism," of "revelation of the spirit of God," of "the faith already formed within," all eventually dispensing with such external authority as the scripture, supplanting the tradition of the Church, endowing the

¹¹ Indeed, it is doubtful, according to Janet, whether Bossuet would have seen any more venom in the quietism of Fénelon and his friend, Mme Guyon, than he saw in Saint Theresa or Mme de Chantal, had he not been aroused by the Molinos affair Paul Janet, *Fénelon* (Paris, 1892), p 85

¹² Bossuet, in a letter (Oct 13, 1687) to the abbé Renaudot, *Œuvres*, XLII, 626

¹³ Bossuet, *op cit*, XXIX, 579.

¹⁴ Fénelon, "Réponse a . . . *Summa Doctrinae*," *Œuvres*, Edition Lebel, IV, 534-535

¹⁵ *Remarques Sur La Réponse de M L'Arch de Cambray* (Paris, 1698), pp 85, 86, 101. ¹⁶ Cited by Deschanel, *op cit*, p 305

individual with the prerogatives of the Universal, all sanctifying personal experience. And it is this same deep-seated aversion which now guides and strengthens the hostility of Bossuet to the Quietists.¹⁷ "He thought himself the apostle of Christian manliness and courage against a gospel of nervous debility that found its highest perfection in despair. He was champion . . . of universal objective Catholicism against that *rebellious spirit of individuality* which had been the mother of all heresies."¹⁸ "What separates Fénelon and Bossuet . . . is the conception of the relationship which exists between Catholicism and religion . . ."¹⁹ "Fénelon was the rational commentator upon experience . . . whereas Bossuet puts at the center something which is given from without to sustain the armature of faith and to assure, with the government of souls, their communion in the Christ—it is the tradition of the Church."²⁰ Could this tradition be so interpreted as to include the new mystics? "No," insisted Bossuet, but Fénelon, gathering to his support the accredited mystics of the past, attempted to show that the new thought reflected exactly the thought of tradition. Such was the ambitious objective of *Les Maximes des Saints*.

Wherein did they and the body of Quietist teaching affront tradition, in Bossuet's opinion? The mystical notion of the individual soul's direct communion with God, though recognized by the Church, seems, on the whole, to have been distasteful to Bossuet, or at least, not to have held much interest for him, he was interested in what was reasonable and ordinary. "Such opinions," he says, in the *Traité sur les Etats d'Oraison*,²¹ "arise for the most part from the pride inherent in the human mind, which always aims at self distinction, and which consequently without watchfulness is always prone to mingle an arrogant singularity with its religion, even with its very prayer." What need would a soul, favoured with direct communication with God, have of the Church or of its tradition or ministry? "We read," he says, "in the *Acts* how an important question touching legal ceremony having arisen, the Church assembled to decide it, and after due examination, her judgment was delivered in these words, 'It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us' (*Acts* xv.28). This mode of speech, so uncommon in Holy Writ, which seems

¹⁷ "C'est sans doute cet esprit mal déguisé d'indépendance et de revolte qui valut aux Quiétistes l'appui du Protestantisme . . . les Protestants ne cessaient de publier en faveur de Quiétistes . . ." J. H. Overton, *William Law* (London, 1881), p. 17, citing Bonnel, *De la Controverse de Bossuet et de Fénelon sur le Quiétisme*, Introd., p. xxviii.

¹⁸ St. Cyres, *François de Fénelon* (London, 1906), p. 119.

¹⁹ Leon Brunschvicg, *Le Progrès de la Conscience dans la Philosophie Occidentale*, I, 220, cited by Gabriel Joppin, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

²⁰ Brunschvicg, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

²¹ *Œuvres*, Edition Lachat, xviii, 393. Cited in *Bossuet and His Contemporaries* by the Author of *A Dominican Artist* (London, 1874), p. 374.

to put the Holy Spirit and His ministers on a level, warns the reader by its very nature that herein God is teaching some important truth to His Church. We might have expected that it would suffice the Apostles to affirm that the Holy Ghost spoke through them, but God, in His infinite Wisdom, choosing to establish the inviolable authority of the Church in this its first Assembly, inspired them with that magnificent utterance, 'It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us,' in order that so striking a beginning might teach all ages to come that the Church is to be heard by the faithful as the very Voice of the Holy Spirit Himself."²² Individual voices, then, were to be regarded with suspicion. Fénelon may envisage persons who "have arrived at the State of Divine Union,"²³ and may speak of the decisions of such souls' consecrated judgment as "the voice of the Holy Ghost in the soul,"²⁴ but he, Bossuet, would view such self-confidence, as implied disdain of "the laws of tradition and conventionality whereby the lives of others are controlled"²⁵ And the same would apply to Fénelon's avowal that he puts the perfection of those who are in the active way below that of those in the passive, because "I recognize no other passive state than that wherein the soul by a special gift is united to God in a pure and peaceful love. . . ."²⁶ Elsewhere,²⁷ Fénelon defines this lofty passive state, of which Bossuet held so poor an opinion: "It is," he says, "a state in which acts are sincerely formed in the heart with all the holy sweetness and tranquillity which the Spirit of God inspires." This divine inspiration, Fénelon sometimes called an *attrait intérieur*,²⁸ sometimes it takes the form of "Christ-within," though this, Fénelon is careful to explain, is rather a figure of speech, "arising from an excess of simplicity";²⁹ or again, it will seem to be portion of the very Godhead itself which is resident in such favored souls: "il n'y a que l'esprit de Dieu qui puisse sonder les profondeurs de Dieu même quand il opere dans les ames."³⁰ Fénelon frequently reassures Bossuet, however—for he was keenly aware of the Bishop's opposition and of his intense activity at Rome—that this remarkable state of passivity was well within the bounds of faith: "Toute direction," he writes, "quelque intérieure qu'elle puisse estre des ames mesmes les plus avancées doit estre toujours soumise aux pasteurs de l'église, toutes les expériences doivent se reduire a la regle suprême et immuable de la foy, car Dieu ne peut jamais estre

²² Bossuet, *Œuvres*, Édition Lachat, XIII, 476, cited also in *Bossuet and His Contemporaries* pp 56–57 ²³ *Maxims of the Saints*, XXIX ²⁴ *Ibid*

²⁵ E K Saunders, *Fénelon, His Friends and His Enemies* (London, 1901), p 101.

²⁶ Fénelon, *Explication des Articles d'Issy* (Paris, 1915), p 97

²⁷ *Réponse à la Déclaration des Trois Evêques*, *Œuvres*, IV, 428

²⁸ *Explication des Articles d'Issy*, pp. 45, 102

²⁹ *Ibid*, p 17, 101

³⁰ *Ibid*, p 110.

contraire a lui mesme n'y faie eprouver le contraire de ce qu'il a revelé." Fénelon then continues with one of those apparent *volte-face*, so irritating to the forthright Bossuet: "mais quoyque les operations de la grace se renferment toujours inviolablement dans cette regle essentielle de la foy, il est pourtant vrai comme un est prelat l'a escrit qu'on ne peut jamais donner des bornes certaines et precises aux operations de l'esprit de Dieu dans les ames"³¹

But that, retorted Bossuet, is precisely the function of tradition and the genius of the Church—"to set fixed and precise limits to the operation of the Spirit of God in souls" "*It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us.*" Nor was there much to reassure him in Fénelon's seventh article of *The Maxims*: "In the history of inward experience, we not infrequently find accounts of individuals whose inward life may be properly characterized as *extraordinary*. They represent themselves as having extraordinary communications: dreams, visions, revelations . . . Again the persons who have, or are supposed to have, the visions and other remarkable states to which we have referred, are sometimes disposed to make their own experience, imperfect as it obviously is, the guide of their life, considered as separate from and above the written law. Great care should be taken against such an error as this. God's word is our true rule.

"Nevertheless, there is no interpreter of the Divine Word like that of a holy heart, or, what is the same thing, of the Holy Ghost dwelling in the heart. If we give ourselves wholly to God, the Comforter will take up His abode with us. True holy souls, therefore, continually looking to God for a proper understanding of His word, may confidently trust that He will guide them aright.

"A holy soul, in the exercise of its legitimate powers of interpretation, may deduce important views from the Word of God which would not otherwise be known, but it cannot add anything to it."

There was little in all this, we say, to reassure the Bishop of Meaux, who, ten years before, had read and cited such painfully similar sentiments, expressed by Robert Barclay, one of the people called "Quakers or Tremblers," that is to say, "the most averred fanatics"

Finally, after eighteen months of such apparent chicanery on Fénelon's part, eighteen months of "mais quoyque," "il est pourtant vrai que", eighteen months of "Explications," "Réfutations," "Diverses Pièces," "Analyses," "Réponses," "Instructions"—the Bishop of Meaux, one may say, exploded; the explosion was entitled *Relation sur le Quietisme*, "ce terrible pamphlet qui écrasa Fénelon avec Mme Guyon"³² "On verra alors, plus clair que le jour, ce qu'on ne voit déjà que trop, que c'est après tout Madame Guyon qui fait le fond de cette

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp 109-110

³² Lanson *Bossuet*, p 413.

affaire, et que c'est la seule envie de la soutenir qui a séparé ce prélat d'avec ses confrères."³³ "Je me garde bien d'imputer à M. l'archevêque de Cambrai autre dessein que celui qui est découvert par des écrits de sa main, par son livre, par ses réponses, et par la suite des faits avérés: c'en est assez et trop, d'être un protecteur si déclaré de celle qui prédit et qui se propose la séduction de tout l'univers. Si l'on dit que c'est trop parler contre une femme dont l'égarement semble aller jusqu'à la folie: je le veux, si cette folie n'est pas un pur fanatisme; si l'esprit de séduction n'agit pas dans cette femme, si cette Priscille n'a pas trouvé son Montan pour la défendre."³⁴

And to innuendo is added the reiterated charge of heresy, of Molinism: "Il est, dis-je, encore aujourd'hui si attaché aux livres de Madame Guyon improuvés par tant de censures, qu'il affecte d'en excuser les erreurs comme un langage mystique, comme des exagérations qu'il ose même soutenir par celles de quelques mystiques, et même de quelques Pères; sans songer que ce qu'on reprend dans cette femme n'est pas seulement quelques exagérations, ce qui peut arriver innocemment, mais d'avoir enchéri par principes sur tous les mystiques vrais ou faux, jusqu'à outrer le livre de Molinos même."³⁵ "Voilà ce que pense un si grand prélat, des livres de Madame Guyon . . . on n'a pu encore lui arracher une vraie condamnation de ces mauvais livres; au contraire, c'est pour les sauver qu'il a épargné la *Guide* de Molinos, qui en est l'original. Cependant, malgré toutes les mitigations des *Maximes des Saints*, on y voit encore et Madame Guyon et Molinos trop foiblement déguisés pour être méconnus, et si je dis après cela que l'ouvrage d'une femme ignorante et visionnaire, et celui de M. de Cambrai, manifestement sont d'un seul et même dessein; je ne dirai, après tout, que ce qui paroît de soi-même."³⁶

How, asks the friendly critic, Lanson,³⁷ did Bishop Bossuet come to indulge in personalities, to pour out ridicule and shame upon his ad-

³³ "Relation," *Œuvres*, xxix, 534. But others have seen much more in the dispute than this. "Le monde moderne voulait naître en s'opposant au monde ancien. C'est ainsi que la querelle du quiétisme, crise de la piété chrétienne, s'incère dans cette crise générale de la conscience humaine qui a marqué la fin du XVIII^e siècle, elle en révèle même un des aspects les plus curieux et les plus profonds puisqu'elle oppose l'expérience à la règle, l'autorité de l'individu à l'autorité de la tradition, les droits et les lumières de l'instinct aux commandements de la raison. Elle est donc en soi et par ses conséquences une chose dramatique (Calvet, *op cit*, p. 501). The conclusion of Leibniz, regarding l'affaire du Quiétisme is interesting. 'Selon les apparences,' dit-il, 'Madame Guyon est une orgueilleuse visionnaire et l'archevêque de Cambrai a été trompé par son air de spiritualité.' Sa conclusion sur le tout. "Je suis prevenu pour deux choses (persuadé de deux choses) l'une est l'exactitude de Monsieur de Meaux, l'autre est l'innocence de Monsieur de Cambrai" (Cited by Emile Deschanel, *op cit*, p. 306).

³⁴ Bossuet, *Œuvres*, xxix, 648-649.

³⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 599-600.

³⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 646-647.

³⁷ Lanson. *Bossuet*, p. 413.

versaries, in so unchristian a manner? And the same critic cites these words of the great polemicist, in his own defense: "Si je molissois dans une querelle où il y va de toute la religion, ou si j'affectois des délicatesses, on ne m'entendrait pas, et je trahirois la cause que je dois défendre."³⁸ After all, the Bishop was not a saint, nor was he ever canonized, despite his enormous labors in defense of the faith

Few theologians—Catholic or Protestant—have wielded a major premise so cogently as the Bishop of Meaux, that premise for him, *hors de l'Eglise, point de salut*. Few have so clearly foreseen the implications inherent in the denial of that premise. Read, in conclusion, the following letter, dated Paris, April 14, 1698.³⁹ It is from Bossuet to his nephew: "They have reprinted his book in Holland at the same print-shop which formerly did work for the fanatic Bourignon, who talked of nothing but pure love. The Quakers are ordering M de Cambray's book so eagerly that it has been found necessary to stop circulation. . . Unless a decree from Rome soon settles so great a dispute, very easy to decide by the Tradition, the Protestants and the fanatics will say, the first, that Rome is beginning to doubt her light, and the second, that she has not dared condemn the errors of the New Quietists, because of her own mystics who think as they do."

"The Quakers are ordering M de Cambray's book," Bossuet warned. And they have continued to do so from that day to this. What is more, they have been profoundly influenced by the life and teachings of M de Cambray's friend, Mme Guyon (*son amie*, as Bossuet put it), that *visionnaire* who so deeply offended the common sense of the Bishop of Meaux. "If we ever had as a Society a mother-in-grace it is she," declares J Rendel Harris,⁴⁰ distinguished British scholar and leader of Friends.

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³⁸ *Ibid*, p 411, Letter of Bossuet, Nov 18, 1697. But Calvet thinks that the Bishop of Meaux was very weary: "En d'autre temps, Bossuet, aussi énergique, aurait gardé plus de calme et de mesure. Mais débordé par la vie, irrité par des difficultés sans cesse renouvelées, excité par son neveu, il se jeta dans la querelle des mystiques avec une loyauté emportée qui fermait la porte aux accommodements." *Op cit*, pp 352-353.

³⁹ Bossuet *Œuvres*, XLI, 169-170.

⁴⁰ *The Influence of Quietism on the Society of Friends*, a lecture delivered at Bryn Mawr College, April 30, 1900.

IX

AN UNPUBLISHED MÉMOIRE OF FÉNELON WITH EMENDED LETTER

THE Versailles edition¹ of the Works and Correspondence of François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon (1651-1715), Archbishop of Cambrai, reproduced again with some modifications in the Paris edition,² is the best edition available, but it is incomplete and imperfect in many respects. This is true especially of the correspondence with its cumbersome classification, its doubtful identifications, its discrepancies and deficiencies in chronology.³ Fortunately, in recent years numerous additional works and letters of Fénelon have been published in books and periodicals,⁴ and these, together with a number of corrections and revisions which have been made of the correspondence,⁵ have served to supplement and to rectify our knowledge of Fénelon and his activities. It is the purpose of this paper further to modify and to complement this knowledge: first, by correcting an error made by the editors of the editions mentioned above, in mistaking the identity of the person to whom one of Fénelon's letters is addressed, secondly, by revising the text of this same letter as it is published, thirdly, by reproducing for the first time a *Mémoire* written by Fénelon, which seems either to have been unknown to the editors, omitted through mistake, or deliberately suppressed by them as unimportant.⁶

I. The letter in question is Letter No. XLIV,⁷ which was allegedly written to Charles-Honoré d'Albert (1646-1712), Duke of Chevreuse, by Fénelon from Le Câteau-Cambrésis,⁸ on September 7, 1702. We say

¹ *Œuvres de Fénelon, archevêque de Cambrai* (Versailles, J. A. Lebel, et Paris, Ferra jeune et Leclère, 1820-30), 35 vols in-8.

² *Œuvres complètes de Fénelon, archevêque de Cambrai* (Paris, Leroux et Jouby, 1848-52), 10 vols gr in-8. We shall use this edition hereafter in our references and citations.

³ E. Carcassonne, *État présent des travaux sur Fénelon* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1939) Cf pp 5-8. ⁴ *Ibid*, pp 115-134.

⁵ E. Griselle, "La Correspondance de Bossuet et de Fénelon," *Études*, cxxx, 693-702 cxxxi, 235-245. G. de Mouchy "Bossuet et Fénelon. L'édition de leur correspondance," *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, ix (1909), 513-518, x (1910), 10 et seq.

⁶ Fénelon *op cit*, Cf Vol I *Avertissement* 6 "Malgré l'engagement que nous avons pris de publier une collection complète des œuvres de Fénelon, nous n'avons pas balancé à omettre un certain nombre de lettres et de simples billets, dont l'intérêt, uniquement relatif au moment où ils ont été écrits, a nécessairement disparu avec le temps. Nous avons encore moins balancé à supprimer une multitude de pièces et de mémoires concernant l'Histoire de Fénelon." ⁷ *Ibid*, vii, 238.

⁸ A fortified city situated near Cambrai, in which the Archbishops of Cambrai maintained an Archiepiscopal palace. The city and the surrounding territory formed an inde-

allegedly because it is obvious from an examination of its contents and the circumstances surrounding its composition that it could not have been written for the Duke of Chevreuse. There can be little doubt of this, or of the identity of the person for whom this communication was really destined, after one has read C. Sommervogel's excellent article⁹ in which he has established beyond question that a *Mémoire*¹⁰ (of which we shall speak later), and Letters No. xxv, xxxix, xl, xli as well as Letter No. xlv¹¹ were addressed, not to the Duke of Chevreuse, but to his brother-in-law, Paul de Saint-Aignan (1648-1714), Duke of Beauvilliers. Moreover, a study of the character and activities of these two men in the light of other evidence¹² fully corroborates our thesis and the facts upon which Sommervogel bases his conclusions. Both were intimate friends of Fénelon, but Beauvilliers alone, as a member of the King's Council and Minister of State, was at this time in a position to influence the decisions of the King with regard to the Jansenist problem, with which the above mentioned letters are principally concerned.¹³ It is probable, however, that Fénelon transmitted his letter to Beauvilliers through the Duke of Chevreuse, with the latter's name on the outside cover. This appears likely since the Duke often acted as Fénelon's intermediary,¹⁴ and it would account for the natural mistake, several times repeated, of the editors (or their predecessors) in publishing, as addressed to Chevreuse, letters that were really directed to Beauvilliers.

II Negligence or incompetence on the part of Fénelon's editors is further exemplified in the published text which is supposed to reproduce Fénelon's original letter to Beauvilliers. A comparison with the manuscript letter¹⁵ which is unsigned, but in Fénelon's handwriting and unquestionably authentic, reveals that, for reasons which remain obscure,

pendent principality and was governed by the Archbishops, who upon appointment to the Archdiocese, inherited the title of Duke of Cambrai as well as the powers that went with it. Cf. A. Deloë, "Le Câteau à travers les âges" *Mémoires de la Société d'Émulation de Cambrai*, LXVI (1912), 69-160.

⁹ C. Sommervogel, S. J. *Mélanges*, "Lettre inédite (12 juillet, 1702) de Fénelon au Duc de Beauvilliers" *Études*, 1863, pp. 791-801.

¹⁰ Fénelon, *op. cit.*, iv, 450-451. Published under two titles: *Mémoire sur l'État du Diocèse de Cambrai par rapport au Jansénisme, et sur les moyens d'y arrêter les progrès de l'erreur*, and *Mémoire sur le progrès du Jansénisme*. ¹¹ *Ibid.*, vii, 234, 236, 237, 238.

¹² A. Delplanque, *Fénelon et la doctrine de l'amour pur d'après sa correspondance avec ses principaux amis* (Lille: Facultés Catholiques, 1907), Fénelon et les Ducs de Beauvilliers et de Chevreuse, pp. 70-91.

¹³ Sommervogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 798-799. ¹⁴ Fénelon, *op. cit.*, vii, 286, 324, etc.

¹⁵ Morgan Collection. Fénelon's Autograph Letters. V. 12 E. 4 and 3 pages, 22 3/4 x 16 9/16. (Graciously placed at our disposal by Miss Belle Da Costa Greene, Director of the Morgan Library.)

liberties have been taken with its form and content. The Archbishop's missive, written at Cambrai, is in two parts, one of which might be considered a postscript. The first part is dated September 7, 1702, and the second, September 11, 1702. The second part is published in the Versailles and Paris editions as Letter XLIII, addressed to the Duke of Beauvilliers, without name of place or exact date, and with two thirds of the text omitted.¹⁶ The first part, dated from Câteau-Cambrésis (September 7, 1702) and addressed to the Duke of Chevreuse, is published, with a number of modifications, as Letter No XLIV.¹⁷ Juxtaposition of the printed texts in their correct order with their original source (obviously lacking but unacknowledged) will show in what manner and to what extent Fénelon's letter has been altered.

The Archbishop of Cambrai's letter refers to two of the dominant interests of his life: first, his affection for the Duke of Burgundy (1682–1712), his former pupil, secondly, his struggle against Jansenism. Fénelon, who had been Preceptor to the Princes of France since August 17, 1689, had not communicated directly with the prince since August 1, 1697,¹⁸ the date on which he was exiled from Court by Louis XIV, because of his role in the Quietist controversy.¹⁹ On December 22, 1701, however, the Duke of Burgundy wrote to Fénelon "par une voie sûre,"²⁰ assuring him of his friendship and gratitude, thereby re-establishing direct contact and renewing correspondence with the Archbishop. Some months later, while on his way to take command of the army in Flanders, the Duke informed Fénelon from Péronne²¹ that the King had given him permission to see the Archbishop in the presence of a third party. This reunion between tutor and pupil after four years of separation was a memorable one and occasioned much comment at Court.²²

At the time of this welcome but unexpected visit,²³ Fénelon was busily engaged with the administration of his Archdiocese, and with the religious problems then troubling Christian consciences and the peace of

¹⁶ Fénelon, *op cit*, VII, 238, apparently after *Œuvres de Fénelon* éd. Gallard et Querbeuf (Paris, Didot, 1787–92), I, 636.

¹⁷ Fénelon, *op cit* VII, 238–239. Also taken from 1787 ed. Cf VI, 284–286 without indicating source.

¹⁸ Louis XIV officially dispossessed Fénelon of his title and emoluments early in 1699. Cf. Haussenville, Comte d', *La Duchesse de Bourgogne et l'alliance savoyarde sous Louis XIV* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1903), II, 47.

¹⁹ Vacant, Mangenot et Amann, *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1924), Art. *Fénelon*, v, 2138–70.

²⁰ Fénelon *op cit*, VII, 231.

²¹ *Ibid*, VII, 235 (April 25, 1702).

²² Saint-Simon *Mémoires*, éd. Boislisle (Paris: Hachette, 1879–1918), x, 183–185, also *Journal du Marquis de Dangeau*, éd. Soulié et Dussieux (Paris: Didot, 1854–60), VIII, 405.

²³ Delplanque *op cit*, Fénelon et le Duc de Bourgogne, pp. 42–69.

the Church. In 1698, the publication of the *Problème Ecclésiastique* had caused a renewal of hostilities between Jansenists and Jesuits, and their respective political partisans, the Gallicans and Ultramontanes.²⁴ One of the first to realize that this recrudescence of the Jansenist controversy threatened the existence of both Religion and State, Fénelon, although handicapped by royal disfavor and his exile in Cambrai, had since made every possible effort to stop the growth and diffusion of the Augustinian heresy. His correspondence from 1699 to 1702 with Beauvilliers, his lone ally in the King's Council,²⁵ as well as the documents presented here, reflect, only imperfectly, to what extent and with what zeal and intensity Fénelon was carrying on the fight.

Apparently the Archbishop had just finished his letter of September 7, 1702, to Beauvilliers, which as we shall see, concerned a particular phase of the Jansenist controversy, when he learned that the Duke of Burgundy was to pass through Cambrai on his return to Versailles. He was unaware that the Prince had written him from Malines on September 6, 1702,²⁶ stating that he thought it inadvisable to see Fénelon just before returning to Court (where he might be questioned by the King about his visit with the Archbishop). Accordingly, not having received the Duke's letter, Fénelon, on September 8, 1702, went to the inn where post-horses were changed for the trip to Paris, and there saw Louis for the second time within five months.²⁷ Before sending to Chevreuse the letter and *Mémoire*, written on September 7 for Beauvilliers, Fénelon added a post-script, dated September 11, 1702, he also enclosed a letter for the Duke of Burgundy.²⁸

Letter XLIV

*Au Duc de Chevreuse*²⁹

Au Câteau-Cambrésis
7 septembre 1702

Je vous envoie, mon bon duc un
mémoire sur les affaires de Douai. Il
est certain que, si on laisse la pleine

[Au Duc de Beauvilliers]

AC. [ambrai]
7 s[e]pt[em]bre 1702

Je vous enuoye, mon bon Duc, un
memoire sur les affaires de Douay. Il
est certain que si on laisse la pleine

²⁴ N. Abercrombie, *The Origins of Jansenism* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1936), p. 305

²⁵ Fénelon *op cit*, Vol VII Letters 21, 25, 26, 39 —Chevreuse was at first oblivious to the dangers of Jansenism. He had been educated at Port-Royal, and despite Fénelon's warnings remained loyal to his former teachers until 1703. Cf. Vol VII Letters 18, 22, 28, 29

²⁶ *Ibid*, VII, 238.

²⁷ *Journal du Marquis de Dangeau, op. cit*, VIII, 495.

²⁸ See note 48, below.

²⁹ (a) Words in italics indicate textual modifications made by editors, (b) words and letters within brackets are ours, (c) the spelling, punctuation and accentuation in the MSS are reproduced from the original. Changes made by Fénelon himself are indicated by footnotes.

liberté du concours, il n'y aura plus que *des opinions que je crois dangereuses* dans cette Université, et par conséquent dans tout le pays. Quoique M d'Arras soit évêque diocésain, j'y ai beaucoup plus d'intérêt que lui, car les deux tiers du diocèse d'Arras ne recoivent guère de sujets de Douai, et nous en recevons six fois davantage. Il seroit naturel qu'on voulût savoir ce que connoissent les évêques les plus intéressés, qui sont sur les lieux, mais nous sommes bien loin de là, et il faut se taire. A l'égard de votre scrupule sur la règle, je crois que le mémoire suffit pour le lever. Le concours n'est point de l'institution de l'Université. C'est le Roi seul qui l'a établi par rapport aux affaires de Rome, dont il ne s'agit plus.

Quand le Roi tourne en plaisanterie vos ombrages sur *les affaires du temps* ne pourriez-vous *pas* répondre en riant, que vous avez été tenté de vous modérer là-dessus, mais que l'expérience vous a contraint de croire qu'il y a du *venin caché presque partout*. Vous lui donneriez peut-être un peu à penser. S'il vous pressoit de vous expliquer, vous pourriez lui faire entendre, sans nommer personne, que le parti est relevé depuis quelques années, et qu'il trouve de la protection partout.

Vous savez ce que je vous ai souvent proposé sur les pas à faire, ou à ne faire pas. Je ne demande point que vous forciez votre timidité par des efforts humains, et qui surpasseroient peut-être vos ressources présentes auprès du Roi, vous agiriez de cette sorte autant contre votre grâce que

liberté du concours, il n'y aura plus que le Jansenisme dans cette université, et par consequent dans tout le pais. Quoique M d'Arras³⁰ soit L'Euêque diocésain, j'y ai beaucoup plus d'intérêt que lui, car les deux tiers du diocèse d'Arras ne recoivent gueres de sujêts de Douay, et nous en receuons six fois dauantage. Il seroit naturel qu'on voulut sauoir ce que connoissent les Euêques les plus intéressez, qui sont sur les lieux. Mais nous sommes bien loin de la, et il faut se taire. A l'egard de v[ot]re scrupule sur la règle,³¹ je crois que le memoire suffit pour le leuer. Le concours n'est point de l'institution de l'université. C'est le Roi seul qui l'a établi par rapport aux affaires de Rome,³² dont il ne s'agit plus.

Quand le Roi tourne en plaisanterie vos ombrages sur le Jansenisme, ne pourriez vous répondre en riant, que vous auez été tenté de vous modérer la dessus, mais que l'experience vous a contraint de croire qu'il y a du Jansenisme caché, et de sa cabale presque partout. Vous lui donnerez peutêtre un peu a penser. S'il vous pressoit de vous expliquer, vous pourriez lui faire entendre, sans nommer personne,³³ que le parti est relcué depuis quelques années, et qu'il trouue de la protection partout.

Vous sauez ce que je vous ai souuent proposé sur les pas a faire, ou a ne faire pas. Je ne demande point que vous forciez³⁴ v[ot]re timidité par des efforts humains, et qui surpasseroient peutêtre,³⁵ vos ressources presentes auprez du Roi . . .³⁶ Vous agiriez de cette sorte autant contre v[ot]re grace que

³⁰ Guy Sève de Rochechouart (1640–1724), Bishop of Arras

³¹ See paragraph I of *Mémoire* which follows

³² *Ibid*, paragraph III.

³³ Word crossed out

³⁴ Word crossed out

³⁵ "les" crossed out

³⁶ "mais" crossed out

contre votre naturel mais je voudrois seulement que vous laissassiez tomber toutes vos réflexions de sagesse, que vous n'eussiez aucun égard à tout ce que vous connoîtriez devant Dieu de votre timidité naturelle, et que vous fissiez et dissiez simplement en chaque occasion de providence, ce que l'esprit de grâce vous inspireroit alors Je ne voudrois aucune démarche extraordinaire et démesurée par une espèce d'enthousiasme, c'est ce qui n'est point de votre grâce, et où vous courriez risque de prendre une chaleur d'imagination pour un mouvement de Dieu Je ne voudrois que parler³⁸ modérément, et selon les règles communes, quand Dieu vous en donneroit l'ouverture au dehors, avec une certaine pente du dedans, contre laquelle vous n'auriez que des réflexions humaines et intéressées On se flatte quelquefois, et on se ménage trop par politique timide, sous le beau prétexte de se réserver pour des grandes occasions, qui ne viendront peut-être jamais, et dans le fond, on recherche sa sûreté et son repos mais on ne voit pas ce repli du fond de son cœur, et on croit n'agir que pour le bien général, dont on a en effet le zèle sincère Moins vous vous écouterez, pour écouter Dieu paisiblement en chaque chose plus vous sentirez votre cœur s'élargir et votre force s'augmenter: *Mutaberis in alium virum* Faites-en l'essai, si vous osez Ceux qui croiront, verront les fleuves d'eau vive couler de leurs entrailles, mais vous ne recevrez que suivant la mesure de votre foi C'est le peu de foi qui resserre le

contre v[ot]re naturel Mais je voudrois seulement que vous laissassiez tomber toutes vos reflexions de sagesse, que vous n'eussiez aucun égard a tout ce que vous connoîtriez³⁷ deuant Dieu de v[ot]re timidité naturelle, et que vous fissiez, et dissiez simplem[en]t en chaque occasion de prouidence ce que l'esprit de grace vous inspireroit alors Je ne voudrois aucune demarche extraordinaire et demesurée par une espece d'entousiasme C'est ce qui n'est point de v[ot]re grace, et ou vous courriez risque de prendre une chaleur d'imagination pour un mouuement de Dieu Je ne voudrois que parler simplem[en]t, modérement, et selon les règles communes, quand Dieu vous en donneroit l'ouuerture au dehors, avec une certaine pente du dedans, contre laquelle vous n'auriez que des reflexions humaines et intéressées On se flatte quelquefois et on se ménage trop par politique timide, sous le beau pre-texte de se reseruer pour de grandes occasions, qui ne viendront peut-être jamais, et dans le fonds on recherche sa sureté et son repos Mais³⁹ on ne voit pas ce repli du fonds de son cœur, et on croit n'agir que pour le bien g[én]ér[al], dont on a en effet le zeze sincere Moins vous vous ecouterez, pour écouter Dieu paisiblement en châque chose, plus vous sentirez v[ot]re cœur s'élargir, et v[ot]re force s'augmenter *Mutaberis in alium virum*⁴⁰ faites en l'essai, si vous osez Ceux qui croiront verront les fleuves d'eau viue couler de leurs entrailles⁴¹ Mais vous ne receurez que suuant la mesure de

³⁷ Word crossed out

³⁸ "Supplement" omitted

³⁹ Word crossed out

⁴⁰ Cf. *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate—Douay Version* (New York J Murphy, 1914), Kings, I Ch. x v 6 "And the Spirit of the Lord shall come upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them, and shalt be changed into another man."

⁴¹ *Ibid*, John, Ch VII, v 38. "He that believeth in me, as the scripture saith, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water"

cœur C'est l'abandon à Dieu, qui le soulage, et qui en étend la capacité. Saint Paul dit, *dilatamini*, élargissez-vous Dieu ne demande que de vous en épargner la peine, laissez-le faire, il vous élargira lui-même, pourvu que vous ne repoussiez pas son opération, en écoutant vos réflexions *inquietes*, ou celles d'autrui ⁴³

vôtre foi C'est le peu de foi qui resserre le cœur C'est l'abandon à Dieu, qui le soulage, et qui en étend la capacité. S [aint] Paul dit *Dilatamini*,⁴² Elargissez-vous Dieu ne demande que de vous en épargner la peine laissez le faire Il vous élargira lui même, pourvu que vous ne repoussiez pas son operation, en écoutant vos reflexions, ou celles d'autrui.

Letter XLIII

De Fénelon au Duc de Beauvilliers.
septembre 1702

J'ai vu notre cher prince un moment, il m'a paru engraisé, d'une meilleure couleur, et fort gai Il m'a témoigné en peu de paroles la plus grande bonté, il a beaucoup pris sur lui en me voyant. Il me semble que je ne suis touché de tout ce qu'il fait pour moi, que par rapport à lui et au bon cœur qu'il marque par là Il m'avait écrit de Malines, par M de Denonville, une lettre que celui-ci m'a rendue depuis le passage du prince Je garderai là-dessus le plus profond secret Je ne saurois recevoir tant de marques de sa bonté sans lui en témoigner ma reconnaissance en lui retraçant la conduite qu'il doit tenir, et lui rappelant ce qu'il me semble qu'il doit à Dieu. Voici

AC [ambrai] 11 s[e]pt[em]bre 1702

Depuis cette lettre écrite j'ai⁴⁴ vu un moment à la poste M. le D [uc] de B [ourgogne]. Il me parut engraisé,⁴⁵ d'une meilleure couleur, et fort guay. Il me temoigna en peu de paroles beaucoup de bonté. Il a beaucoup pris sur lui, en me voyant Il me semble que je ne suis touché de tout ce qu'il fait pour moi que par rapport à lui et au bon cœur qu'il marque par là. Il m'auoit écrit de Malines par M. de Denonville⁴⁶ une lettre⁴⁷ que celui-ci m'a rendue depuis le passage du prince. Je garderai la dessus le plus profond secret. Voici une lettre pour lui, sans dessus, que je vous supplie de lui donner.⁴⁸ Je ne saurois recevoir tant de marques de sa bonté, sans lui temoigner

⁴² *Ibid.*, II Cor Ch vi v 13. "But having the same recompense, (I speak as to my children,) be you also enlarged "

⁴³ The original and the printed texts of Letter No. XLIV (September 7, 1702) stop here Fénelon's letter of September 11, 1702, is published in part as Letter No XLIII Cf Fénelon *op cit*, VII, 238

⁴⁴ Word crossed out

⁴⁵ *Journal du Marquis de Dangeau op et loc cit*, VIII, 495 Vendredi, 8 septembre 1702, à Versailles "M de Bourgogne était parti ce matin de Douai, on l'a trouvé fort engraisé et fort changé en bien."

⁴⁶ Jacques-René de Brisay, marquis de Denonville (1637-1710), appointed assistant-governor of the Duke of Burgundy, September 20, 1689 Cf Saint-Simon, *op cit.*, XI, 218

⁴⁷ Fénelon *op cit*, VII, 238. Du Duc de Bourgogne à Fénelon A Malines, le 6 septembre 1702

⁴⁸ Fénelon's packet of letters therefore consisted of three letters and a *Mémoire* The letter to the Duke of Burgundy, to which Fénelon here refers, has not yet been published.

un temps de crise, où vous devez redoubler votre fidélité pour n'agir que par grâce auprès de lui, et pour le secourir sans timidité ni empressement naturel.

ma reconnoissance, en lui disant ce qu'il me semble qu'il doit à Dieu. Voici un tem[p]s de crise, ou vous devez redoubler v[ot]re fidélité, pour n'agir que par grace auprez de lui, et pour le secourir sans timidité ni empressem[en]t naturel. *Donnez vous bien tout entier sans reserve à D[ieu], mon bon Duc Il fera tout en vous*

J'oublierois de vous dire que quand on ôteroit le concours de Douay, et que le Roi nommeroit lui même les professeurs, M le Card [inal] de N [oailles],⁴⁹ M. l'ar [chevêque] de Rheims,⁵⁰ et M de Meaux⁵¹ ne feroient nommer que des gens du parti.⁵² Ne pourroit-on pas charger de ce choix M. l'Ev [êque] de Chartres⁵³ avec le P [ère] de la Chaise⁵⁴ Peut-être que le Roi ne voudroit pas déclarer cette commission, de peur de peiner les autres. Mais il lui seroit facile, sans la déclarer, de régler ainsi la chose en chaque occasion. M de Chartres proposé avec le P [ère] de la Chaise seroit le correctif, et montreroit qu'on n'a ni partialité ni entêtement. N'est-il pas pitoyable que le Roi soit à la veille de faire triompher le Jansenisme à Douay contre son intention pend[an]t que le R [oi] d'Esp.[agne],⁵⁵ son petit fils employe toute son autorité à l'abattre à Louvain.

Quand le Roi se moquera de vous sur le Jansenisme, dites lui ce que le Pape a fait qui est de renvoyer l'arch [evêque] de Sébaste,⁵⁶ vic [aire] ap [osto]lique en Hollande parce que tout le clergé de Hollande est devenu Janseniste sous sa conduite. Dites lui encore que M l'arch [evêque] de Rheims avoit fait imprimer à Sedan ville de son diocèse une lettre⁵⁷ qu'il écrivoit il y a sept ans à Rome, où il favorisant le parti. Les Jesuites pourront vous fournir l'imprimé, si vous en avez besoin.—⁵⁸Le clergé

⁴⁹ Louis-Antoine de Noailles (1651–1729), Archbishop of Paris

⁵⁰ Charles-Maurice Le Tellier (1643–1710)

⁵¹ Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704), Bishop of Meaux

⁵² The Jansenist party. N B—Next eight lines are unidentified but cited by Querbeuf, *op cit*, I, 567–568 ⁵³ Paul Godet des Marais (1649–1709)

⁵⁴ François de La Chaise (1624–1709), Jesuit confessor of Louis XIV

⁵⁵ Philippe V, Duke of Anjou (1683–1746), second grandson of Louis XIV

⁵⁶ Pierre Codde (1648–1710), Oratorian, who, in 1688, was named Titular Archbishop of Sébaste (Phrygia, Asia Minor), and Vicar Apostolic of Holland. Accused of fostering Jansenism, Codde was suspended from his functions in 1689. In spite of a voyage to Rome in his own defense, his doctrines were condemned by a decree of the Inquisition on April 5, 1704. Cf L. Moreri, *Grand Dictionnaire historique*, éd. Drouet (Paris, 1759), I, 787–788, *Dictionnaire de livres jansénistes*, I, 21—cited by Urbain et Levesque, *Correspondance de Bossuet* (Paris: Hachette, 1909–23), II, 63 n, *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*, *op cit*, III, 108

⁵⁷ We have been unable to positively identify this particular letter. It may well be the following *Lettre Au Sieur Vivant, docteur de Sorbonne, présentement à Rome auprès du Cardinal de Janson Forbin, sur les différends des théologiens de Flandre et sur la dernière déclaration présentée au Saint-Office par M Hennebel* in 4°. Louvain 1697

⁵⁸ ?? "roi" crossed out

fit semblant il y a 2 ans de parler contre le Jansenisme Dans la vérité il ne dut rien d'effectif, et ne voulut jamais condamner des propositions herétiques d'un livre que le P [ère] Quesnel⁵⁹ lui auoit dédié Les theses qu'on a soutenues ces jours passez a Douay dans le concours sont toutes Jansenistes Les juges ne font pas que de celles la.

III. Fénelon's communication of September 7 and 11, 1702, as we have just seen, refers to an enclosed *Mémoire* "sur les affaires de Douay," and specifically to "la liberté du concours," a comparatively recent institution at the University of Douai, which Fénelon apparently blamed for the spread of Jansenism in the University itself, and in the border provinces. Since Douai was in the diocese of Arras, the matter was, strictly speaking, none of his affair. However, as an avowed enemy of the heresy, and as head of the Archdiocese of Cambrai, which placed many of the University's graduates, it was to Fénelon's interest and to that of religion that he should concern himself with the problems engendered by this innovation. The circumstances which seem to have led to the composition of the *Mémoire* are, briefly, the following:

In 1681, Louis XIV had established a competitive examination open to all French subjects and foreigners, for the purpose of recruiting able professors for the theological and other faculties of the University⁶⁰ of Douai, which had until then successfully resisted efforts to impregnate it with Jansenist doctrines, chiefly because the membership of its faculties had been carefully selected through royal appointment, was thus made accessible to teachers imbued with heretical tendencies. Having obtained a foothold, the Jansenists attempted to gain control of the University, a maneuver facilitated by the policy of Mgr. de Rochechouart, Bishop of Arras. Completely orthodox himself, he, nevertheless, favored the Jansenists over the Jesuits, to whom he was unalterably opposed.⁶¹ Apparently, however, little headway had been made in this direction before the *concours* was suspended for the first time as a result of the action of the Assembly of the Clergy of 1682 in formulating the Four Articles,⁶² which sought to end what the French King and clergy con-

⁵⁹ P. Pasquier Quesnel (1634-1719) *His Nouveau Testament en français avec des Réflexions morales sur chaque verset pour en rendre la lecture plus utile et la méditation plus aisée Nouvelle édit.* (Paris: Pralard, 1693) 4 vols. in-8, of which one hundred and one propositions were condemned as heretical by the Bull *Unigenitus*, September 8, 1713, is evidently the work here indicated by Fénelon.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Chroniques de Douai recueillies et mises en ordre* par M. le Président Tailliar (Douai: Dechasté, 1877), III, 32 "Arrêt du Conseil du 30 mai 1681. "Le Roi considérant que la voie du concours, afin de pourvoir aux chaires vacantes, sera utile pour que celles-ci soient toujours remplies de professeurs capables pour l'instruction de la jeunesse, le bien du public et pour faire de plus en plus fleurir les sciences dans cette université."

⁶¹ Sommervogel, *op. cit.*, p. 793.

⁶² On March 19, 1682, the Assembly of the Clergy of France voted the following proposi-

sidered Papal interference with Gallican rights and privileges. The teaching of these Articles in all Colleges, Seminaries and Religious houses of the Kingdom and annexed provinces was made mandatory by a Parliamentary decree of March 23, 1682.⁶³ Compliance with the terms of this statute thus afforded the Jansenists (who claimed that their doctrine had been condemned by the Pope, and not by a General Council), an excellent opportunity to defend and to further their own cause.

Although the University was forced to accept the decree, the professors of theology were unwilling to betray their traditional principles with regard to the supremacy and infallibility of the Pope, and asked the king, March 9, 1683, to be excused from teaching the Articles because they weakened their position in the struggle against Jansenism, and also because the edict had caused many students to leave Douai. Angered by this resistance, Louis XIV ordered classes suspended, and the pay of the professors stopped.⁶⁴ In May, 1683 (and again in February, 1684), Innocent XI protested against the king's interference with the freedom of instruction at Douai, but Louis XIV insisted that the Doctrine of the Clergy be taught as prescribed by law.⁶⁵ As a result, courses in theology were resumed only when a protégé of the Bishop of Arras, Jacques Gilbert⁶⁶ was appointed Royal professor of theology, after having sworn

tions "I Que saint Pierre et ses successeurs, vicaires de Jésus Christ, et que toute l'Église même n'ont reçu de puissance de Dieu que sur les choses spirituelles et qui concernent le salut, et non point sur les choses temporelles et civiles. Nous déclarons en conséquence que les rois et les souverains ne sont soumis à aucune puissance ecclésiastique par l'ordre de Dieu dans les choses temporelles, II Que la plénitude de puissance que le saint siège apostolique et les successeurs de saint Pierre, vicaires de Jésus Christ, ont sur les choses spirituelles, est telle que les décrets du saint concile oecuménique de Constance dans les sessions IVe et Ve, approuvés par le saint siège apostolique, confirmés par la pratique de toute l'Église et des pontifes romains, observés religieusement par toute l'Église gallicane, demeurent dans toute leur force et vertu. III Qu'ainsi l'usage de la puissance apostolique doit être réglé suivant les canons faits par l'Esprit de Dieu et consacrés par le respect général, que les règles, les mœurs et les constitutions reçues doivent être maintenues et les bornes posées par nos pères demeurer inébranlables. IV Que quoique le pape ait la principale part dans les questions de foi et que ses décrets regardent toutes les Églises, chaque Église en particulier, son jugement n'est pourtant pas irréfutable, à moins que le consentement de l'Église n'intervienne."

Cf *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique, op cit*, Art. *Déclaration de 1682*, iv, 196-197.

⁶³ *Ibid*, pp 198-199

⁶⁴ Cf F Desmons "L'Épiscopat de Gilbert de Choiseul (1613-89), Évêque de Tournai," *Annales de la Société historique et archéologique de Tournai*, II (1907), 360-361

⁶⁵ E Michaud, *Louis XIV et Innocent XI* (Paris. Charpentier, 1882-83), iv, 116

⁶⁶ (ca 1656-1712), Licentiate and Doctor in Theology from the University of Douai and curate of Beaumetz, in the diocese of Arras. Appointed to the Faculty of Theology in 1683, Gilbert, in 1684, was made provost of the Collegiate Church of Saint-Amé and Chancellor of the University. He was the author of two works, the nature of which is apparent in the

to teach the Four Articles. Early in 1684, examinations for the purpose of filling vacancies in the Faculty of Theology were re-established, but they were restricted to candidates who were willing to take the same oath that Gilbert had taken.⁶⁷ Seizing this opportunity, Jansenists were soon masters of the Faculty, and under pretext of teaching the Doctrine of the Clergy, were, ironically enough, with the protection of the king, diffusing religious error. The Jesuits, who were strongly entrenched in Douai, were the first to bring this anomaly to Louis XIV's attention by their denunciation of Gilbert's teachings and writings. When these had been examined and declared to be Jansenistic, the king banished Gilbert from Douai,⁶⁸ and sent professors from the Sorbonne to take over some of the courses in theology.⁶⁹

However, despite Gilbert's disgrace, and the watchfulness of the King's new appointees, Jansenism continued to be surreptitiously taught at the University of Douai. To do this became more and more difficult in view of the partial reconciliation effected in 1689 between Louis XIV and Pope Alexander VIII,⁷⁰ resulting in the gradual abandonment of the teaching of the Four Articles and the automatic elimination of the pretext which had long served the Jansenists as a shield for their activities. But undeterred by this development, certain incumbents, while professing to teach Thomism,⁷¹ persisted, with the encouragement of Gilbert,

title of one *Theses theologicae quas exponit eximius D ac Mag Jacobus Gilbert, S Th Doctor in alma Duacena Universitate, 1680* and *Tractatus theologico-canonicus de sedis apostolicae primatu, de conciliorum aecumenicorum auctoritate et infallibilitate, de regum in temporibus ab omni potestate humana libertate, auctore eximio D Jac Gilberto Belga theologiae doctore, (Douai: Nicolas d'Assignes, 1687), in-8*. Cf. Desmons, *op cit*, p. 361.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 361.

⁶⁸ At Louis XIV's request, François de Harlay de Champvallon (1625-95), Archbishop of Paris, appointed a commission composed of Doctors from the Sorbonne (Piro, Robert, Lestocq) and the College of Navarre (Saussoy, Guschard) to examine Gilbert's treatises, and notes taken in his courses. A condemnation of his doctrines was filed on January 21, 1687. Gilbert was ordered to retire from the University on March 1, 1687—Cf. Antoine Arnauld *Œuvres* (Paris: D'Arnoy, 1775), II, 764—and exiled to Saint-Quentin. An appeal made to Bossuet (Letter of May 12, 1687. Cf. Urbain et Levesque, *op cit*, III, 345-346 n), and one made to the King (Cf. Desmons, *op cit*, p. 361), failed to stay his sentence. Gilbert, after a retraction made at Lille on July 27, 1687, reversed himself in a letter to Quesnel, and from Saint-Quentin continued by letter to influence conditions at Douai. In 1692, he was relegated to Saint-Flours, thence to Thiers, and finally to the fortress of Pierre Encise at Lyon, where he died. Cf. Avrigny, H R d' *Mémoires chronologiques et dogmatiques pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique depuis 1600 jusqu'en 1716*. s. l. 1739, III, 287 et seq. Desmons, *op cit*, pp. 361-364. Urbain et Levesque, *op cit*, III, 346, n.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, XIII, 518.

⁷⁰ Cf. *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*, *op. cit*, IV, 202-204.

⁷¹ Fénelon voices frequent complaints on this score. Cf. Fénelon, *op cit*, III-v (Ouvrages sur le Jansénisme), and VII-VIII (Correspondance), e.g., "Je ne dois pas omettre une chose importante. C'est que les Jansénistes, pour mieux persuader que le Jansénisme n'est qu'un

in the dissemination of Jansenistic ideas. In 1690, the *Fourberie de Douai*⁷² unmasked the principal offenders (De Ligny,ALLEU, Rivette), and caused their expulsion from Douai. As a consequence of this new scandal, the customary *concours* for replacements in the Faculty of Theology was abolished.⁷³

The morale and conditions at the University having grown steadily worse during the intervening years, the King, in 1702, was asked to re-establish the examination as a means of saving the institution, and especially the Faculty of Theology, from certain ruin. Before acting, however, Louis XIV appointed a commission, consisting of MM Marillac, Voisin, Argouges de Ranes, Bossuet and Le Blanc, to investigate the situation.⁷⁴ Bossuet was immediately solicited by the Bishop of Arras,⁷⁵ and the Rector of the University, Monnier de Richardin⁷⁶ for aid in re-organizing the various Faculties, apparently by a return to the system formerly in practice. Friendly to M de Rochechouart, and, on occasion to the Jansenists, though inviolably opposed to their doctrine, Bossuet appears to have favored the proposal.⁷⁷

Fénelon, more wary of Jansenist intrigue, and better informed than Bossuet about the complicated politico-religious struggle being waged by the rival factions for the control of Douai, was, on the contrary, firmly opposed to re-establishing the *concours* at that time and under the existing circumstances. Fear that the Jansenists, through the favoritism of the Bishop of Arras, and the exclusion of the Jesuits, might dominate the University, extended even to the commission itself.⁷⁸ Conceding the need

fantôme, ne cessent de se confondre avec les Thomistes. Ils se moquent de ceux dont ils prennent le manteau pour se couvrir. Ils se disent tous Thomistes depuis quelques temps, et les Thomistes font bien pis que de les avouer, car ils deviennent tous Jansenistes" (Cf Letter 21, Fénelon au Duc de Beauvilliers (30 novembre 1699).

⁷² An anonymous writer, signing with the initials A. A. (presumably for Antoine Arnauld, the Jansenist leader), succeeded, by a cruel hoax and false promises, in having De Ligny and his colleagues declare their adhesion to Jansenistic principles in letters which were ultimately used to convict them. Cf *Chroniques de Douai, op. cit.*, III, 43-46. See also, D'Avrigny *op. cit.*, III, 270 *et seq.*; and *Les Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*, s. 1 1737, pp. 81-84.

⁷³ Cf Urban et Levesque, *op. cit.*, XIII, 522.n

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII, 397, n

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, XIII, 394-395 (Letter of July 25, 1702)

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, XIII, 397-398 (Letter of July 28, 1702), and a *Mémoire sur l'Université de Douay*, XIII, 517-532

⁷⁷ Sommervogel, *op. cit.*, p. 794.

⁷⁸ Writing to the Duke of Beauvilliers on July 24, 1702, Fénelon expresses himself as follows: "... Je crois vous devoir reparler des affaires de Douay. Je sais que M. de Marillac s'est souvent déclaré avec chaleur contre les Jésuites sur cette affaire. M. d'Argouges, genre de M. Peletier, ne leur sera pas favorable, selon les apparences. M. Voysin a toujours paru prévenu contre eux. M. Leblanc a été mis hors de l'intendance de Rouen, pour y avoir été conuancu de favoriser le passage des écrits du parti janséniste. Le roi a-t-il oublié un fait si décisif? Enfin vous connoissez M. de Meaux. Ne pourroit-on point ouvrir les yeux du Roi. Si on rétablit la liberté de cette université, elle fera en ce pays des maux irréparables.

of reform, and not opposed in principle to a *concours*, Fénelon favored the postponement of the examination until such time as Douai might have a sufficient number of professors "zélés pour la saine doctrine . . . Alors on pourroit retablir la liberté du concours pour les places des professeurs qui vacqueroient, parce qu'on seroit assuré des juges du concours, et qu'on pourroit attirer de bons sujets pour se présenter au concours dans les cas de vacances. Ainsi cette uniuersité se rétablirait et se purifierait tout ensemble . . ."⁷⁹ Whether or not Fénelon's letters to Beauvilliers, together with the *Mémoires* we are about to consider, influenced Louis XIV's action in any way is uncertain. However, the fact remains that the commission which the King had appointed to institute reforms at Douai was suspended by his order before it had made any recommendations.⁸⁰

According to the editors⁸¹ of the Versailles and Paris editions of Fénelon's works and correspondence the *Mémoire sur l'état du Diocèse de Cambrai par rapport au Jansénisme, et sur les moyens d'y arrêter les progrès de l'erreur* (Vol. IV, pp. 450-451), dated September, 1702, is supposed to be the document referred to by Fénelon, in his letter of September 7, 1702, to the Duke of Beauvilliers. Their classification and allocation of the above *Mémoire* is manifestly based on the fact that the University of Douai is mentioned in *one* section of its contents. It is true, that, in this particular *compte-rendu* of conditions in his Archdiocese, Fénelon, alarmed at the progress of Jansenism, suggests, as the best means of arresting the indoctrination of his province: first, that the King exclude all ecclesiastics who had studied at Louvain (source of the heresy) from all offices and benefices, secondly, that Douai, where abuse was rampant,⁸² and teaching at a low level, be strengthened with a number of able and orthodox professors before "la liberté du concours" be re-established; thirdly, that provisions be made for the building and

. Pendant que le Roi d'Espagne réprime l'erreur à Louvain, faudra-t-il qu'elle trouve son refuge à Douay, et que le Roi l'y protège contre son intention! Des qu'on les laissera faire ils seront maîtres de tout, et nous n'aurons pas d'études qui ne soient corrompues " Cf *Ibid.*, p. 791

⁷⁹ Cf *Mémoire sur l'État du Diocèse de Cambrai, op. cit.*, IV, 451

⁸⁰ Cf. Urbain et Levesque, *op. cit.*, XIII, 429-431 (De Bossuet à Antoine de Noailles, 27 octobre 1702)

⁸¹ Fénelon, *op. cit.*, VII, 238

⁸² "Les gens qu'on avoit exilés pour l'affaire du faux Arnould, sont tous revenus. M. Gilbert même, quoique relégué bien loin, donne depuis quelques années en pleine liberté, les canonicats de saint Amé, qui sont à sa nomination, et il y a déjà mis les sujets les plus ardents pour le jansénisme, de sorte que Douai est rempli des plus forts sujets de ce parti. Pour remédier à ce mal il faudroit qu'on engageât, s'il se pouvoit, M. Gilbert de se démettre de son bénéfice. . . " Cf *Mémoire sur l'État du Diocèse de Cambrai*.

maintenance of a diocesan Seminary at Cambrai.⁸³ But although specific recommendations are outlined in this compendium, no reference other than a general one is made to Jansenism or to the *concours* at Douai.

The first sentence of the opening paragraph of Fénelon's letter of the date indicated above states definitely, on the other hand, that the memorandum which he enclosed for the Duke of Beauvilliers was, to quote him directly, a "memoire sur les affaires de Douay." The same passage discloses further that the *Mémoire* in question was expressly written to reassure Beauvilliers with regard to a technicality concerning the origin of the *concours* at the University of Douai, evidently in answer to an objection made by the Duke to Fénelon, as to the legality of the course which the Archbishop of Cambrai was advising the King to pursue in rehabilitating that institution.

Obviously the contents of the *Mémoire sur l'État du Diocèse de Cambrai* and those of the *Mémoire* described in Fénelon's communication to Beauvilliers are quite dissimilar. The fact that the treatment of Douai in the first of the foregoing documents is general, and in the second very specific, excludes the possibility of the two being the same *Mémoire*. There can be no doubt therefore that Fénelon wrote at least two memoranda in which the University of Douai figured, and that the editors have substituted the *Mémoire sur l'État du Diocèse de Cambrai* for another *Mémoire*, which was unknown to them, or unavailable, or which they finally elected to suppress. A glance at the *Mémoire sur Douay*,⁸⁴ which follows, and which is here reproduced for the first time, will show, we think, conclusively, that it, and not the document hitherto published as such, is the *Mémoire* to which Fénelon makes allusion in his letter of September 7, 1702.⁸⁵

MEMOIRE SUR DOUAY

[September 7, 1702]

1 Il est certain que le concours pour les chaires de professeurs dans l'université de Douay, n'a été établi ni par le decret du Pape,⁸⁶ ni par les lettres de Philippe 2⁸⁷

⁸³ Cf. X. Sackebant, *Fénelon et le séminaire de Cambrai* (Cambrai: Deligne, 1902).

⁸⁴ From the Morgan Collection. Fénelon's Autograph Letters V 12 E 8 pages, 22 5×17 cm, written on both sides. The manuscript is in Fénelon's handwriting, but is not signed.

⁸⁵ The determination of the exact date of the composition of the *Mémoire sur l'État du Diocèse de Cambrai* is a problem in itself and exceeds the scope of this paper. Although we believe that the approximative date of September 1702 given to it by Fénelon's editors is incorrect, we can only hazard a guess that this *Mémoire* was written before the appointment of the Royal Commission for the reorganization of the University of Douai, the date of which is uncertain, but which can roughly be set as late June or early July of 1702.

⁸⁶ Paul IV (1555-59).

⁸⁷ Philip II (1527-98), King of Spain.

fondateur de cette université,⁸⁸ ni par aucun statut L'université de Louvain,⁸⁹ dont celle de Douay est une espece de colonie, et sur le modele de laquelle elle a été instituée, n'a jamais pratiqué, et ne pratique encore aujourd'hui aucun concours Il n'y a ni règle, ni statut, qui autorise cet usage

2 Il est vrai seulement que le Roi l'an 1681⁹⁰ ordonna par une déclaration le concours, à moins que les prouiseurs du dot⁹¹ ne jugeassent plus à propos de faire monter à la place vacante le plus ancien des professeurs qui restent audessous, et les autres qui le suivent, en sorte que le concours⁹² n'eut lieu, que pour la dernière de toutes les chaires, qui vaueroit en ce cas

3 Ce changement fut fait en vue d'introduire dans les chaires de cette université des theologiens étrangers, qui pussent s'y introduire par la liberté du concours, et par les affiches qu'on en feroit en France de tous costez, parceque les theologiens de l'université⁹³ refusoient d'enseigner la doctrine que le clergé de France vouloit établir sur la faillibilité du Pape, et sur l'indépendance du temporel des Rois à l'égard du S[aint] Siège⁹⁴——⁹⁵ En effet on y introduisit aussitost dez le premier concours le Sieur Gilbert,⁹⁶ qui fut le seul a se presenter pour concourir, et qui offrit d'enseigner les 4 prop[osit]ions du clergé de France, pend[an]t que tous ceux⁹⁷ de l'université refusoient d'en faire autant

4 De plus on enuoya a Douay M d'Espalungue⁹⁸ Docteur de Sorbonne, lequel fut chargé de veiller⁹⁹ sur tous les autres par rapport à cette doctrine contraire à celle des ultramontains Voila ce qui a commencé à changer l'ordre ancien et naturel de cette université Jusques là le Roi étoit libre conformément aux lettres de Phillippe 2 de ne choisir, ou du moins de n'admettre d'autres professeurs, que ceux qu'il jugeroit propres a cette fonction C'est encore le Roi d'Espagne qui choisit les professeurs a Louvain On sait qu'il en est de même a Paris, dont l'université est la mere, et le modele de ces deux autres On n'a jamais vû en aucune d'elles nulle trace de concours Il est donc tout nouveau a Douay, il y est établi contre l'institution de l'université, et contre son usage depuis son origine Il y est établi par le Roi seul, sans aucune confirma[ti]on du

⁸⁸ Founded according to Patent Letters issued at Madrid, January 19, 1562 Cf G Cardon, *La fondation de l'université de Douai* (Paris Alcan, 1892), p 166

⁸⁹ Word crossed out

⁹⁰ Arrêt du Conseil du 30 avril 1681 (Archives Nationales E 1811), reproduced in full by Urban et Levesque, *op cit*, xiii, 522–524, n

⁹¹ A commission established in 1571, consisting of a treasurer, the rector of the University, two professors and two aldermen It administered university funds, enforced the statutes, and provided professors when vacancies occurred Cf Cardon, *op cit*, p 277

⁹² Word crossed out

⁹³ Word crossed out

⁹⁴ See note 62

⁹⁵ Word crossed out

⁹⁶ See note 66

⁹⁷ Word crossed out

⁹⁸ François d'Espalungue (ca 1650–94), theologian and teacher He studied at Saint Magloire and took his Licentiate in Theology in 1674, and his doctorate in 1676 He served for a time as Preceptor to the son of Colbert, Minister and Secretary of State. D'Espalungue then became a Professor Theology at the Sorbonne, where he distinguished himself as a teacher With a fellow theologian, Tournely, he was sent by the King to Douai, in May, 1688, to replace Gilbert, and to head the Royal Seminary Cf Davin, V Quarante-cinq assemblées de la Sorbonne, p. 159 Cited by Urban et Levesque, *op. cit*, xiii, 518. n.

⁹⁹ "pour" crossed out

Pape Il y est établi pour une occasion passagere, qui cesse La même puissance qui l'a ajouté aux regles de l'université, est pleinement libre de le retrancher. Il faut bien moins de pouuoir pour remettre les choses dans leur état naturel, et originel, que pour le tirer de son institution, et de sa perpetuelle pratique. Le Roi est donc pleinem[en]t libre de réuoquer ce qu'il a fait

5 ———¹⁰⁰ Le Roi en ordonnant le concours pour des chaires de professeurs, n'a pas prétendu renoncer au droit de confirmer l'élú et au pouuoir d'exclurre les sujéts suspects en matière de foi Le Roi auoit le droit de choisir, et de nommer Il a bien voulu laisser choisir par les juges du concours, mais il lui reste au moins le droit¹⁰¹ de confirma[t]ion, et d'exclusion Dans les lieux mêmes, ou le Roi laisse faire des elections canoniques, co[mm]e dans les abbayes chefs d'ordre, il ne laisse pas d'auoir un commissaire, pour veiller sur l'election et pour exclurre de sa part, tous les sujets qui lui seroient suspects On ne peut faire aucune comparaison entre les elections des concours, qui ne sont fondées que par la pure concession du Roi fondateur de l'université, qui remet gratuitement son droit de nommer, et les elections canoniques dans lesquelles le Roi n'a aucun droit d'entrer On peut juger par la, si le Roi doit auoir quelque scrupule, de¹⁰² se reseruer le droit de confirma[t]ion et d'exclusion des sujéts suspects ou non suspects en matière de foi, lors qu'il donne gratuitement la liberté du concours dans l'université de Douay.

6 De quatre professeurs élus¹⁰³ par la voye du concours depuis l'an 1681, il y en a trois que sa Majesté a été obligée d'exiler pour le Jansenisme Le premier fut le sieur Gilbert,¹⁰⁴ qui donna publiquement¹⁰⁵ dans l'école de Douay, des écrits d'une doctrine si outrée, que M l'Eu[êque] d'Arras fort opposé aux Jésuites,¹⁰⁶ et preuenu d'une grande confiance pour le parti opposé,¹⁰⁷ ne crut pas se pouuoir dispenser de censurer ces écrits, et la faculté de Paris ayant été consultée,¹⁰⁸ ce prelat, condamna les écrits du sieur Gilbert On sait que le même sieur Gilbert étant exilé a S[aint] Quentin conseruoit un commerce de doctrine avec les autres du même parti, qui eclatta par l'affaire du faux Arnauld.¹⁰⁹ Il ne s'agit point d'examiner le tort de ceux qui se seruient de cette fiction, pour decouurrir les partisans du Jansenisme Cette fiction est sans doute inexcusable et très odieuse Mais l'extrême tort de ceux qui userent de cette indigne fiction ne diminue en rien le venin de l'heresie, qui a été decouuerte par cette mauuoise voye Trois des quatre professeurs élus par la voye du concours depuis vingt ans son demeurez conuaincus dans cette affaire du faux Arnauld, d'auoir souscrit a une doctrine manifestem[en]t heretique. On peut juger par la, si¹¹⁰ la liberté du concours n'est pas très dangereuse dans cette uniuersité L'experience decide clairement. Tout au moins il est capital que le Roi, a qui demeure le droit de confirma[t]ion pour les professeurs élus, refuse sa confirma[t]ion a ceux qui seront suspects de fauoriser une heresie qui est si réelle en celui-la.

7. Si on veut remonter a la source, on trouuera que la plupart de ceux qui sont

¹⁰⁰ "enfin" crossed out

¹⁰¹ "d'élection" crossed out

¹⁰² Word crossed out.

¹⁰³ "depuis l'établi" crossed out

¹⁰⁴ See note 62

¹⁰⁵ "des écrits" crossed out

¹⁰⁶ See note 61

¹⁰⁷ The Jansenist party

¹⁰⁸ See note 68

¹⁰⁹ See note 72

¹¹⁰ "le" crossed out

juges naturels du concours, sont tous dans les¹¹¹ mêmes sentiments, que le sieur Gilbert, et les autres exilés ont tant soutenu. Ils pourront user d'équivoque et eluder les questions, mais si on veut les presser d'une manière exacte et précise sur¹¹² le vrai sens des propos[iti]ons de Jansenius,¹¹³ et sur l'autorité de l'église pour condamner un texte dans son sens naturel, on sera étonné de leurs restrictions mentales, et du fonds de la doctrine corrompue à laquelle ils sont attachez.

8 On en peut juger par les theses que les concourants viennent de soutenir, depuis qu'ils se croient puissamment protégés, et que d'ailleurs les juges nommez leur sont ouvertement fauorables. Malgré les termes captieux, dont ils veulent deguiser leurs sentiments, on verra qu'ils renouellent la doctrine de Baius,¹¹⁴ et de Jansenius.

Que sera ce, si on¹¹⁵ abandonne cette uniuersité dans les mains de ses corrupteurs, et si elle forme dans ce même esprit tous les étudiants qui rempliront les pastorats, et tous les autres emplois ecc[lési]astiques des diocèses voisins. On peut dire de ceux qui¹¹⁶ feroient scrupule de conseiller au Roi d'user de son droit, pour arrester cette contagion manifeste. *Illic trepidauerunt timore, ubi non erat timor*¹¹⁷

9 Il semble que le meilleur seroit que le Roi pour quelque tem[p]s fit¹¹⁸ contre le Jansenisme ce qu'il a fait¹¹⁹ en faueur des propos[iti]ons du clergé. Il enuoya à Douay des professeurs étrangers, qui étoient des docteurs de Sorbonne comme M[essieu]rs d'Espalougue et Tournelli.¹²⁰ Aussi bien l'université de Paris est elle la mere et la source des uniuerstitez de Louvain et de Douay. Il est naturel de rechercher des sujets dans la premiere source¹²¹ pour renoueller les uniuerstitez dechues. Des professeurs qui seroient choisis à Paris par le Roi, et par exemple dans la société de Sorbonne, et qui seroient opposez au Jansenisme sans chaleur, redresseroient bientost les etudes de¹²² l'université de Douay, apres quoi on pourroit, si on le jugeoit à propos, lui donner la liberté du concours.

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¹¹¹ Word crossed out ¹¹² "la" crossed out

¹¹³ a) Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638), Bishop of Ypres, and author of the *Augustinus* (1640). Cf. *Ibid.*, Art. *Jansenisme*, VIII, 318-530. (b) "sur" crossed out.

¹¹⁴ Baius or Michel de Bay (1513-89), theologian of the University of Louvain, and a precursor of Jansenism, whose doctrines on Grace and Free Will were condemned as heretical by Pius V, in 1567, and Gregory XIII, in 1579. Cf. *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*, Art. *Baius*, op. cit., II, 38-111.

¹¹⁵ "laisse" crossed out ¹¹⁶ Word crossed out

¹¹⁷ Cf. *The Holy Bible translated from the Vulgate*, Douay Version, op. cit., Ps. 52 v. 6. "They have not called upon God. There have they trembled for fear where no fear was."

¹¹⁸ "à l'égard du" crossed out ¹¹⁹ "pour" crossed out

¹²⁰ Honoré Tournely (1658-1729), who, after brilliant studies at the Sorbonne, where he obtained the Licentiate and Doctorate in Theology in 1686, became a noted theologian and polemist. He was sent to Douay by the King in May 1688 to bolster the Faculty of Theology, and is supposed, by some historians, to have authored the *Fourberie de Douay* (see note 72). In 1692, Tournely returned to Paris to teach Theology at the Sorbonne. He wrote several treatises and engaged in many of the religious disputes of the period. Cf. Feret, P. *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris et ses Docteurs les plus célèbres* (Paris: Picard, 1910), VII, 207-216.

¹²¹ "des sujets" crossed out. ¹²² "cette" crossed out.

LA JEUNESSE DE DIDEROT: QUELQUES PRÉCISIONS

L'exactitude des *Mémoires* de Mme de Vandeul a toujours été, en plusieurs endroits, suspecte. La correspondance de Diderot nous a révélé quelques incompatibilités et a fourni matière à quelques déductions nouvelles, cet article en résume les conclusions

On sait que Diderot a été reçu maître-ès-arts le 2 septembre 1732 Il serait évidemment très utile de savoir à quelle date il est entré au bureau de Clément de Ris Les diverses conjectures ont placé cet événement entre 1732 et 1739 Cependant une simple déduction permet d'en fixer la date ou du moins l'année

Il faut nous porter au moment où Diderot a quitté ce bureau Privé des subventions paternelles, il s'est vite trouvé à court d'argent et a emprunté certaines sommes à un Langrois de ses amis, nommé Foucou. Ces emprunts n'ont pas continué très longtemps D'abord le père les rembourse, pendant une période de grâce qu'il accorde à son fils pour qu'il se décide à choisir un état, mais bientôt, excédé par son obstination, il écrit à M. Foucou pour arrêter cette source de revenu. Cette lettre, nous le savons grâce aux publications de M. Babelon, fut écrite le 23 mai 1736 D'après ces faits, ainsi que par le ton que prend Diderot père, il est certain que celui-ci a attendu quelques mois tout au plus avant d'envoyer sa lettre.¹ Donc Diderot a quitté le bureau de Clément pendant l'hiver de 1736 D'autre part, Mme de Vandeul et tous les critiques s'accordent pour attribuer à son séjour chez le procureur une durée de deux années. Il s'ensuit qu'il y est entré dans l'hiver 1733-1734² Ainsi se trouve établie, selon toute probabilité, une des dates les plus contestées de la vie de Diderot.

Il en résulte une conséquence importante. Que faisait Diderot pendant l'intervalle entre la conclusion de ses études (2 septembre 1732) et son entrée chez Clément de Ris, de douze à seize mois plus tard? M. R. Salesses, en avançant l'hypothèse si intéressante que Diderot aurait fait de nouvelles études, cette fois en théologie, s'efforce de se ménager une période libre, et essaie de reculer jusques vers 1739 l'entrée chez le procureur.³ Une déduction très simple lui aurait épargné cette peine. Il

¹ Cf *Correspondance inédite de Diderot*, éd Babelon (Paris NRF, 1931), t. 2 "Voilà la quittance d'arrêté du compte final avec M. Foucou de Paris Je lui ai écrit une lettre le 23 mai 1736, de ne rien avancer à Diderot ni le prendre chez lui, qu'il devait être chez le procureur "

² M. Babelon admet que Diderot a quitté le bureau en 1736 et qu'il y est resté deux ans, mais au lieu de faire une déduction très facile, dit qu'il y est entré en 1732, peu après le décernement de son diplôme (*op cit*, p 9)

³ R. Salesses "Les Mystères de la jeunesse de Diderot," *Mercur de France*, CCLVIII (15 décembre 1937), 500

existe une pendant laquelle Diderot pouvait être à la Sorbonne: elle s'étend très commodément à travers l'intervalle inexpliqué que nous venons de signaler

C'est surtout pour les relations de Diderot avec Antoinette Champion que les *Mémoires* de Mme de Vandeul sont incomplets et inexacts. Tout d'abord, leur liaison commence un an plus tard qu'on ne le pense communément. Il fait sa connaissance en 1742, et non en 1741, comme le disent les *Mémoires* et comme le répètent tous les biographes.

Il est un peu surprenant que M. Babelon et M. André Billy n'aient ni l'un ni l'autre remarqué un saut bizarre dans leurs récits. Dans l'ouvrage de M. Billy, on lit que Diderot connaît Antoinette "en 1741," se fait admettre auprès d'elle par une ruse, enfin avoue sa déception et part pour obtenir le consentement de sa famille en *décembre 1741*, puis nous apprenons tout d'un coup que Diderot, peu après son arrivée à Langres, a été emprisonné dans un couvent par son père qui communique son action à Mme Champion dans une lettre datée du *1er février 1743*.⁴ D'après M. Babelon, ils se connaissent en 1741 et le retour au foyer paternel a lieu en décembre 1742.⁵ Or, dans ces deux récits, que fait-on de l'année 1742? Il est certain que Diderot n'est pas resté treize mois à Langres. D'autre part, il est tout aussi évident à qui connaît les faits et les documents—et M. Babelon est le premier à le dire—qu'avant d'aller à Langres il n'a pas courtisé Nanette pendant une année entière. Evidemment, la date donnée par Mme de Vandeul est un à-peu-près; c'est en 1742 que Diderot rencontra celle qu'il devait épouser.

D'ailleurs ces deux biographes, malgré leur manque de précision, nous donnent l'impression qu'avant son départ Diderot a fréquenté Antoinette quelques semaines à peine. "Nanette est devenue rapidement sa maîtresse. Diderot a promis d'épouser," et puis le voyage à Langres.⁶ Mais les choses ne vont pas si vite, même en amour. Si nous considérons attentivement les faits connus, l'histoire s'éclaircira d'elle-même.

Entre le début de leur liaison et le voyage à Langres il y a trois événements connus: la fameuse ruse des chemises par laquelle Diderot s'introduit chez les Champion, la décision d'épouser et celle de partir. Or, nous savons exactement quel jour Diderot a quitté Paris pour retourner à sa ville natale: c'est le 7 décembre 1742.⁷ Cette date nous fournit donc un point de repère.

⁴ *Diderot* (Paris: les Editions de France, 1932), pp. 66-69.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ L'établissement de cette date est donné dans notre étude, *La Correspondance de Diderot, son intérêt documentaire, psychologique et littéraire* (New York: Kingsley Press, 1939), p. 109.—Nous nous permettons de répéter ici nos déductions. La huitième lettre de Diderot à sa fiancée est datée du 24 décembre 1742. Diderot y dit qu'il ne lui avait pas écrit le

D'après les *Mémoires*, Diderot, locataire dans la même maison que les Champion, avait déjà visité ces dames plusieurs fois avant d'imaginer sa ruse. On sait à présent que cette heureuse coïncidence n'est qu'un mensonge du "philosophe" ou de Mme de Vandeul, inventé sans doute pour expliquer avec plus de décence le début de son amitié avec Antoinette. Les circonstances de leur première rencontre, probablement très passagère, demeurent inconnues. Mais il est à présumer que le jeune libertin, allumé par la beauté de la lingère, ne laissa passer que fort peu de jours avant de mettre à l'exécution son artifice perfide.

Mais après que les Champion ont consenti à lui fabriquer des chemises, il faut du temps pour faire venir l'étoffe (de Langres, et par l'intermédiaire de Pierre La Sallette), et encore du temps pour l'ouvrage, qui nécessite plusieurs essayages. Lorsque le travail est achevé, Diderot continue ses visites jusqu'à ce que s'éveillent les soupçons de la bonne mère.⁸ Ces dernières visites ne purent pas durer très longtemps, en tout cas, puisqu'il s'était introduit chez elles sous prétexte qu'il entrerait bientôt dans un séminaire. Diderot doit avouer sa tromperie, la paix est faite et l'on s'accorde sur le mariage, mais pas tout de suite, et pas avant que le philosophe n'ait versé de chaudes larmes,⁹ et alors à condition d'obtenir la bénédiction paternelle. Par conséquent, de la rencontre à l'aveu, il faudrait compter, très approximativement, six semaines ou deux mois.

Combien de temps a pu se passer entre la décision du mariage et le départ? Quelques jours au plus, d'après tous les biographes du philosophe. Cependant il y a entre les deux amants une correspondance qui appartient très clairement à cette période de leurs relations. Diderot écrivait à Langres, pour essayer de rétablir des relations plus amicales, pour préparer le terrain à la demande qu'il devait faire.¹⁰ Hélas, papa n'a pas l'air d'être trop indulgent, il insiste toujours pour que son fils prenne un état. Alors Nanette commence à s'impatienter et à s'aigrir, et le voyage est décidé. Nous possédons six lettres de Diderot à sa fiancée qui appartiennent à cette période intermédiaire; y en avait-il d'autres? Quoi qu'il en soit, on ne peut pas compter moins d'un mois.

vendredi précédent, parce qu'il était malade. Le 24 décembre 1742 tombe un lundi; le vendredi précédent fut donc le 21 décembre. La septième lettre fut écrite "lundy," mais ne porte pas de date. Ce ne peut être que lundi, le 17 décembre (Il faut rejeter le 10 décembre parce qu'il est évident, en lisant ces lettres, que celle du 24 décembre est la deuxième lettre écrite de Langres, et que Diderot n'a laissé passer qu'un vendredi sans écrire.) Or, à la fin de la septième lettre, il dit qu'il ne sait pas la date, mais que c'est le dixième jour depuis son départ de Paris. Par conséquent, il a quitté Paris le 7 décembre 1742.

⁸ Cf. *Mémoires de Mme de Vandeul*, dans Diderot, *Œuvres*, éd. Assézat et Tourneux (1875-77), I, xxxviii.

⁹ Cf. Babelon, *op. cit.*, p. 28: "les larmes que j'ai versées lorsque j'étais sur le point de te perdre."

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

De tous ces faits il résulte que l'intervalle entre la date où Diderot fait connaissance avec Antoinette et son départ pour Langres se trouve limité à trois mois environ. Il part pour Langres le 7 décembre 1742 et passe chez lui cinq joyeuses semaines. Pressé par l'impatiente Nanette, il fait sa demande au milieu de janvier, suivent les scènes orageuses et puis l'emprisonnement par Lettre de cachet à la fin de ce mois. On ignore la durée de cette détention, mais nous avons l'impression que Diderot n'a pas laissé passer bien des jours avant de s'enfuir : autrement il aurait sûrement mis dans la lettre qu'il a écrite à Nanette, peu après son évasion, une allusion quelconque, peut-être amoureuse, peut-être plaintive et amère, au temps perdu et à la durée de ses souffrances. Il ne paraît pas ressentir non plus le besoin d'expliquer un long silence. Ce doit être au mois de février que Diderot rentre à Paris.

Tout ce qu'on sait de la période suivante c'est que leurs rapports sont tantôt amicaux ou amoureux, tantôt refroidis ou brouillés. Mais la ténacité du philosophe persiste à travers ces péripéties et le mariage clandestin est enfin célébré le six novembre 1743, à peu près treize mois après le début de leur liaison. Remarquons en passant que Mme de Vandeul est aussi incertaine de l'année du mariage de ses parents que de l'année de leur rencontre. A s'en tenir aux dates qu'elle nous donne pour l'un et pour l'autre—1744 et 1741—Diderot aurait connu Antoinette pendant trois années avant de l'épouser, une absurdité que personne n'a relevée.¹¹

Antoinette, qui était plus âgée que Diderot de trois ans et sept mois,¹² est née le 22 février 1710.¹³ Au moment de son mariage elle était donc dans sa trente-quatrième année. Cependant un érudit qui a examiné l'acte du mariage affirme qu'à ce moment-là elle avait trente-deux ans.¹⁴ Se peut-il qu'Antoinette ait menti à cette occasion pour se rajeunir d'un an aux yeux de son mari?

Une autre erreur s'est glissée dans les *Mémoires*. Mme de Vandeul nous informe que sa mère et sa grand'mère avaient vécu "paisibles et heureuses pendant dix ou douze ans" depuis qu'Antoinette avait quitté le couvent jusqu'à l'intrusion du philosophe.¹⁵ Sa mère avait trois ans lorsqu'elle arriva à Paris (1713) et seize ans quand elle sortit du couvent (donc en 1726), par conséquent elles vécurent paisibles après cet événement pendant seize années (le chiffre de douze ans reporterait la ren-

¹¹ Diderot lui-même a très mauvaise mémoire pour les dates, on le remarque une douzaine de fois en lisant sa correspondance. La date exacte d'un événement, la durée de la liaison avec Sophie, et même son âge précis—il n'en est jamais sûr.

¹² M. Billy dit dans un endroit que la différence est de trois ans, et quelques pages plus loin qu'elle est de quatre ans (*op. cit.*, pp. 66, 73). D'après Assézat et M. Jal, elle n'était son aînée que de deux ans (Cf. *Œuvres*, I, xxxix). ¹³ Cf. Babelon, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, L'érudit était M. Jal. ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xxxvii.

contre avec Diderot à 1738) et elles étaient à Paris depuis vingt-neuf ans—et non depuis quinze ans comme le dit M. Babelon par une méprise évidente¹⁶

La correspondance récemment publiée prouve aussi la fausseté des *Mémoires* quant à la prétendue rupture entre les amants au moment du retour de Diderot à Paris, après son évasion¹⁷ Ce petit mensonge est-il dû aux soins de Mme de Vandeuil ou plutôt aux soucis de ses parents, peut-être de sa mère?

Toute l'histoire antérieure de la liaison nous porte à supposer, il est vrai, des querelles fréquentes pendant les huit mois à venir. Ce qui est sûr, pourtant, c'est qu'il n'y a pas eu de rupture non plus dans les semaines qui précèdent la décision finale en faveur du mariage clandestin. Selon les *Mémoires*, que suivent la plupart des biographes, une brouille définitive se serait produite, Diderot après un temps plus ou moins long serait tombé malade, et le bruit de sa maladie étant parvenu à Antoinette, une visite et une réconciliation auraient amené à prendre le pas décisif. Seul M. Babelon a été à même de constater que "leurs relations ont été au contraire interrompues et non renouées par la maladie."¹⁸ Une lecture attentive de la lettre qui précède la visite d'Antoinette permet d'apporter quelques précisions. Les querelles ont commencé—ou recommencé—un mois avant cette visite; cependant les amants ont continué à se voir, certainement à s'écrire: "car à juger de vos idées par la dureté de vos façons, que voulez-vous que je pense sinon que depuis un mois vous affectez de désirer ce que vous craignez réellement d'obtenir"¹⁹ Lorsque Diderot devient malade, après l'irritation de ces querelles, Antoinette est trop excédée pour venir le voir. Puisque cette période entière ne dure qu'un mois, la maladie de Diderot peut se compter par jours et non par semaines ou par mois. Pendant sa maladie, Antoinette ne l'a donc pas vu, cependant, n'ayant pas de ses nouvelles depuis plusieurs jours—procédé inaccoutumé—elle envoie chez lui un ami commun (qui s'appelle apparemment Duval). Celui-ci revient avec un récit alarmant, et Antoinette, attendrie et repentante, annonce par écrit à son amant que le lendemain elle viendra le voir. C'est alors que Diderot lui répond par la lettre que nous possédons.

On sait que Diderot s'est lié avec Mme de Puisieux peu avant la publication de l'*Essai sur le mérite et la vertu* (1745).²⁰ Mais combien de temps leur liaison a-t-elle duré? Mme de Vandeuil déclare, en racontant comment son père s'est évadé de Vincennes pour surprendre sa maîtresse avec un autre ami, que "cette petite aventure accéléra sa rupture avec Mme de Puisieux."²¹

¹⁶ *Op cit*, p. 11

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 40

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 39, la lettre de Diderot à sa fiancée

²⁰ *Oeuvres*, I, xli et note, Billy, *op cit*, p. 84

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 18

²¹ *Ibid*, p. xlv

Assézat en a conclu que la rupture eut lieu en 1749, peu après la découverte de cette trahison. Depuis lors cette interprétation a été universellement acceptée. Tout récemment encore, M. Franco Venturi a apporté des arguments nouveaux à l'appui de cette conclusion.²² Il cite une anecdote malicieuse et apocryphe, peu connue et encore moins croyable, selon laquelle Mme Diderot et Mme de Puisieux se seraient tiré les cheveux dans la rue, afin de les séparer, les spectateurs auraient jeté sur elles de l'eau froide, tandis que le philosophe effrayé se cachait dans sa chambre. Il cite aussi quelques allusions à Diderot dans un ouvrage de Mme de Puisieux, publié en 1750, lesquelles montrent en effet un refroidissement, mais ne prouvent point une rupture définitive. Rien ne réfute la possibilité d'un raccommodement subséquent.

Au surplus, quelle aurait été la cause de cette rupture? Il faut se rappeler qu'on a toujours mis en doute, et pour d'excellentes raisons, la véracité de cette évasion de Vincennes, racontée par Mme de Vandeul. Cela a l'air d'être encore une invention destinée à masquer la faiblesse de Diderot. Selon M. Venturi, cette faiblesse aurait résulté de "l'enfer domestique". Et ce serait là la véritable cause de la brouille. Mais M. Venturi n'apporte pour preuve que la même anecdote, et d'ailleurs, serait-il possible que Diderot ne se fût pas habitué, après tant d'années, à cet "enfer domestique"? "L'enfer domestique" ne réussit pas, plus tard, à interrompre sa liaison avec Sophie Volland.

Il y a d'ailleurs une contradiction dans le récit de Mme de Vandeul. Elle avait déjà affirmé, avant de raconter "l'évasion" de Vincennes, que son père avait pris pour Mme de Puisieux "une passion qui a duré dix ans"²³—ce qui prolongerait la liaison jusqu'en 1755. Il est vrai qu'elle se trompe souvent de date et supprime volontiers les faits lorsqu'elle a intérêt à le faire, mais l'erreur ici est énorme, et elle n'avait aucune raison pour augmenter la durée de cinq ans jusqu'à dix. Au contraire, comme nous l'avons fait observer, c'est cette phrase si vague, "accéléra sa rupture," qui semble destinée à masquer la faiblesse de son père, lequel après une scène orageuse se serait peut-être laissé amollir par les caresses de sa coquette. D'autre part, il n'y a aucun exemple, dans les *Mémoires*, d'une contradiction aussi grossière et évidente.

Il faut tenir compte aussi de la liste donnée par Mme de Vandeul des premiers ouvrages de son père. Or, elle dit nettement que Diderot a fait pour Mme de Puisieux les *Pensées sur l'Interprétation de la nature*, qu'il les a vendues cinquante louis et qu'il a remis cette somme à sa maîtresse.²⁴ L'*Interprétation* a paru en 1754, date qui s'accorde avec les dix ans mentionnés par Mme de Vandeul. Cependant, en faisant son énumé-

²² Franco Venturi, *Jeunesse de Diderot* (Paris, 1939), pp. 135-141.

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. xlv.

²⁴ *Œuvres*, I, xlii.

ération, que n'accompagne aucune date, elle situe cet ouvrage entre les *Pensées philosophiques* (1746) et les *Bijoux indiscrets* (1748). Se peut-il alors qu'elle se trompe de titre? Faut-il mettre un autre ouvrage à la place de l'*Interprétation*? Nous ne le croyons pas. Entre les *Pensées philosophiques* et les *Bijoux indiscrets* interviennent seulement la *Promenade du sceptique* et *De la suffisance de la religion naturelle*. Or ni l'un ni l'autre de ces écrits n'avait été publié, ni payé, et Mme de Vandeul le savait, donc la confusion est impossible. Doit-on supposer que Mme de Vandeul, ignorant la date de l'*Interprétation*, a imaginé qu'elle appartenait au "groupe Puisieux"? L'ouvrage ayant été publié, c'est peu probable.

Rien n'autorise définitivement la supposition que la liaison de Diderot avec Mme de Puisieux se prolonge jusqu'en 1755. En revanche, il n'y a pas, ainsi qu'on l'a prétendu, de preuves définitives que leur amitié s'arrête en 1749. Mais on peut rappeler ce fait: c'est à la fin 1755 que Diderot s'éprend de Sophie Volland.

Que de mystères dans la jeunesse de Diderot! Il n'a réussi que trop bien à dérober sa vie privée à la curiosité de l'avenir.

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XI

THOMAS PERCY: ANTIQUARIAN vs. MAN OF TASTE

THOMAS PERCY was a born scholar. He loved the meticulous detail-hunting his studies required—or he would not have done so much of it.¹ But pure scholarship offered him little opportunity for advancement. Given a post, one might be a solitary worker, like Wanley, content with doing one's duty to the books without much interest in the public. And if Percy had obtained the assistant librarianship in the British Museum about which he inquired,² he might have become a scholar of that type. But he was expecting scholarship to subserve literature as a means to clerical advancement. And clerical advancement required pull. Percy had no pull³—he must make it himself. He must become widely known; his approach must be literary.

All his talents, all his instincts were for accuracy. For his exactness Johnson gave him first praise,⁴ the quality shows even in the verse translations from Latin with which his literary career begins.⁵ In these efforts, where departures from the literal in adaptation, emulation, and improvement were allowable, even expected, Percy was obviously uncertain; he asked repeatedly, with anxious defensiveness for Shenstone's opinion.⁶ But his tone was confident when he sent Shenstone a translation of an old Spanish poem in which he had "carefully retain'd all the turns, repetitions & peculiarities of the original."⁷

The literary personages about him, however, considered exactness of secondary importance. Taste and elegance were what mattered, and

¹ When his cousin Cleveland was laboring under the loss of his wife and child, Percy recommended that he take up the study of genealogy and heraldry—as a distraction and a solace. See Alice C. C. Gaussen, *Percy, Prelate and Poet* (London, 1908), p. 137.

² Letter to Dr. Birch, July 27, 1765, Nichols, *Illustrations of Literature*, vii, 577–578.

³ To be sure, there was his neighbor and early patron, the Earl of Sussex, with whom he became friends and in whose fine library he pursued his studies. But Sussex was not literary, and Percy's approach must be so. Sussex died Jan. 8, 1758, and was succeeded by his brother, who continued the patronage to Percy. But he was a man of fashion and thus not likely to be concerned with Percy's studies.—See Nichols, *loc. cit.*, p. 250.

⁴ In the famous letter written after the quarrel over Pennant (see note 35 below), Johnson says, "So much extension of mind, and so much minute accuracy of enquiry, if you survey your whole circle of acquaintance, you will find so scarce, if you find it at all, that you will value Percy by comparison." See Boswell's *Johnson*, ed. Hill, iii, 278.

⁵ Grainger praises him for it in one translation: "Your Elegy charms me. It is no less elegant than literal" (May 1758, Nichols, *loc. cit.*, p. 254). Note that the *literal* is taken for granted. See also pp. 244, 250–251, 256–257, 258, 268.

⁶ See Hans Hecht, "Thomas Percy und William Shenstone," *Quellen und Forschungen*, ciii (1909), 4, 10, 14–16, 23, 33–34, 35.

⁷ August 3, 1759, *ibid.*, p. 21.

Percy seems to have been uncertain about his taste.⁸ He feared to make some irretrievable blunder. Hence his early anonymity.⁹ Hence his reliance on the opinions of others, Shenstone in particular, for Shenstone seemed convincingly cocksure about his own perfect taste.

But elegance, and simplicity (of which also Shenstone was a votary) were not enough for Percy, he had an abiding interest in the behavior of the human mind. This behavior he found in early and in foreign literatures.¹⁰ To illustrate this he hoped to see collected an anthology of primitive literatures of all people, and found an excuse for utilizing the two MSS he had stumbled on—his Chinese novel and his Folio.

If interested in the workings of the human mind in general, he may be found to utilize that knowledge in his dealings with an individual. That Percy developed a technique of his own in handling people and getting them to do him favors, and that this technique is partly responsible for a century of misunderstanding him, is what the rest of my paper is trying to point out. In Percy's books the accuracy of his statements about method and source, often questioned, has been repeatedly established. But in Percy's correspondence one must not take his accounts too closely at their face value, and must observe carefully his omissions and indirections. I have taken illustrative dealings in connection with two publications, where contrast is clear and where we can see the results of, first, his independent scholarly efforts, and second, his cooperative scholarly efforts, his managing of his co-workers and the effects upon him, the concealed manager. For Percy was a shy soul, not to say timid, and conscientious in the minutest details. A word of blame or ridicule always

⁸ Perhaps Shenstone's attitude fostered this uncertainty. About one of the translations Shenstone advises him "to make it as just to the Author and to y^r own Sentiments as you can, and afterwards employe me as a mere Musick-master . . . , at most to retrench any little Incroachments upon Simplicity, ease of Style, and Harmony" (*Ibid.*, p. 17). See also pp. 30, 31, 45, 51, 66, 79, 88.

Possible warrant for Shenstone's opinion may be read into a different occasion. Percy was reading aloud Grainger's *Sugar-Cane*. When a burst of laughter greeted the passage on rats, Percy seemed much taken aback. He explained that Grainger had altered the text since he had seen it, but perhaps he was unaware that it was an anticlimax. So one might conclude from the context. See Boswell's *Johnson*, ed. Hill, II, 453-454, and note.

⁹ It is probable too that the terrible drubbing given by Smollett in the *Critical Review* (Dec., 1758) to Grainger's translation of Tibullus, on which Percy had helped, made Percy desirous of a shell at his back into which he could retire at need. Of course if his book proved successful, he could acknowledge it later. Also see "Percy und Shenstone," p. 30.

¹⁰ "they present us with frequent sallies of bold imagination, and constantly afford matter for philosophical reflection by showing the workings of the human mind in its almost original state of nature" (Preface to *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry*, 1763). A number of passages from the introductory matter in the *Reliques* might be cited, and the preface to *Han K'iou Chooan* (Dodsley, 1761, 4 vols.)

struck him more forcibly than a paragraph of praise. And though he was no great spiritual leader, he never forgot his cloth and never would have done anything to compromise its dignity

I begin with an apparent failure. His first publication, the Chinese novel *Hau Kiou Chooan* (1761), proved for Percy on the whole an unhappy experience. He had done the work alone, except for dealing with the publishers, and had lavished upon it and the *Miscellaneous Pieces Relating to the Chinese* of the next year a great deal of careful scholarship. We are told today that the work was the first to introduce an important piece of Chinese literature to Europe and so is something of a landmark.¹¹ But in Percy's literary environment it met with a rather cold reception. It had some difficulty finding a publisher. Griffiths, approached via Grainger, first registered interest, then, as Grainger wrote, "He did not seem to approve of the manner in which you propose to treat that fair foreigner. He wants a pleasing romance, and you talk of a faithful copy . . ."¹² It was Percy's omnipresent problem—the antiquarian versus the man of taste. Finally the specimen submitted to Griffiths was rejected without compliment, and Grainger's own praise was confined to "I assure you I like her in her new English garb."¹³ At last a deal was closed with Dodsley,¹⁴ the supplementary material was decided on, and—if we know Percy—he was working on it hard

Meanwhile Percy was in correspondence with Shenstone over Latin translations and old ballads. But no doubt sensing that Shenstone would not care for it, Percy breathed not a word to him of *Hau Kiou Chooan*, until—amusingly enough—he betrayed himself. Percy had written of the expectation of an increase in his family,¹⁵ but when after a silence of two months Shenstone congratulated him (it chanced still prematurely) on the birth of a child,¹⁶ Percy identified it as his brainchild and concluded that Shenstone had got wind of the forthcoming book. Shenstone denied and inquired, and was dubious about the project.¹⁷ Percy gave him as

¹¹ Ch'en Shou-Yi, "Thomas Percy and His Chinese Studies," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, xx (1936), 202-230. To continue the study of *Hau Kiou Chooan*, in the details of its preparation and publication, see also three articles by several authors in the *Review of English Studies*, II, 446-455, III, 214-218, IX, 30-36.

¹² February 1758, Nichols, *loc. cit.*, p. 249.

¹³ July 20, 1758, *ibid.*, p. 261.

¹⁴ Grainger's attempt to secure Payne via Hawksworth fell through, but Dodsley became interested, as Grainger informed him Feb. 17, 1759. Percy forthwith headed for London, and his diary records that he read Dodsley the novel on February 26, and again on March 5 with Johnson and some others present. On August 6, he sent Dodsley the first packet for printing.

¹⁵ August 3, 1759, "Percy und Shenstone," pp. 20-21.

¹⁶ October 3, *ibid.*, p. 24. Percy's answer to this letter is missing from the series, but its content on this matter is made clear by Shenstone's next, pp. 26-27.

¹⁷ "I have no knowledge yet of y^e Nature of your Chinese Publication. Pardon me, how-

little information as he could, but tried—characteristically, I believe—to interest him indirectly.¹⁸ Shenstone's curiosity was aroused, but he had to resort to Dodsley to get an advance copy¹⁹ (Contrast this with Percy's broadcasting of proof sheets of the *Reliques*) Then writing to Percy, who was uneasily awaiting the verdict, he found fault with the dedication²⁰ and thereafter was silent—with a condemnatory silence. Percy prodded and defended himself, at last with some irritation²¹ Two months later Shenstone replied, damning the novel as valuable chiefly as a "Curiosity or perhaps as an agreeable means of conveying to the generality all they wish to know of the Chinese manners and constitution" He added that the notes were good but that a very large number of typographical errors had been overlooked, and closed with the comment "... on y^e

ever, if I propose One Question to you Are you never prejudiced by y^e Air of Learning, y^e obscurity, y^e rarity, and, perhaps, the Difficulty, of your work, to imagine something in it more extraordinary, y^a the Publick will perhaps discover?"—Shenstone to Percy, Feb 15, 1760, *ibid*, p 31

¹⁸ "I am entirely of your Opinion with regard to the Oriental Eclogues [Collins'] I know not whether you will agree with me that the Oriental Peculiarities do not strike so much in Poetry as Prose Had I any Talents at Tale-telling I could muster up many pleasing Idioms of the Chinese, which would shine under such a Workman as Johnson"—Percy to Shenstone, March 12, 1760, *ibid*, p 34 Also, "I've inserted a Passage from y^e Jesuites Letters containing an Acc^t of the Chinese Gardens if you have never seen it in print it will entertain you Return it back to me with your remarks I like every thing better in it than the zig-zag bridges"—Percy to Shenstone, April 13, 1760, *ibid*, p 36 Since Shenstone's greatest pride lay in his grounds, no doubt Percy thought he was playing a trump card

¹⁹ Sat, Apr 1761, June 11, *ibid*, pp 51, 55 Percy explained that Dodsley did not wish to part with any copies before publication, but that Shenstone, of course, would be expected

²⁰ July 5, 1761, *ibid*, p 58

²¹ This defense came a little earlier "Considered in a Critical Light you will find it a moderate performance, but as it gives us a history of the human mind in China, I hope it will not be altogether unworthy attention"—June 20, 1761, *ibid*, pp 55–56 Finally this

"I am obliged to you that you have favoured our Chinese History with your acceptance, after all, it is not a work calculated for you, nor will afford you any pleasure, unless you can be content to give up almost every beauty of composition for the sake of seeing the workings [of] the human mind under all the peculiarities of a Chinese Education This is the only merit the book lays claim to, and (tho' I know you think otherwise) sufficient in my opinion to warrant its publication & intitle [it] to the Notice of the world For my part, I think the beauties of style & composition an inferior consideration (at least that the want of them may upon some occasions be excused), when the knowledge of our common nature is thereby promoted & we can gain a deeper insight into the mind of man, our knowledge of which must in some degree remain imperfect 'till we can see the manner of its operation under every possible combination of Ideas"—Percy to Shenstone, July 19, 1761, *ibid*, pp 60–61

whole, I can form no Conjecture, what vogue it will obtain"²² Next month he wrote that he had finished marking the errors in *Hau Kiou Chooan*, but that he would not advise adding to the list of *errata* [evidently the whole matter was of little importance] He was considering, he continued, sending a copy to MacGowan, and then—an obvious afterthought in a postscript—inquired how the book was progressing²³ And thereafter neither Percy nor Shenstone spoke of the work to the other, at least in their published correspondence. No, it cannot be said that Percy's handling of Shenstone in this affair was successful.

The book was published. Even Grainger received it without enthusiasm, and with the notable exception of Griffiths' *Monthly*, the review periodicals condemned or ignored it²⁴ But that was not quite all. At first, apparently, Percy had had some doubts that his MS was genuinely from the Chinese, but as he studied the available works on China, his doubts dissolved To be on the safe side both as to authenticity and acceptability, the book was published anonymously Later others proved skeptical, and after an abortive attempt to justify himself, he evidently joined their ranks and was haunted by doubts as late as the end of the century²⁵

Perhaps dreading something of all this, Percy evidently resolved early that the book based on his Folio MS was not to be a mistake He completed his work on the Chinese novel, it will be remembered, with painstaking accuracy and without any assistance. It made him no literary friends, it brought him no fame; preferment was as far off as ever

The ballads, however, should reach a public, they should please both the antiquarian and the man of taste. To attain this end he needed bolstering: encouragement as to the acceptability of his project, assurance as to its good taste. And Percy was relatively unknown to the public and naturally diffident. He would fortify himself behind the names of his great friends He would enlarge their number and get their help, first by getting them interested (often sending them some literary bit they would value—thus insuring a reply), and then by asking their assistance indirectly and playing up the names of others whose approval he

²² Sept 1761, Sat, *ibid*, pp 62–63 Shenstone appended a note explaining his delay Lady Gough had borrowed the book, kept it a fortnight, and read only the dedication

²³ Dated in Percy's hand Oct 1761, *ibid*, p 67

²⁴ Grainger, writing after he had had the book some time, confessed that neither he nor his wife had finished reading it Later he commended Percy's careful and illuminating notes, and that was all. (Nichols, *op cit*, vii, 278, 280–281) The *Monthly* applauded the value of the text, the scholarship of the editor, and vouched for the authenticity of the MS as described by the editor—which was decent, since Griffiths had refused it. The *Critical Review* was loudly bored, and the *London* merely listed it

²⁵ Ch'en Shou-Yi, *op cit*, pp 208–210, 217

had already gained. Thus he would ward off a prompt and positive refusal. This is the technique he develops and uses repeatedly, and generally so skillfully that it has almost escaped observation. When Percy has some big demand for literary help up his sleeve, it will appear toward the end of his letter, subordinate in emphasis, after he has been talking about something else, or sometimes after several letters have passed about something else. His plan, his need are stated diffidently, as if the matter were of secondary importance.

In this fashion he, Thomas Percy, with no scholarly output to point to, addressed (May 1761) Thomas Warton, professional scholar. He sent the other a ballad and a bit of information on Spenser's source material, and modestly subordinated his request—that Warton should search the Oxford libraries for old ballads, medieval romances, and some works of Buckingham!²⁶ And before Warton knew what was happening, he was doing it all, to their mutual advantage. But so far as the Warton correspondence shows, Warton throughout remained ignorant that Percy was the editor of two Chinese publications, a volume of Runic poems, and a new translation of the Song of Solomon.

During the summer of the same year Percy began another important correspondence—with Evan Evans. A Welsh clergyman, Rice Williams, had entered with Percy upon yet another project—a collection of Welsh proverbs with English translations. Williams, whose knowledge of Welsh was admittedly inadequate, was delighted when he heard of Evans' sound learning, appealed to Evans for aid (June 19, 1761), and (July 8) to Percy for permission to divulge their scheme.²⁷ This permission evidently given, Williams (July 26) rhapsodically hailed Evans as the Welsh scholar he had been seeking, regretted his inability to join in quest for the old literature, but solicited the favor of correspondence. He presented the

²⁶ See "Text of the Percy-Warton Letters," *PMLA*, XLVI (1931), 1166-1201; and "Corrections," XLVIII (1933), 301-303.

In the expansion of the plan of the *Reliques* to include material not in the Folio Percy was taking the initiative. Evidently Shenstone had said he would write to Warton, but had failed to do it. When a copy or digest of the letter was shown him, he perceived its strategy at once:

"I am glad you wrote, y^rself, to Mr Warton, for (tho' I would have done it in y^e end) yet, to my shame be it spoken, I never wrote to thank him for the Present he made me of his Critique upon Spenser. The Preface to y^r Letter was very pertinent & must engage him to serve you to the utmost of his Power"—Shenstone to Percy, July 5, 1761, "Percy und Shenstone," p. 58.

²⁷ The extracts from the Percy-Williams-Evans Correspondence (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 32, 330) here summarized, all of the spring of 1761, were furnished me by Mr. A. Watkins-Jones, now of Cardiff, Wales, to whom I wish to make cordial acknowledgment. The complete text of Williams' letter of July 26, whose summary follows, and the quotation accompanied by note 31 came from the same source.

name of Percy (whom he praised highly) as one suitable—"if not better engaged [note the absence of tact]"—to "dress out y^r Welsh odes agreeable to y^e taste of y^e English reader" So he urged Evans not to waste his time in rendering the Welsh into elegant Latin or English, but to send the odes, one at a time, the original with literal translation into English, to Percy to put into poetic dress He asked that the correspondence pass unsealed through his hands, for the original Welsh would be of service to him, though not to Percy and he could judge of Percy's efforts He urged Evans to become the "Principal" in the proverb collection, which Percy and some of his learned friends were convinced would be well received (this sounds very Percian) And he enclosed a letter from Percy ²⁸

This letter of Williams', well meant but blundering, contrasts markedly with Percy's first letter to Evans, dated July 21, 1761 Percy, who did not mention the proverbs, declared his respect for the Welsh language and his desire to see some of its earliest and most original literary productions, deploring the general unfamiliarity of the Welsh with their own ancient literature Citing the success of the Erse fragments, he urged Evans to publish a select collection of the odes Evans had been translating, and promised the favor of Dodsley and Johnson Percy himself, he stated, was translating some ancient Spanish poetry, he had persuaded a friend to translate some Runic odes; Mr Lye, another friend, was salvaging Anglo-Saxon poetry ²⁹

²⁸ The following passages from this letter of Williams will reveal his style "My very inquisitive friend Mr Percy has long solicited me on y^e same head [to procure original pieces of Welsh poetry], & as we had no prospect of success till now, we determin'd to turn our thoughts to another Subject even Welsh Proverbs, he gives y^u in his letter the reasons of my inability to satisfy him on this Subject also, Oh Dear Sir you have set me all on fire to enter immediately on y^e same Scent with y^rSelf, y^e game is noble, y^e pursuit honourable, but alas! my health, my time of life, my Situation and Connexions here are such, —*de lingua Britannicâ desperandum est Sed fungar vice Cotis* But let not this impossibility I am under, of doing y^u more Substantial Service deprive me of y^e pleasure of a Correspondence, w^{ch} I so greatly esteem, & earnestly request But Stay, I think I ought to claim some degree of merit with y^u, by Bringing you acquainted with my friend Percy In [sic] my opinion He has considerable abilities, he is inquisitive & indefatigable, with a good Share of taste, Judgement & poetic Genius, alias, *Awen Prydyddiaeth* in y^r own Style, & holds correspondence with Some of y^e most ingenious men of y^e age, if not better engag'd I dare recommend him as a very fit person to dress out y^r Welsh odes agreeable to y^e taste of y^e English reader Y^r answer to y^e particulars in his letter I Sh^d be glad to peruse, So w^d y^r Schoolfellow W W^{ms}, if y^u, as he did, will be pleas'd to inclose it unseal'd, I'll forward it with my own answer to his last to me, with all Speed "

Williams' age, however, was not so advanced but that he married in 1767, and lived to perform the duties of his parish for thirty more years He died—in Wales—June 30, 1791 (*Weston-under-Lizard Parish Register*, 1654-1812 Staffordshire Parish Registers Society, ed by Percy W L Adams [1934], pp v, 56, 57, *Gentleman's Magazine* 61² [July 1791] 683)

²⁹ A number of Percy's letters to Evans are published in an appendix to Evan Evans.

A later letter (August 14, 1762) explains this object more fully—to get together and have published in one volume an authentic collection of “Specimens of the Ancient Poetry of different Nations” He says:

I have for some time had a project of this kind, and, with a view to it, I am exciting several of my friends to contribute their share. . . Besides the Erse Poetry, the Runic Poetry, and some Chinese Poetry, that was published last winter, at the end of a book called “Hau Kiou Chooan,” —besides these, I have procured a MS translation of the “Tagrai Carmen,” from the Arabic, and have set a friend to translate Solomon’s Song afresh from the Hebrew, with a view to the Poetry Then I have myself gleaned up specimens of—

poetry from a lot of other places³⁰ Now this looks like an imposing co-operative venture, but how was Evans to know that Percy himself was three of his friends? Perhaps Percy thought Evans would be more impressed by numbers Probably he was, at any rate from the first Evans attacked the odes problem with such vigor that Williams wrote Percy somewhat ruefully (August 14, 1761) that he thought Evans was “on the wrong Scent for our present purpose,” because he had plunged into “a full view of y^e old British Bards.”³¹ At any rate, Evans’ volume, *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Ancient Welsh Bards* (with translations in prose) was duly brought out—by Dodsley—in 1764.

Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Ancient Welsh Bards, Llanidloes, Montgomery, [1862]. This one is the first, pp 160-162

³⁰ The quotation continues

“—specimens of East Indian Poetry, Peruvian Poetry, Lapland Poetry, Greenland Poetry; and inclosed I send you a specimen of Saxon Poetry . . . The Latin version falls from the pen of my very learned friend Mr Lye, who has made many important emendations in the original The English was a slight attempt of my own . . .” (*Ibid* , p 165)

The published letter is undated, but I am able to supply the date from a transcript of some passages from the Percy-Evans Correspondence in the British Museum supplied me some years ago through Professor Ronald S Crane

In a later letter, however (July 23, 1764) Percy refers to himself as responsible for the three publications he has here attributed to friends (Quoted in Hecht, “Percy und Shenstone,” p xxiii)

³¹ Thereupon Williams sought out Shenstone.

“There was a Little good-natured Welch-man called upon me t’other Day, I think he said his Name was Rice, & as far as I could make out, he is Chaplain to the Earl of Bradford He told me y^t by his means you had settled a correspondence in Wales, & left with me a Little Welch Ode wth a literal translation of it in Latin”—Shenstone to Percy, Sept 1761, *ibid* , p 63 (The ode had accompanied Evans’ fairly prompt reply of August 8th)

An annotation in Percy’s hand completes Rice’s name and places him in “Weston, near Shiffnal and Newport, Shropshire” Shiffnal, it will be remembered, is the town where Percy had procured his Foho Percy was identifying him relatively to his own early stamping-ground.

Still, Percy's first object seems to have been the ballad collection,³² which was expanding beyond a subordinate place in his early literatures series. And that necessitates another tale. Williams, it will be remembered, wished the Percy-Evans correspondence to pass through his hands. Yet as early as November 22nd, Percy, evidently feeling hampered by Williams' rather unreasonable request, sent Evans a "voluntary letter," saying, "I presume you have received a very long one from me through the medium of Mr Williams. In that I requested to know if you had any good old popular ballads in the Welsh language on historical and romantic subjects." He went on to explain his projected ballad collection, sent two Arthurian pieces with request for information about similar material in Welsh, and promised one of the Runic odes³³—he had been talking about them at length in an earlier letter. And apparently an independent correspondence was on, probably at first without Williams' knowledge. But still odes were being sent to Williams, at least on October 23d of the next year (1762), Evans "hope[s] you have ere this received the translation of the British ode I sent Mr Williams. If not, I will send you one."³⁴ The ode was delivered, via Shenstone, to whom Percy wrote sometime that same month.

I thank you for imparting to me Williams' Letter & Welsh ode. I wish you would encourage him to send me more Specimens of the same Kind. Unluckily I have affronted him and the ferment in his Welsh blood is not yet allayed, so that, unless it be thro' the channel of his correspondence with you, I shall have no chance of seeing these efforts of Cambrian Genius. Be so kind therefore to communicate to me any future packets you receive from him.

Then follows a paragraph of praise of the Welsh poetry, particularly in contrast with English poetry of the same period, ending: "This observation, which is really a just one, will be in the last degree flattering to Welsh pride, and therefore, what if you communicate it to our friend Williams?"³⁵ Not a word about Evans, from whom he knew he could get

³² On July 19, two days before what appears to be Percy's first letter to Evans, Percy had written Shenstone, applauding the request for MacGowan's aid in the ballad collection and adding, "It is in the remote and obscure parts of the kingdom, that I expect to find curiosities of the kind I want. . . for this reason I have settled a correspondence in the very heart of Wales . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 60) ³³ Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-165

³⁴ Unpublished; among the extracts referred to in note 30

³⁵ October 1762, "Percy und Shenstone," p. 86

It is interesting to glance from this to a famous incident, which shows Percy attempting to manage someone else, and being himself managed by the same compliment-in-letter healing device he was trying on Williams. It followed the Percy-Johnson quarrel over Pennant's travel book (Boswell's *Johnson*, ed. Hill, III, 271-278). I quote from Boswell:

"We had a calm after the storm, staid the evening and supped and were pleasant and gay. But Dr. Percy told me he was very uneasy at what had passed, for there was a gentle-

the odes with much less bother What was the purpose of this passage—besides, of course, pacifying Williams? To sound out Shenstone's opinion, of course He got it.

I wrote yesterday to M^r Rice Williams, availing myself of y^r remarks on y^e Welsh Ode he sent me, altho it stands much higher in y^r opinion y^a it really does in mine ³⁶

And so the dealings with Evans, as well as the projected anthology of ancient literatures, remained a secret from Shenstone Why? Doubtless because here the antiquarian was speaking too loud, and Shenstone could be counted on to disapprove

One more instance of Percy's approach. For the ballad collection Shenstone had requested his friend MacGowan's assistance in the Scottish field,³⁷ but MacGowan was slow in responding. Percy complained to Shenstone with a little irritation:

When did you hear from M^r MacGowan? I was in hopes that Gent^a would have afforded me more assistance, than at present he seems disposed to do. I have lately been employed in drawing up my Glossary, in which his gramatical & etymological talents w^d have been of use to me For want of his Patronage I had recourse to a Northlern friend of mine who is Chaplain to the Duke of Manchester he has attempted solutions of all my difficulties, but I think not all successfully.

Scotland is the only quarter, where I have not established a good correspondence for promoting my ballad-scheme I have kind Assistants in London, in Cambridge, in Oxford. M^r Warton at the place last-mentioned is of infinite service to me & spares no pains to procure me copy. I have rec^d five or six packets from him within this fortnight Indeed he seems very fond of the work ³⁸

man there who was acquainted with the Northumberland family, to whom he hoped to have appeared more respectable, by shewing how intimate he was with Dr Johnson, and who might now, on the contrary, go away with an opinion to his disadvantage He begged I would mention this to Dr Johnson, which I afterwards did His observation upon it was, 'This comes of stratagem . . . ' (p 275)"

Then to heal Percy's hurt feelings and accomplish his end, Boswell proposed a stratagem, which was followed Boswell wrote Johnson on the subject of the quarrel, giving Johnson excuse to reply to Boswell in a letter full of praise of Percy Boswell read the two letters in Northumberland's hearing, and the end was gained Then Boswell told Percy all about it, and Percy, far from being offended that it was a cooked-up affair, was highly pleased But Johnson, learning that Percy had been given a copy of his letter, was irritated and asked Boswell to get it back from Percy, which he did. But Boswell kept and printed the letters, together with the whole account, it must have been with mixed feelings that Percy later read it The incident took place in the spring of 1778.

³⁶ Nov 14, 1762, "Percy und Shenstone," p 88.

³⁷ September 24, 1761, Nichols, *op cit.*, vii, 221

³⁸ "Percy und Shenstone," p 90. See also p 77.

This letter is dated merely November 1762. But Warton's letters to Percy prove it to have been rather late in the month,³⁹ and Percy does not say that on November 10th he had begun a correspondence with a Scottish scholar of his own choice, Sir David Dalrymple. Since it would not do for Dalrymple and MacGowan to compare notes too closely, Percy drew another one of his many irons from the fire and made the subject of his letter *The Rehearsal* and the allusions therein. Now it happened that MacGowan had already mentioned to Dalrymple Percy's project of the *Reliques*, for in the reply (November 18, 1762) Dalrymple pleaded ignorance of the seventeenth century drama, but continued, "Give me leave, Sir, to ask what progress you have made in your collection of Old Songs. Our friend M^r MacGowan got several from me & I have endeavoured to enlarge the supply for your service but have had little success of late."⁴⁰ And thus Percy's path was shortened and a long and profitable correspondence resulted.

Why all this delving into Percy's private system of how to make friends and influence people? Because I think that from it we may perceive a somewhat similar handling of an earlier situation. Johnson had agreed to help Percy with his projected publication based on the Folio MS. But Johnson was absorbed then and for some time to come in his edition of Shakespeare. It would not do to throw Johnson over, but another offer need not be refused. Having noted Shenstone's admiration for the simplicity of ballads, Percy deliberately interested him in his MS, baited him with artfully selected specimens,⁴¹ until—somehow—the *arbiter elegantiarum* found himself eager to prevent blunders, offering assistance,

³⁹ "Next week you will receive MSS D Buckingham King & the Tanner (Warton to Percy, Nov 12)." On November 5th, he had written Percy that he would dispatch two volumes to Dodsley, who would "transmitt" them to Percy. These explain the "five or six packets." ("Percy-Warton Letters," p. 1181.)

⁴⁰ Watkin-Jones, "Bishop Percy and the Scottish Ballads," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, xviii (1933), 110-121.

"Curiously enough, Percy's first object in corresponding with Dalrymple was to invoke his aid for the edition of Buckingham's works which was then in hand, and his first letter (10 Nov. 1762) is full of talk of textual difficulties, collation of editions, &c. But Dalrymple, in reply (18 Nov.), pleads his inability to elucidate conundrums in seventeenth century plays, and passes on at once to a subject obviously nearer to his heart. 'Give me leave, Sir, to ask what progress you have made in your collection of Old Songs' (p. 112)."

This quotation Mr. Watkin-Jones has extended and supplemented in correspondence.

I would disagree, however, that the edition of Buckingham was Percy's first object in importance at that moment. I do not mean that he would not have welcomed any information he received, but that in spite of his indirect method his first object was the ballad collection, as it almost certainly had been in the correspondence with Evans, where he began with Evans' own work.

⁴¹ "Percy und Shenstone," pp. 4-5, 6-7, 9-10, 12, 15, 21, 24.

and the venture was on. That Shenstone later thought and stated that he had given Percy the idea of publishing his ballad collection⁴² seems to me quite natural. Percy had so designed it. Such at least is my conviction.

And I wonder if Johnson's approval was not gained in much the same insidious way. Certainly away from Percy Johnson was known to be contemptuous of ballads,⁴³ his early interest in the old romances is known to us chiefly through Percy,⁴⁴ and once away from Percy his promised aid in the project evaporated.⁴⁵ Percy's enthusiasms seemed sometimes to be contagious.⁴⁶ Is it not likely, then, that it was Percy who first saw

⁴² "I proposed the scheme for him myself, wishing to see an elegant *edition* and good collection of this kind" (Shenstone to Graves, March 1, 1761)

"I have occasioned a friend of mine to publish a fair collection of the best old English and Scotch ballads" (Shenstone to MacGowan, Sept. 1761)

Both extracts are quoted in Irving L. Churchill's "William Shenstone's Share in the Preparation of Percy's *Reliques*," *PMLA*, LI (1936), 960

Mr. Churchill interprets these passages (p. 962) as meaning that Shenstone proposed (though he was not the first to propose) the venture, and that the plan actually followed was his. I suspect that Shenstone had merely forgotten all about the content of Percy's letters three and a half years earlier, as well as his own earlier opposition to the publishing of the Folio (see letter of Jan. 4, 1758, "Percy und Shenstone," pp. 6-7)

⁴³ Johnson's famous parodies of ballad imitations took off Percy's own work (Boswell's *Johnson*, ed. Hill, II, 136, note 4; 212 and note 4)

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 57

There is also the anecdote contributed by Langton concerning the historical value of reading romances—"seeing with what kind of performances the age and country in which they were written was delighted (*ibid.*, IV, 17)" But see also III, 2, and the Preface to *Shakespeare* (1765), Sign. B8

I have long wondered if Johnson would not have been more interested in the *Reliques* if it had included less ballad and more romance material, even though Johnson's admission of a fondness for romances is made much as a scholar today might confess to a weakness for detective stories

⁴⁵ Percy had written Shenstone, Jan. 9, 1758

"Indeed he [Johnson] made me very tempting offers, for he promised to assist me in selecting the most valuable pieces & in revising the Text of those he selected. Nay further, if I would leave a blank Page between every two that I transcribed, he would furnish it out with the proper Notes, etc. etc., a work for which he is peculiarly fitted by his great acquaintance with all our English Romances etc. of which kind of reading he is uncommonly fond."

To this passage at some later moment of bitterness Percy subjoined the following rubric:

"These Promises he never executed, not except a few slight hints, delivered *vivâ voce*, did he furnish any Contributions, etc." ("Percy und Shenstone," p. 9)

Yet Percy made plenty of capital from the use of Johnson's name, and of course the Dedication of the *Reliques* shows Johnson's acknowledged hand

⁴⁶ Something of that contagion is, I think, reflected by Grainger:

"For want of that employment [reading proof] I have travelled through Japan with Kempfer, and made the tour of the Chinese Wall with Athanasius Kircher. What a liar that good father is! But neither Hisson nor Pekin yield me half the amusement that Arthur's Court used to do at your fireside" (Grainger to Percy, Jan. 22, 1764, Nichols, *op. cit.*, p. 285)

possibilities in his MS, that he had early resolved to use it, but was not quite sure how? Needing advice and backing, he set out with his deceptive indirectness to get it—and got it. I am sure that most people can recall occasions in their own childhood when they used a similar device of indirect planting of an idea to “work” parent or teacher, and the more dogmatic the subject, the easier the victim. But most people’s desire for due credit for their ideas keeps them from using the device as late in life as Percy did. The ballads made Percy many friends, each with a personal center of interest in the forthcoming publication. And when it came out, who would withhold praise from a work to which so long and formidable a list of scholars had contributed assistance? But later scholars, aware of the alterations of his texts, took his diffidence at its face value and were unaware of the really great knowledge behind it.

At any rate, the *Reliques* brought him a large part of what he wanted. The miter came, though slowly, but other results were immediate. Percy had at first intended dedicating the book to the memory of Shenstone. But doubtless reflection pointed out that Shenstone’s shade would prove a less profitable patron than someone yet alive. In an article “Percy’s Reliques” (*The Library*, 4th Ser. ix, 113–137) Mr. L. F. Powell shows that the change of what had been planned as Volume III to Volume I (with the consequent shift of Volume I to Volume III) must have taken place between June 2 and June 29, 1764.⁴⁷ Now this change had point only through the selection of the Countess of Northumberland for the dedication. Mr. Powell also points out that Johnson and Miss Williams were Percy’s guests from June 25 to August 18, and that during this time the dedication was written.⁴⁸ These two periods slightly overlap and suggest that Percy had conceived the new idea for the dedication possibly rather early in June (for there is no smack of novelty in his matter-of-fact entry “29 June. Preparing Glossary to Vol I Old Ballads”—which when last heard of had been Volume III); that he tried out his notion on Johnson, and found Johnson’s approval so cordial that the dedication bears the unmistakable stamp of his great fingers.

The Countess of Northumberland was a shrewd choice. She was good-natured, with some literary perception and a good deal of democratic feeling. The Earl and the Countess were on good terms with each other. The Earl was (then) Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and would doubtless have some pull in the selection of Irish bishops. The Northumberlands were definitely on the make, not so much as to rank (the dukedom came in 1766) as to public acceptance and respect. The public did not forget that the Earl’s name had been Smithson. But now the Northumberlands had taken the name of Percy, and would probably be willing—even

⁴⁷ P. 121.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

glad—to recognize as kinsman a respectable scholar and cleric who bore the name (even if his branch had spelled it *Piercy*) And the work was suitable for them—in the restoration of their estates they were playing up the medieval The Northumberland proved very satisfactory patrons It was something for Percy to go everywhere and know everyone, even if—there are always flies in the ointment—his new duties compelled the surrender of several literary undertakings, and all his careful fishing, before and in and after the *Reliques*, did not bring much public request for him to bring out his translations from the Spanish and his collection of English medieval romances.

But the *Reliques* was a success, and it was the joint appeal to the man of taste and to the antiquarian that made it so It was Shenstone's influence that caught the man of taste Left to himself Percy would have been likely to print his texts as they were, or indicate clearly where he had made changes and from what. That was his instinct It was Shenstone who pulled him from the literal,⁴⁹ and he became Shenstone's disciple—with occasional backslidings.⁵⁰

Shenstone was right, too, in his perception of the public, except that the interest in early literature was less passing than he had feared. The book hit precisely the taste of the moment. The alterations?—they were merely innocent improvements, like powder and paint Alterations were not falsifications, they were wigs and farthingales.

The results were beyond expectation. The man of taste was converted

⁴⁹ "Percy und Shenstone," pp 44, 49, 65, 75–76

⁵⁰ Mr Churchill reached the same conclusion regarding alterations

"Unfortunately none of Percy's letters in which he expressed his point of view on this matter of alterations have been preserved, but the mere length of time that this problem was under discussion suggests that he was not easily persuaded to accept Shenstone's advice" ("Shenstone's Share in Percy's *Reliques*," *PMLA*, LI, 967)

Mr Churchill also points out that Percy's commonplace book contains a number of transcribed ballads, with additions carefully distinguished (p 965, note 29)

Mr Churchill makes one statement, however, whose accuracy I question Discussing the development of the plans to supply necessary information to the readers of the *Reliques*, he says, "The Idea of a glossary of obsolete words had not yet [Nov 1760] occurred to them (p 968)" Not occurred to Percy when he had Dr. Lye's promise to help him in it (as he had stated in his letter of Jan 9, 1758, immediately after the passage quoted above in note 45)? It was Shenstone that had forgotten it Percy I have no doubt was merely keeping it up his sleeve as long as possible. Shenstone was difficult to manage about scholarly trappings

And I have no doubt that the employment of said scholarly trappings led later scholars to feel that the text they accompanied should be equally precise, and doubled their resentment

Shenstone, who was also very doubtful of the exclusiveness of Percy's taste when confronted with the charm of age, fought a long and discouraged fight to restrain Percy's collection from obesity. ("Percy und Shenstone," pp 31, 45, 51, 54, 65–66, 79, 88)

into an antiquarian, and gaily collected and imitated ballads. The antiquarian, spurred into activity, began to bare his teeth at Percy for presenting spurious material. In the fields of the romances and Spanish literature (as well as other studies not here mentioned) others reaped what he sowed. And Percy, who I am sure was going against his own nature in altering his texts, yet was dutifully following the best professional advice,⁵¹ lived to have his authenticity challenged in his Chinese novel and in his *Reliques*, lived to hear himself ranked among the literary forgers and find his word doubted in everything. I am sure that to a person of his shrinking, scholarly nature, these criticisms, deserved and undeserved, loomed more prominent than the fame his work had brought him. Here perhaps lies in part the secret of his later literary inactivity, of his insistence that his publications had been merely the frivolities of his youth, as he took grateful refuge in his unassailable position as prelate. For though his goal was won, his duties many, his great gift had been for the scholarship he loved, and no man buries a great talent—genius if you will—unsick at heart. His compromise—antiquarian with man of taste—had brought him both fame and shame. It had made him and betrayed him.

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⁵¹ Percy's half-guilty awareness that after Shenstone's death he was indulging in a wealth of introductions and notes that Shenstone would never have approved of, is revealed in the Preface.

"The desire of being accurate has seduced him [Percy, the editor] into too minute and trifling an exactness; and in pursuit [sic] of information he may have been drawn into many a petty and frivolous research."

And a little later he states what he would not have had to qualify if he had followed his own bent:

"Where any thing was altered that deserved particular notice, the passage is distinguished by two inverted 'commas'. And the Editor has endeavoured to be as faithful, as the imperfect state of his materials would admit, for these old popular rhymes have, as might be expected, been handed down to us with less care, than any other writings in the world." (1st ed., 1765, p. xii)

Probably in every field of art, early attempts at restoration have been ill-judged and ill-executed mistakes.

XII

THE SOURCES, SIGNIFICANCE, AND DATE OF FRANKLIN'S "AN ARABIAN TALE"

AT first glance Franklin's little story, *An Arabian Tale*,¹ appears to be one of the most insignificant and inconsequential of his writings. Economically composed in fewer than three hundred words, it scarcely covers a page in any printed text. But despite the simplicity and brevity of the tale, and the lack of any literary values of plot, suspense, or climax—it is, indeed, hardly a "tale" at all—it is surprising that the piece has been so consistently neglected,² for it is of vital importance to the history of Franklin's thought.

In *An Arabian Tale* Franklin tells of a certain magician, Albumazar, who, renouncing the society of men, retires in his old age to the mountain of Calabut, where he lives alone, except for the nightly visits of various genii and spirits who are his friends and instructors. On one particular night he has as a special guest a certain prodigious genie named Belubel. The old magician begins the conversation by observing that, despite his rapturous love for the wisdom and beneficence of God, he cannot comprehend how the Most High countenances the existence of evil in the world. Belubel thereupon chides Albumazar for his audacity in attacking such problems with the puny weapon of his Reason. Albumazar then humbly asks to be enlightened concerning the origin and comparative weakness of his Reason, and receives from Belubel the following reply:

Contemplate . . . the scale of beings, from an elephant down to an oyster. Thou seest a gradual diminution of faculties and powers, so small in each step that the difference is scarce perceptible. There is no gap, but the gradation is complete. Men in general do not know, but thou knowest, that in ascending from an elephant to the infinitely Great, Good, and Wise, there is also a long gradation of beings, who possess powers and faculties of which thou canst yet have no conception.³

Under the thin veil of the story one may recognize in the observations

¹ *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. A. H. Smyth (New York, 1905-07), x, 124-125.

² MS not preserved. First printed in *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, LL.D., ed. W. T. Franklin (London, 1817-18), 326-327. Reprinted in *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Jared Sparks (Boston, 1840), II, 193-194, as one of the pieces of which the date "could not be ascertained with precision" (*Idem*, x, 449), but conjecturally dated 1779 (*Idem*, x, 460), in *The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. John Bigelow (New York and London, 1887-88), VI, 261-262, and dated 1779, in *Writings*, ed. Smyth, x, 123-124, without comment, and in *Benjamin Franklin, Representative Selections*, ed. F. L. Mott and C. E. Jorgenson (New York, 1936), pp. 519-520, with the comment "Date unknown." ³ *Writings*, ed. Smyth, x, 124.

of Albumazar and Belubel the elements in Franklin's own spiritual experience. He too had misgivings about the existence of evil, and wondered at times if there really was a Deity who exercises a direct surveillance over the affairs of individual men. He wrote to Whitefield:

I see with you that our affairs are not well managed by our rulers here below, I wish I could *believe* with you, that they are well attended to by those above, I rather suspect, from certain circumstances, that though the general government of the universe is well administered, our particular little affairs are perhaps below notice, and left to take the chance of human prudence or imprudence, as either may happen to be uppermost. It is, however, an uncomfortable thought, and I leave it.⁴

Like Albumazar, Franklin found that "the Dispensations of Providence in this World puzzle my weak Reason."⁵ Undoubtedly, Franklin's inability to justify the ways of God to man caused him no little distress. As he told Jonathan Shipley, the Bishop of St. Asaph, "It seems my Fate constantly to wish for Repose, and never to obtain it."⁶ Clearly, then, the comforting words of Belubel, quoted above, represent an attempt by Franklin at the resolution of his problem. Man may observe, from the plants and animals around him, a scale of life which ascends from the simplest forms up to a highly developed and complex being—man himself. On these grounds Belubel argues that he may assume the scale to continue upwards from man, though the continuation is not apparent to human perception. By this method of reasoning Franklin was able to establish a belief in a divine being, since, if the gradation of beings is carried out to its full extent, we ultimately reach an entity whose powers and faculties are infinite. In the logic of Belubel, we see Franklin's proof of the existence of God, the "infinitely Great, Good, and Wise."⁷ This concept, however, is not original with Franklin, though he assimilated it and made it his own.

The central idea of *An Arabian Tale* is a clear and obvious restatement of one of the most prevalent concepts in modern literature, the theory of "the great chain of being." Professor A. O. Lovejoy, who uses this phrase for the title of his recent book on the subject,⁸ defines this principle as

⁴ After 21 Jan. 1768, Luke Tyerman, *The Life of the Rev. George Whitefield* (New York, 1877), II, 540-541.

⁵ Franklin to James Hutton, 7 July 1782, *Writings*, ed. Smyth, VIII, 561.

⁶ 22 Aug. 1784, quoted in *Benjamin Franklin, Representative Selections*, p. cxxxvii.

⁷ *Writings*, ed. Smyth, x, 124. Cf. "First Principles" in *Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion*. "I believe there is one supreme, most perfect Being, Author and Father of the Gods themselves. For I believe that Man is not the most perfect Being but one, rather than as there are many Degrees of Beings his Inferiors, so there are many Degrees of Beings superior to him." *Idem*, II, 92.

⁸ *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Cambridge [Mass.], 1936).

the conception of the universe as an immense, or of an infinite, number of links ranging in hierarchical order from the meagerest kind of existents, which barely escape non-existence, through "every possible" grade up to the *ens perfectissimum*—or, in a somewhat more orthodox version, to the highest possible kind of creature, between which and the Absolute Being the disparity was assumed to be infinite—every one of them differing from the immediately above and that immediately below it by the "least possible" degree of difference.⁹

So pervasive was this idea in the thought of the western world that Lovejoy, always cautious and precise, can say that this was "the conception of the plan and structure of the world which, through the Middle Ages and down to the late eighteenth century, many philosophers, most men of science, and indeed, most educated men, were to accept without question . . ."¹⁰

The identity of Belubel's doctrine with Lovejoy's definition is certain. Franklin's "scale of beings" is "the great chain of being." "From the elephant down to the oyster" is (in reverse order) a homely rendering of "an immense or . . . infinite, number of links . . . ranging from the meagerest kind of existents . . . up to . . . the highest possible kind of creature" So also "There is no gap, but the gradation is complete" is, phrased with technical exactitude, the "hierarchical order . . . every one of [the existents] differing from that immediately above and that immediately below it by the 'least possible' degree of difference . . ." and "ascending from the elephant to the infinitely Great, Good, and Wise, there is also a long gradation of beings" is "the disparity . . . assumed to

⁹ *Idem*, p. 59. Franklin's interest in this philosophical concept is not unique in American thought, for a convenient summary see I. W. Riley, *American Philosophy: The Early Schools* (New York, 1907), pp. 195–304, noting especially the citations from the following varied sources (references are to pages in Riley): Samuel Langdon [President of Harvard College], *Discourse* (1775), pp. 205–206; Ezra Stiles [President of Yale College], "Birthday Memoir" and "Review [of Stiles' readings in deistic authors]," pp. 212–213; William Samuel Johnson [President of King's College], letter to Bradford, 17 March 1728–29, pp. 220–224; William Smith [1727–1803], *A General Idea of the College of Mirana* (New York, 1753), pp. 225–226; and Thomas Jefferson, letter to William Short, 31 October 1819, pp. 274–275. For a very explicit statement see also Thomas Paine, *The Age of Reason* (1795): "If we take a survey of our own world, or rather of this, of which the Creator has given us the use as our portion in the immense system of creation, we find every part of it, the earth, the waters, and the air that surround it, filled, and as it were crowded with life, down from the largest animals that we know of to the smallest insects the naked eye can behold, and from thence to others still smaller, and totally invisible without the assistance of the microscope. Every tree, every plant, every leaf, serves not only as an habitation, but as world to some numerous race, till animal existence becomes so exceedingly refined, that the effluvia of a blade of grass would be food for thousands." *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, ed. M. D. Conway (New York, 1894–96), iv, 67–68.

¹⁰ A. O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being*, p. 59.

be infinite" between "the highest possible kind of creature" and "the Absolute Being"

The availability of this idea to Franklin is as easy to discover as the relation to the tale to the concept, except that the process suffers from an embarrassment of riches because of the multiplicity of sources. Franklin found it in his general reading, which was permeated throughout with the concept. Lovejoy asserts:

It was in the eighteenth century that the conception of the universe as a Chain of Being, and the principles which underlay this conception—plenitude, continuity, gradation—attained their widest diffusion and acceptance. There has been no period in which writers of all sorts—men of science and philosophers, poets and popular essayists, deists and orthodox divines—talked so much about the Chain of Being, or accepted more implicitly the general scheme of ideas connected with it, or more boldly drew from these their latent implications. Next to the word "Nature," "the Great Chain of Being" was the sacred phrase of the eighteenth century. . . .¹¹

The whole concept derives ultimately from Greek philosophy, and especially from Plato,¹² but it is doubtful that Franklin had an extensive knowledge of Plato,¹³ and besides, "It was, probably, not chiefly to any direct influence of Greek or medieval philosophy that the conception owed its vogue in the eighteenth century. For it had been insisted upon by both of the two philosophers¹⁴ of the late seventeenth whose reputation and influence were greatest in the ensuing fifty years."¹⁵ It is in Franklin's reading in authors of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries that his sources are to be found.

One of the two philosophers who were the champions of the concept of the great chain of being, John Locke, was well known to Franklin, for the book which contained Locke's exposition of the theory, the *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690), which, with the exception of the Bible, was the most influential book in the eighteenth century,¹⁶ was read by Franklin at an early impressionable age.¹⁷ The whole of Belubel's

¹¹ *Idem*, pp. 183-184. See also Kenneth MacLean, *John Locke and English Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, 1936), p. 142.

¹² See A. O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being*, Ch. II, "The Genesis of the Idea in Greek Philosophy: the Three Principles," pp. 24-66.

¹³ See *Franklin Representative Selections*, ed. Mott and Jorgenson, p. cxxx, and n. 448.

¹⁴ Locke and Leibniz. ¹⁵ A. O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being*, p. 184.

¹⁶ Kenneth MacLean, *John Locke*, p. v.

¹⁷ *Writings*, I, 242-243. The *Autobiography* records vaguely that Franklin read Locke's *Essay* "about the time" he was "about 16 years of age." If there is any chronological order or accuracy in his account of his reading, one may suppose that he was a little older, perhaps seventeen or eighteen, when he read Locke.

speech, in effect, may be found in Book III of the *Essay*, including not only the statement of the concept, but the warning as to the use of the reason as well

It is not impossible to conceive, nor repugnant to reason, that there may be many species of spirits, as much separated and diversified one from another by distinct properties whereof we have no ideas, as the species of sensible things are distinguished one from another by qualities which we know and observe in them. That there should be more species of intelligent creatures above us, than there are of sensible and material below us, is probable to me from hence that in all the visible corporeal world, we see no chasms or gaps. All quite down from us the descent is by easy steps, and a continued series of things, that in each remove differ very little one from the other.¹⁸

After citing various illustrative examples, Locke continues:

There are some brutes that seem to have as much knowledge and reason as some that are called men and the animal and vegetable kingdoms are so nearly joined, that, if you will take the lowest of one and the highest of the other, there will scarce be perceived any great difference between them and so on, till we come to the lowest and most inorganic parts of matter, we shall find everywhere that the several species are linked together, and differ but in almost insensible degrees. And when we consider the infinite power and wisdom of the Maker, we have reason to think that it is suitable to the magnificent harmony of the universe, and the great design and infinite goodness of the Architect, that the species of creatures should also, by gentle degrees, ascend upwards from us toward his infinite perfection, as we see they gradually descend from us downwards which if it be probable, we have reason then to be persuaded that there are far more species of creatures above us than there are beneath, we being, in degrees of perfection, much more remote from the infinite being of GOD than we are from the lowest state of being, and that which approaches nearest to nothing.¹⁹

On the evidence of these related passages, it would seem an easy matter to establish Locke's *Essay* as the source of *An Arabian Tale*, but such a procedure is invalidated by the existence of intermediary sources. Even if *An Arabian Tale* has only a single source, it need not necessarily be Locke's *Essay*, for the idea appears in the writings of other authors who also knew the *Essay* or some derivative from it, and who were well known to Franklin. Indeed, if we may trust the accuracy of the *Autobiography* and assume that Franklin's summary of his early reading follows any trustworthy chronological order,²⁰ it is possible that Franklin

¹⁸ John Locke, *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, ed A. C. Fraser (Oxford, 1894) III, vi, 12. ¹⁹ *Ibid*

²⁰ The section in question (*Writings*, ed Smyth, I, 238-244) was composed some fifty years after the events it records, and such few references to actual dates as there are lack reassuring definiteness or exactness. The chronological table in *Franklin Representative Selections*, ed Mott and Jorgenson (p. cxlii) makes no attempt to assign dates for Franklin's

found the chain-of-being concept in Addison before he met with it in Locke.²¹ At least he records that he read the third volume of the *Spectator* about the time he read Locke,²² and the entire set of the *Spectator* was in the office of his brother James' newspaper, the *New-England Courant*, where young Benjamin was an apprentice.²³ Whatever the precise date of Franklin's first acquaintance with the *Spectator* papers, it is certain that he knew them well. The *Autobiography*, in a familiar passage, records his delight in them. He purchased a volume of the papers, read them over repeatedly, and determined to adopt their style as his own literary medium. He digested or versified the essays, and then attempted to turn them back into prose as satisfactory as that of the originals.²⁴ How completely he succeeded in making the style and mood of the *Spectator* papers his own is obvious from the evidence of the *Dogood Papers* and the *Busy-Body* series.

Among the *Spectator* papers which he knew well was one by Addison²⁵ which contains an excellent exposition of the chain-of-being idea, documented with the same quotation from Locke already cited. Thus Franklin was undoubtedly twice exposed to the concept at the source, Locke's *Essay*, once in the original and once as quoted by Addison. The latter's version is long, but a few excerpts will prove its kinship with Belubel's speech:

There are some living Creatures which are raised but just above dead Matter . . . It is wonderful to observe, by what a gradual Progress the World of Life advances through a prodigious Variety of Species, before a Creature is form'd that is compleat in all its Senses. . . This Progress in Nature is so very gradual, that the most perfect of an inferior Species comes very near to the most imperfect of that which is immediately above it. . . The whole Chasm in Nature, from a Plant to a Man, is filled up with diverse Kinds of Creatures, rising one over another, by such a gentle and easy Ascent, that the little Transitions and Deviations from one Species to another, are almost insensible . . . If the Scale of Being rises by such a regular Progress, so high as Man, we may by a parity of Reason suppose that it still proceeds gradually through those Beings which are of a Superior Nature to him, since there is an infinitely greater space and room for different Degrees of Perfection, between the Supreme Being and Man, than between Man and the most despicable Insect.²⁶

reading of these authors, collecting them all in one period, 1718-23. Despite a retentive memory, it is doubtful if Franklin could remember, at the age of sixty-five, the exact order in which he had read books fifty years before.

²¹ *Writings*, ed. Smyth, I, 241, 243. ²² *Ibid.*

²³ *New-England Courant*, no. 48 (2-9 July 1722), see also T. G. Wright, *Literary Culture in Early New England, 1620-1730* (New Haven, 1920), p. 187.

²⁴ *Writings*, ed. Smyth, I, 241-242.

²⁵ No. 519 (25 October 1712).

²⁶ *The Spectator*, ed. Henry Morley (London, n. d.), p. 739.

Two other favorite authors of Franklin's, Pope and Thomson, may have suggested the theme of *An Arabian Tale* to him. Though nothing exact is known about the history of Franklin's knowledge of Pope, he regarded him in 1749 as one of "our best Writers" who "should be Classics" and as such recommended him in the *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*²⁷ Five years previously, he had written to his friend, William Strahan, the printer, that Pope had many admirers in America, and that he was one of the group of English poets whom "we praise and admire . . . without Restraint."²⁸ In 1771, Franklin quoted Pope in the *Autobiography*²⁹

There is no doubt, either, of Franklin's acquaintance with the pertinent passages in Thomson's *Seasons*, for he was unusually enthusiastic about it. In the letter just mentioned he wrote feelingly to Strahan, "Whatever Thomson writes send me a dozen copies of I had read no poetry for several years, and almost lost the Relish of it, till I met with his *Seasons* That charming Poet has brought more Tears of Pleasure into my Eyes than all I ever read before. I wish it were in my Power to return him any Part of the joy he has given me."³⁰ In the *Proposals*, Franklin quoted the well known passage from *Spring*, which begins

'Tis Joy to see the human Blossoms blow,
When infant Reason grows apace. . .³¹

Both Pope and Thomson express the chain-of-being concept with particular brilliance. Pope is rapturous and enthusiastic:

See, through this air, this ocean, and this earth,
All matter quick, and bursting into birth.
Above, how high progressive life may go!
Around, how wide! how deep extend below!
Vast chain of being! which from God began,
Natures ethereal, human, angel, man,
Beast, bird, fish, insect, what no eye can see,
No glass can reach, from infinite to thee,
From thee to nothing On superior pow'rs
Were we to press, inferior might on ours.
Or in the full creation leave a void,
Where, one step broken, the great scale's destroyed.
From nature's chain whatever link you strike,
Tenth or ten thousandth, breaks the chain alike³²

Pope stresses two aspects of the theory: that man stands in the midst of a scale which ascends on one side of him and descends on the other, and

²⁷ *Writings*, ed Smyth, II, 391

²⁸ *Idem*, II, 242

²⁹ *Idem*, I, 245.

³⁰ *Idem*, II, 242-243

³¹ Ll 1146 ff

³² *Essay on Man*, I, 233-246

that there is no gap in the immense chain—two essential points that Belubel carefully makes in *An Arabian Tale*

Thomson's restatement of the idea is far more cautious than Pope's, and he approaches the theme with an uneasiness akin to fear, rather than with joyous eagerness. Indeed, there is a clear element of doubt in his version:

Has any seen
The mighty chain of beings, lessening down
From infinite perfection to the brink
Of dreary nothing, desolate abyss!
From which astonished thought recoiling turns?³³

But this caution implicit in Thomson's verse is exactly the same as that which Belubel recommends to Albumazar when he warns Albumazar that his reason is an instrument too fragile to probe the mysteries of the universe, and that the scale of beings which ascends from man to God is beyond the reach of his mortal powers. The admonitions are in effect identical with the reticence and uncertainty of Thomson elsewhere in *The Seasons*:

High Heaven forbids the bold presumptuous strain,
Whose wisest will has fixed us in a state
That must not yet to pure perfection rise
Besides, who knows, how, raised to higher life,
From stage to state, the vital scale ascends?³⁴

There are two other eighteenth-century sources for the central idea of Franklin's tale—Young and Buffon—though the influences are in each case less probable, because there exists no evidence that Franklin was well acquainted with their work, particularly at an impressionable and formative period. There seems to be, for example, only a single reference to Young's *Night Thoughts* in his writings; in a letter of 10 February 1773, Franklin informed the Quaker antislavery leader, Anthony Benezet, that he had sent him a copy of the work.³⁵ Nevertheless, Young's version of the chain-of-life concept is an impressive one, characterized by optimism and hopefulness. Young's exposition has been described as "wholly a device for looking up towards angels,"³⁶ and his conviction that the concept indicates a proof of divine Providence is surely latent also in *An Arabian Tale*.

Look nature thro', 'tis neat gradation all.
By what minute degrees her scale ascends!
Each middle nature join'd at each extreme,

³³ *The Seasons*, "Summer," ll 333-337

³⁴ *Idem*, "Spring," ll 374-378.

³⁵ *Writings*, ed Smyth, vi, 9

³⁶ Kenneth MacLean, *John Locke*, p. 142

To that above it join'd, to that beneath.
 Parts, into parts reciprocally shot,
 Abhor divorce, what love of union reigns!
 Here, dormant matter waits a call to life,
 Half-life, half-death, join there, here, life and sense.
 There, sense from reason steals a glimm'ring ray,
 Reason shines out in man But how preserv'd
 The chain unbroken upward, to the realms
 Of incorporeal life? Those realms of bliss,
 Where death hath no dominion? Grant a make
 Half-mortal, half-immortal, earthy, part,
 And part ethereal, grant the soul of man
 Eternal, or in man the series ends.
 Wide yawns the gap, connection is no more,
 Check'd reason halts, her next step wants support;
 Striving to climb, she tumbles from her scheme,
 A scheme, analogy pronounc'd so true;
 Analogy, man's surest guide below.³⁷

Some hints for the idea may also have been furnished by Buffon's monumental *Histoire Naturelle* (1750–1804).³⁸ Of Franklin's knowledge of Buffon we have no very convincing evidence, and their surviving correspondence is very late in both their lives. A letter from Buffon, dated 18 July 1787 from the Jardin du Roy in Paris, contains an acknowledgment of some rare seeds and plants sent by Franklin, and a request for information about the American Philosophical Society. Buffon discusses his own treatise on the magnet and offers to send the *Histoire Naturelle des Mineraux*, just completed, to the Society.³⁹ Franklin's reply is dated 19 November 1787,⁴⁰ and a letter dated 1 January 1787,⁴¹ from Paris, seems to be Buffon's answer to Franklin's last.⁴² Franklin apparently knew parts of Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle des Oiseaux* (1770–83).⁴³ Buffon, on his part, was enthusiastic about Franklin's *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*, published in London in 1751, and had Thomas-François

³⁷ *Night Thoughts*, vi, 714–734

³⁸ Buffon died in 1788, by which time the *Histoire* totaled 36 volumes, but it was continued by others to 1804, and enlarged to 44 volumes, succeeding volumes from 1750 simply being uniformly added to the set from time to time. The "first edition" of the *Histoire* may therefore be said to be the 44 volumes issued during the period, 1750–1804.

³⁹ I. M. Hays, *Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin in the Library of the American Philosophical Society*, in *The Record of the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Benjamin Franklin* (Philadelphia, 1908), iii, 348.

⁴⁰ *Writings*, ed. Smyth, ix, 622.

⁴¹ The contents indicate that the letter should be dated 1788.

⁴² *Calendar*, ed. Hays, iii, 331.

⁴³ Franklin to Benjamin Rush, 25 July 1774; *Writings*, ed. Smyth, vi, 236–237.

D'Alibard translate the work into French, in a volume issued in 1752 in Paris⁴⁴ None of these facts, of course, gives certain indication of any knowledge on Franklin's part of the relevant passages in the *Histoire Naturelle*

The introduction of the chain-of-being concept into Buffon's work is interesting, however, because it illustrates the application of the idea to natural science Buffon's belief in the theory compelled him to reject the concept of species He declared that

. . le grand défaut est une erreur de Métaphysique dans le principe même de ces methodes Cette erreur consiste à méconnoître la marche de la Nature, qui se fait toujours par nuances on peut descendre par des degrés presque-insensibles, de la créature la plus parfaite jusqu'à la matière la plus informe ces nuances imperceptibles sont le grand œuvre de la Nature, il [l'homme] les trouvera ces nuances, non seulement dans les grandeurs & dans les formes, mais dans les mouvemens, dans les générations, dans les successions de toute espèce . . la Nature marche par des gradations inconnues, & par conséquent elle ne peut pas se prêter totalement à ces divisions [les genres et les espèces] . . il se trouve un grand nombre d'espèces moyennes & d'objets mi-partis qu'on ne sait où placer, & qui dérangent nécessairement le projet du système général . en général plus on augmentera le nombre des divisions des productions naturelles, plus on approchera du vrai, puisqu'il n'existe réellement dans la Nature que des individus, & que les genres, les ordres & les classes n'existent que dans notre imagination⁴⁵

One final source, earlier than the great vogue of the idea in the eighteenth century, may have contributed to Franklin's awareness of the scheme. It is found in the fifth book of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which we are sure he knew well because he extracted a portion of this same book,⁴⁶ as "Milton's Hymn to the Creator," for insertion in his *Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion* (1728), as part of his ritual of devotion.⁴⁷ The passage in Milton expresses particularly the notion of the ascending scale in nature up to and beyond man, and clearly insists on the continuity of the chain. Raphael explains to Adam that everything is composed of

One first matter all,
Indu'd with various forms, various degrees
Of substance, and in things that live, of life;
But more refin'd, more spiritous, and pure,
As nearer to him plac'd, or nearer tending,
Each in their several active spheres assign'd,

⁴⁴ *Idem*, I, 418-419, see also Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1938), p. 163.

⁴⁵ [George Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon], *Histoire Naturelle* (Paris, 1750-1804), I, 12-13, 20, 38

⁴⁶ *Paradise Lost*, v, 153-204

⁴⁷ *Writings*, ed. Smyth, II, 96-97

Till body up to spirit works in bounds
 Proportion'd to each kind . .
 Flowers and their fruit,
 Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublimed,
 To vital spirits aspire, to animal,
 To intellectual, give both life and sense,
 Fancy and understanding, whence the soul
 Reason receives .⁴⁸

In the light of this survey of the immediate sources of *An Arabian Tale*, the little fable assumes a significance far greater than has hitherto been attached to it. The moral which Franklin draws from the story is primarily an optimistic one. The reasoning employed by Belubel amounts to a scientific demonstration of the goodness, greatness, and wisdom of God, and therefore allows one to cherish a happy faith in the ultimate goodness and rightness of things. Lovejoy observes that those who expounded the doctrine in the eighteenth century assumed "the criterion of the goodness of the universe . . to consist, not solely in the diversity of creatures, but in the quantity of the *joie de vivre* it contains . . ." ⁴⁹ Such a faith the mature Franklin came to possess. He wrote to Ezra Stiles, 9 March 1790, that "having experienced the Goodness of that Being in conducting me prosperously thro' a long life, I have no doubt of its Continuance in the next . . ." ⁵⁰

It will be seen also that the concept condemns man to a state—literally—of mediocrity. Though above the station of the brute, man is nevertheless vastly inferior to the "long gradation of beings" which ascend upward from him to the Supreme Good. The consequence of this fact is stated by Lovejoy as follows:

. . since man's place is not a very high one, since he is a mixture of the animal and the intellectual elements, and since the latter is present in him only in a meagre measure and in its lowest, or almost lowest, form, the beginning of wisdom for him was to remember and to hold fast to his limitations ⁵¹

In all his cherished plans, Franklin never forgot all schemes depended, in the last analysis, on the vagaries of human nature. On 7 June 1782, he wrote to Joseph Priestley:

Men I find to be a Sort of Beings very badly constructed, as they are generally more easily provok'd than reconcil'd, more desposed to do Mischief to each other than to make Reparation, much more easily deceiv'd than undeceiv'd, and having more Pride and even Pleasure in killing than in begetting one another. . ⁵²

⁴⁸ *Paradise Lost*, v, 472-479, 482-487

⁴⁹ A. O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being*, p. 220

⁵⁰ *Writings*, ed. Smyth, x, 84 ⁵¹ A. O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being*, p. 201

⁵² *Writings*, ed. Smyth, viii, 451-452

Even the golden dream of American democracy did not make him forget, for at the close of the Constitutional Convention, 17 September 1787, he refused to join in the pæans of praise for the new document, because it was the work of typical human beings, "... for, when you assemble a number of men, to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a *perfect* production be expected?"⁵³

Again it was implied that man best performed his duty in life by accepting his place in the scale and practicing a "prudent mediocrity."⁵⁴ Obviously this usually, in practical terms, resulted in reaction, complacency, and a suppression and oppression of the underprivileged. Franklin never used this mode of reasoning in such fashion, but he did believe in order and authority. The American ideal, he thought, could not succeed if the citizenry lawlessly refused to submit to the authority of the government—if, in other words, they refused to assume their particular places as governed people: "... after all, much depends upon the people who are to be governed. We have been guarding against an evil that old States are most liable to, *excess of power* in the rulers, but our present danger seems to be *defect of obedience* in the subjects."⁵⁵

Finally, there evolved from the doctrine a social concept eminently suited to Franklin's temper of mind. By a not-too-subtle process of deductive reasoning, one may easily extract reasons for a democratic system of government from the idea as a whole. Since being is an infinite chain, made up of indispensable, individual links, each link of course is its own excuse for being, and hence can be derived the principle of individual liberty and freedom.

No creature's existence . . . was merely instrumental to the well-being of those above it in the scale. Each had its own independent reason for being, in the final account, none was more important than any other, and each, therefore, had its own claim to respect and consideration from its superiors, its own right to live its own life and to possess all that might be needful to enable it to fulfill the functions and enjoy "the privileges and perquisites" of its station.⁵⁶

Franklin's interpretation of the theory was strikingly similar to this. In *Some Good Whig Principles*, he declared:

. . . That *every man* of the commonality (excepting infants, insane persons, and criminals) is, of common right, and by the laws of God, a *freeman*, and entitled to the free enjoyment of *liberty*.

⁵³ *Speech in the Convention at the Conclusion of its Deliberations*, *idem*, ix, 608

⁵⁴ A. O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being*, p. 200

⁵⁵ Benjamin Franklin to Charles Carroll, 25 May 1789, *Writings*, ed. Smyth, x, 7

⁵⁶ A. O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being*, p. 207

and

That liberty, or, freedom, consists in having *an actual share* in the appointment of those who frame the laws, and who are to be the guardians of every man's life, property, and peace, for the *all* of one man is as dear to him as the *all* of another, and the poor man has an *equal* right, but *more* need, to have representatives in the legislature than the rich one ⁵⁷

The history of the background of the tale assists greatly in the comprehension of Franklin's general methods in formulating his creed. The concept of the great chain of being was the common property of a wide assortment of philosophical, theological, and scientific schools, it was "examined and generally approved by all philosophical parties, Watts and Young of the conservative right, Pope and Bolingbroke of the left, and Addison and Thomson representing the center."⁵⁸ Franklin, as we have seen, was introduced to it in the works of the analytic philosopher, Locke, the deistic poet, Pope, a clergyman of the Church of England, Edward Young, the naturalist, Buffon, and various others. It mattered little to Franklin what branch of learning or art promulgated the idea as long as it satisfied his needs and could stand the test of his experience and powers of rational analysis. He does not seem to have regarded the fact that the concept was adopted by mutually exclusive schools of thought, each using it to demonstrate its own particular tenets, the theory appealed to him in its general aspects and, little caring what parties supported it, he incorporated it into his creed, as represented in *An Arabian Tale*, because it had successfully met the challenge of his mind. Thus a review of the sources of this little story gives us a valuable insight into the development of Franklin's thought. On the evidence just presented, we may characterize Franklin as an eclectic thinker, possessed of substantial opinions and even professing a creed, but never interested in identifying himself with established philosophical or theological schools, and never insistent upon the predominance of any one system of thought. For his opinions and creed he was not indebted to any philosophy or sectarian doctrine, but to the ideas which, conveyed to him through the medium of his miscellaneous reading, were harmonious with the temper of his mind.

The cumulative evidence of Franklin's contact with the sources of *An Arabian Tale* is too diverse and miscellaneous to be of use in seriously fixing a date of any accuracy. Lacking external documentary evidence, it would seem that the best method of dating the tale is to consider it with regard to its general type and mood. It was clearly written in a calm spirit of genial and hopeful philosophizing, and with a tinge of moralizing

⁵⁷ *Writings*, ed. Smyth, x, 130

⁵⁸ Kenneth MacLean, *John Locke*, p. 142

It therefore best fits into that group of tales which Franklin wrote in France during the period 1778–80. Without straining one's credibility, it is easy to recognize the kinship of *An Arabian Tale* with such bits as *The Ephemera* (1778), *Morals of Chess* (1779), *The Whistle* (1779), *The Levee* (1779?), *Dialogue between Franklin and the Gout* (1780), and *The Handsome and Deformed Leg* (1780?).⁵⁹ Like *An Arabian Tale*, which serenely and optimistically presents a wise little lesson of humbleness, patience, and goodness in the guise of a fable, these others suggest the mature, experienced, perhaps even complacent Franklin, the idol of France and the happy frequenter of the salons of Mesdames Brillon and Helvétius.

For example, in *The Ephemera*, subtitled *An Emblem of Human Life*, a fly presents his cautious and humble philosophy of life, observing at last "in philosophy how small our progress! Alas! art is long, and life is short!"⁶⁰ In the *Morals of Chess*, Franklin maintains that the game of chess teaches us valuable lessons of foresight, circumspection, caution, and courageous faith.⁶¹ *The Whistle*, the most familiar of the tales, has as its moral the danger of a false estimate of value which suggests Albumazar's too great esteem of his own reason.⁶² These examples need not be multiplied because those already given are enough to show clearly that they are identical in attitude, spirit, and idea with *An Arabian Tale*. Apparently, therefore, *An Arabian Tale* should be assigned to the dates 1778–80.⁶³

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⁵⁹ Receipt of this piece acknowledged in a letter from Georgiana Shipley to Benjamin Franklin, 6 May 1781, see *Calendar*, ed. Hays, III, 371.

⁶⁰ *Writings*, ed. Smyth, VII, 208.

⁶¹ *Idem*, VII, 357–362.

⁶² *Idem*, VII, 414–416.

⁶³ The literary form of *An Arabian Tale* probably derives from the Oriental tales in the *Spectator*, such as the *Vision of Mirzah* (#159), or the story of Alnaschar, the Persian glassman (#535).

XIII

ZWEI GOETHESTUDIEN (PATER BREY— SESENHEIMER LIEDER)

I ROSTS SENDSCHREIBEN AN GOTTSCHED ALS ANSTOSS ZU GOETHE'S *PATER BREY*

R OST'S Sendschreiben "Der Teufel, An den Kunstrichter der Leipziger Schaubühne (Altenau 1753,)" erschienen in Leipzig und Dresden vor der Herbstmesse, muß, seiner Popularität halber, in vielen Nachdrucken verbreitet worden sein¹ und fand dann später eine Wiederbelebung, allerdings mit Auslassung von acht besonders anzüglichen Versen und mit Entstellungen in Wort und Zeichensetzung, in Christian Heinrich Schmid's *Anthologie der Deutschen, Frankfurt und Leipzig 1770*. Es ist wohl kaum zweifelhaft, daß Goethe und Merck diese Anthologie, in der Lessing, Wieland, Herder, Mendelssohn und viele andere Großen der Zeit vertreten waren, kannten, denn Herr Schmid bemühte sich sehr bald, unter die Mitarbeiter der *Frankfurter gelehrten Anzeigen* aufgenommen zu werden, was ihm allerdings mißlang. Wir dürfen indessen sogar als wahrscheinlich annehmen, daß der Leipziger Student Goethe, der Gottsched einen Bock schilt, Rost's Gedicht schon in der Originalfassung zu Gesicht bekommen hat, denn es ist ja nicht nur von literarischer Bedeutung, sondern zugleich witzig und treffend, und hat als eines der ersten und kraftigsten Pasquille in Knittelversen (zumal da Gottsched selber diesem Versmaße für den Gebrauch in Satiren seinen priesterlichen Segen gab), in seiner urwuchsigigen Hans-Sachsischen Art einen außerordentlichen Eindruck gemacht. Um so verwunderlicher scheint es, daß seine Wirkung auf Goethe, die wir hier als höchst wahrscheinlich und von unbeachteten Folgen zu erweisen suchen, übersehen worden ist, obwohl Flohr in seiner *Geschichte des Knittelverses vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur*

¹ Abgedruckt bei Minor, Chr. F. Weiße (Innsbruck 1880), S. 392 ff., nach der *Anthologie* in Godeke, Elf Bucher dt. Dichtg., I, 545. Die "Vorerinnerung" der *Anthologie* ist recht dazu angetan, einen Dichter wie den jungen Goethe herauszufordern.

"Die besten Kunstrichter sehen es ein, wie mancher Ton in unsrer Sprache noch unver sucht geblieben sey. Wo haben wir einen hudebrastischen Dichter? Wo haben wir etwas, das den Spenserschen und Marotischen Gedichten der Engländer und Franzosen entspreche, in denen die alte Sprache so viel Naivetät, Einfalt, und komische Wendung an die Hand giebt? Wir haben Versuche im Geschmack der Minnesinger, aber sehr unglückliche. Sollte man nicht zu burlesken Gedichten die Versart der ehemals so beliebten Quodlibet brauchen können? Jede Neuerung findet Leute, die sich daran ärgern, und so wurde es Rosten auch heutzutage gehn, wenn er die Sendschreiben herausgab. Als es erschien, betrachtete man es nur als eine Schmahschrift, und glaubte freylich, daß der Teufel an Gottscheden anders als an Voltaren schreiben mußte. Aber ich rette es hier von der Vergessenheit wegen seines originellen Tons und seiner Laune."

Jugend Goethes (Berlin 1893) den ausgesprochenen Knittelverscharakter der Epistel erkannt und gewertet hat.

Rost tritt in diesem Sendschreiben als der Teufel aus Christian Felix Weißes Operette *Der Teufel is los* auf, die von Gottsched mit unermüdlichen Angriffen verfolgt wurde. Er halt dem Herrn Professor vor, daß er seinen Kunstrichterbesen nach ihm geworfen, daß er sich überhaupt in alles einmische, gegen seine Kinder in der Oper wute und tobe, sich aber auf Kochs Theater an dessen Weiblein herangemacht und sie, freilich ohne Erfolg, zu verführen versucht habe. So solle denn ein Teufel in ihn, wie einst in die Gergesener Saue fahren,² ihn in seinem unsinnigen Treiben zum allgemeinen Spott bestärken, bis er—als starker Geselle ohne Verstand dazu brauchbar—Bratenwender in der Holle werden könne.

Aehnliche Züge in Goethes *Pater Brey* liegen auf der Hand. Statt mit einem Kunstrichter haben wir es hier mit einem Teufelspfaffen zu tun, der aber ebenfalls aus Gründen der eignen Unfehlbarkeit und pedantischen Ordnungslebe "alles Rauhe mit Gips und Kalk verstreichen" und ihm mit Gesicht oder Steiß den eignen Stempel aufdrucken mochte, zugleich sich aber lüstern an die Weiber macht, die Frau des Gewurzkramers und die Tochter der Nachbarin zu verführen sucht, freilich wieder ohne Erfolg, denn wie bei Rost fällt auch hier der Vergleich mit dem Mann beziehungsweise Brautigam zu des Versuchers Ungunsten aus.

Die Kernstelle, von der wir bei Rost auszugehen haben, ist das Gerucht, daß Gottsched sich um Kochs Frau bemüht habe:

Kommt da hinter dem armen Kochen
Crocodillisch einhergekrochen
Erst nach dessen Weiblein zart
Waßert das Maul, wackelt der Bart.
Der Herr Professor, er kann nicht rasten,
Wil lecken, fingern, brusteln, betasten,
Greiffet dem Weiblein an das Kinn
Hat Geilheit, Unzucht hat er im Sinn
Kann sich selber kaum noch bezaumen,
Fangt auf 2 Beinen an zu baumen,
Und brache da zur Stelle stracks
Herzl gerne die Ehe Knacks
Umsonst, er thut um sein Verführen
Verachtung an dem Weiblein spühren
"Pfui dich mal an, denn konnt auch nun
Ich meinem Mann solch Uibel thun;
So wurd ich doch dich garstgen Riesen
Zu meiner Buhlschaft nicht erkiesen!"³

² Matth 8, 30

³ In Schmidts *Anthologie* fehlen die Verse "Der Herr Professor Ehe Knacks," was

Das ist dieselbe Rolle, die Leuchsenring im Verhältnis zu Karoline Flachsland spielt und die Goethe den Pfaffen im *Pater Brey* spielen läßt. Sein Begaffeln, in die Ohren raffeln, an fremden, verbotenen Speisen schlecken, an der Tochter lecken, an allen Essen schnopern, den Weiblein die Ellenbogen lecken gleicht ganz dem Betragen des geilen Kulissenstehers. Außerdem mischen sich beide in alles, was sie nichts angeht, Rosts Kunstrichter:

Denn in alles mengt er sich keck
Wie unter den Pfeffer der Musedreck —
Der Mann denkt aber doch indeßen
Er habe die Weißheit all' gefressen . .
Er schmiert und schreibt wider groß und klein
Ohn Verstand in den Tag hinein .

Goethes Brey:

. . stellt mir die Tobacksbuxsen weg
Dort hinten ins T zum Teuffelsdreck
Kehrt eben alles druber und drunter . .
Er meynt, die Welt konnt nicht bestehen,
Wenn er nicht that drauf herumgehen,
Meynt, er wolle die Welt verbessern . .
Aber da ist nichts recht und gut
Als was Herr Pater selber thut. . . .

Wenn Rosts Professor anhebt, "mit schnaubender Nasen zu wuten, toben, lastern und rasen," "ein Lermen im ganzen Land" macht, die Kinder von vorn und hintern beschnopert, sie anschnauzt "als waren sie Pack," so tut im *Brey* der Pfaff ebenfalls "wacker rasen" und "viel Fluch und Schimpf aus'm Rachen blasen." Es scheint fast, als ob der Geist der Schweine, die durch die Nasen reden und sich und jeden Christen anschnauzen, in den Pater gefahren sei statt umgekehrt wie der Teufel in die Gergesener Saue. Rosts Teufel droht endlich, dem Professor den Kopf zu lausen, während Balandrino den Pfaffen mit Filzlausen vergleicht, die nicht herauszukriegen sind. Am Ende sind beide, der Teufelspfaff und der Herr von Königsberg, blamiert und werden elend verspottet.

Die Entstehung des *Pater Brey*, vorausgesetzt, daß die Beziehung zu Rost als stichhaltig zugegeben wird, wäre dann vielleicht so zu denken: Goethe hat Leuchsenring, das anerkannte Vorbild seines Brey, im Marz 1772 zu Darmstadt kennen gelernt, im Februar 1773 haben Leuchsenring und Merck in Frankfurt den Gegenbesuch gemacht. Schon am 16. Marz 1772 schreibt aber Merck an Sophie von La Roche über Leuchsenring:

unsere Hypothese schwachen wurde, wenn man nicht annehmen durfte, daß die Urfassung noch bekannt war

“Er fing also an, aufzuraumen, und nahm dazu den großen Borstwisch des Raisonnements bei sammtenen Weiberseelen, die man wirklich nicht à contrepoil traktieren darf Seine große Arbeit war, Herdern in der Seele der Mädchen auszuthun, und er hatte nichts an die Stelle zu setzen.” (DjG VI 300) Wahrscheinlich ist demnach, daß diese Angelegenheit auch zwischen Goethe und Merck schon in März 1772 zur Sprache kam. Sollte dann auch schon hier das Aperçu zum *Brey* in Goethe aufgezuckt und entwickelt sein? Sollte der “große Borstwisch des Raisonnements,” Mercks auf Leuchsenring so wenig passende Metapher, durch den “Kunst-richterbesen des großen, baumstarken Knechts” hervorgerufen sein, während das Traktieren à contrepoil auf Herder-Balandrino zu beziehen ist? Wie Gottsched in Rosts Epistel hat ja auch Leuchsenring nichts an die Stelle des ausgestochenen legitimen Liebhabers zu setzen. Die Kochin bezeichnet Gottsched als einen “garstgen Riesen” und die Leonore den Brey als “nur einen Schwamm.” Rosts lustiges Sprichwort vom Pfeffer im Musedreck (das in Balandrinos Munde dann als Musedreck im Korian-der erscheint) ruft möglicherweise assoziativ erst die Idee des Gewurzeladens hervor, in dem Merck den Kramer spielen muß und der ihm verhaßte Brey die sinnlose alphabetische Ordnung von Taback und Teufelsdreck einführt, ja endlich sogar seiner Ehefrau nachstellt. Beide, Gottsched und Brey, rachen sich durch uble Nachrede für den fehlgeschlagenen Verführungsversuch. Assoziativ mögen dann endlich die Gergesener Saue den Pater unter das Schweinevolk auf der Weide geschickt haben; es spukt ja bereits im *Jahrmarktsfest*.

Wir sind damit an das Problem der Datierungsfrage der drei Stücke, *Jahrmarktsfest zu Plundersweilern*, *Pater Brey* und *Satyros* herangekommen, über das noch immer keine Uebereinstimmung besteht.⁴ Rosts Sendbrief ist auch dafür von Bedeutung. Die Doppelverspottung der Rationalisten und Pietisten in ihrer Gleichmacherei, wie wir sie in der *Historia von Esther* im *Jmf.* finden, stützt unsere Uebertragung der satirischen Idee von Gottsched auf Leuchsenring, denn wenn auch Rost den rationalistischen Charakter von Gottscheds Bestrebungen nirgends betont, Goethe wird ihn schon in die Epistel hineingelesen haben; und so läßt er einerseits von Haman die Pietisten verfolgen:

Mussen das all exterminiren
Nur die Vernunft, die soll uns fuhren . .

⁴ Koster (Jubilaumsausg., VII, 360 ff.) und Richter (Festausgabe, IV, 338 ff.) setzen *Brey* zwischen Winter 1773 und Ostern 1774, Morris (DjG, VI, 300) und Castle (“*Pater Brey und Satyros*,” *J G G*, v [1918], 56-98) in den März-April 1773 mit einleuchtenden Gründen. Allerdings hält Morris für den *Satyros* an dem Bezug auf Herder fest, während Castle in ihm die freie dichterische Weiterbildung der Figur des trugerischen Religionsstifters sieht angereichert durch Rousseauistische Züge, wohl mit Recht.

Und lassen sie sich wa nicht weisen
So sollen sie alle Teufel zerreißen.

andererseits von Mardochai, dem Pietisten,

Die Schweine zu Lammern rektifiziren
Und ein ganzes draus combiniren.

Gibt uns die Form des Knittelverses einen weiteren Aufschluß über Datierung und Abhängigkeit? Wir wissen, daß Goethe wahrscheinlich im Winter 1772, spätestens aber im April in Darmstadt Hans Sachs in der Kemptener Ausgabe benutzt hat (DjG, III 171 u. VI 302). Aber weder Sachs noch Gryphius, auf den Max Herrmann Goethes Gebrauch des Knittelverses zurückführen mochte,⁵ stehen dem Goethischen Knittelverse so nahe wie die Rostsche Epistel. Stilistisch übertreiben Rost wie Goethe die Koppelung von Wortpaaren aller Kategorien, die bei Hans Sachs viel spärlicher, selbst in beschreibenden Gedichten wie das *Schlauraffenland* vorkommen. In Rosts' Epistel finden wir: schmiert und schreibt, reiten und treiben, nagen und zwicken; Haut und Haaren, Schriften und Schnitzer, vorn und hinten; groß und klein, gelehrt und klug, fix und hurtig, eß er und trink er; waßert das Maul, wakelt der Bart, er sagt keine Sylb', geschweig ein Wort; bald lateinisch bald deutsch, u a m ; im Brey · Sinn und Rumor, Schusseln und Besen, Gunst und guten Geruch, Seel und Sinn; daher und dorthier, druber und drunter, bethulich und freundlich, klug und alt; blockt und trottelt, prahlen und schwatzen, u. s. w. Auch der Anfang des Verses mit dem Verbum, entweder mit Auslassung des Subjekts oder als Inversion ist beiden geläufig.

Im Metrum ist Hans Sachs sowie Gryphius ruhiger, starker alternierend. Möglich ist, daß Rost den Anstoß gab zum Gebrauche des Knittelverses und daß Goethe sich dann vielleicht mehr und mehr von ihm entfernte unter dem Einfluß Hans Sachsens, wie es die zunehmende Nivellierung zu zeigen scheint, welche aus der folgenden Prozentualtabelle hervorgeht:⁶

	Rost	Jmf.	Brey	Satyros
Verhältnis von klingendem zu stumpfem				
Versausgang	50:50	46:54	37:63	20:80
Alternierende Verse	20	39 5	47	66
Fehlen des Auftaktes	51	19	17 5	8
Mehrsilbige Senkung im I. Takt	26	22	23	12
im II. Takt	37	32.5	22 5	17
im III. Takt	30	11.5	14 5	5.5

⁵ Max Herrmann, *Jahrmaktsfest zu Plundersweilern* (Berlin, 1900)

⁶ Siehe Feise, *Der Knittelvers des jungen Goethe* (Leipzig, 1909), S. 89

Hier steht also das *Jahrmarktsfest* Rost am nächsten, dann folgt der *Pater Brey* und erst in weitem Abstände der *Satyros*. Die Zahlen sind in der Tat frappierend, und wenn es auch kaum geraten wäre, auf einen solchen Formvergleich allein einen Beweis aufzubauen, so dienen sie doch jedenfalls als weitere Stütze für unsere Hypothese, daß Goethes Knittelvers in erster Linie auf Rost zurückgeht und daß dessen Epistel in Motiven und Ausdruck wichtige Formelemente geliefert hat für *Jahrmarktsfest* und *Pater Brey*, deren Konzeption vielleicht schon in das Jahr 1772 zurückreichen mag. Mit dem Januar 1773 beginnt übrigens auch Goethes Gebrauch des Knittelverses in den Versepisteln, bei denen wir uns fragen, warum er dazu gerade dieses Versmaß und diesen Gattungsstil bevorzugt.⁷

II ZU GOETHES SESENHEIMER LIEDERN

1 "BALDE SEH ICH RICKGEN WIEDER." "Es bleibt dabei: die Strophen 'Balde seh ich Rickgen wieder' sind im Sommer 1771 in Straßburg entstanden und als Briefeinschluß an die Sesenheimer Friederike gelangt, in deren Abschrift sie Heinrich Kruse vorfand. Sie zeigen den Durchbruch eines innigen und starken Liebesgefühls durch eine Phraseologie, die noch ein paarmal an die überwundene Anakreontik der Leipziger Jahre erinnert." Mit diesen temperamentvollen Worten hoffte Edward Schröder im Jahrbuch der Goethe-Gesellschaft von 1919 die Diskussion über das Gedicht für immer zu schließen, aber leider hat er selber trotz des gründlichen Fundamentes, das seine Untersuchungen für die Erkenntnis der Kopistenhande und der Verfasserschaft gelegt haben, seine Schlüsse nicht einwandfrei entwickelt,⁸ schon in dem einen Punkte, z. B., daß er die Schreibung von "Madchen," die er doch so entschieden für Lenz in Anspruch nahm, in einem Gedichte, das mit Rickgen anfängt, nicht beanstandete. Dies ist indessen nicht die einzige Fragwürdigkeit des Liedes. Wenn er das Entfliehen des Mädchens, von dem doch bei Friederike nicht die Rede sein kann, als Ueberbleibsel der Anakreontik erklärt, wie kommt es dann, daß dieser Anakreontiker von "wahrem Gram" redet, der nicht in sein Lied übergeht?

Das Wort "Gram" kommt überhaupt im *Jungen Goethe* nur einmal vor, in dem bewußt übersteigerten Lied *Erwins*, "dem der Gram die Seele bricht," ja sonst in den Gedichten überhaupt nicht bis zum Ende der achtziger Jahre (das ergab eine Nachprüfung), also nicht einmal im

⁷ *DjG*, III, 23 (Jan 73), *DjG*, III, 56 (15. Sept. 73), *DjG*, III, 48 (Juni 73), *DjG*, IV, 4 (Jan 74), *DjG*, IV, 161 (74), V, 285 (30. Juli, 75?).

⁸ Siehe auch Edward Schröder in den *Göttinger Gelehrten Anzeigen* (1918), S. 389 ff., Th. Maurer, *Beiträge zur Landes- und Volkskunde von Elsaß-Lothringen*, Heft 32, K. Reuschel, *Euphoriön*, XX, 57 ff., Max Morris, *DjG*, VI, 155 ff., Von der Hellen, *Jubiläumsausgabe*, III, 308 f., H. G. Graef, u. s. w.

Werther und der Stella. Erst, wie zu erwarten, in der *Iphigenie* treffen wir es an, weder im *Egmont* noch im *Tasso*, dann im *Faust* wieder und nur ein einziges Mal.⁹

Wenn wir in *Adelung* (1775) als Definition des Wortes "Gram" finden: "ein hoherer Grad der anhaltenden Betrübniß über ein Übel,"¹⁰ so können wir uns sein Fehlen bei einem Dichter, der im Gebrauch von Worten Echtheit und Treffsicherheit wie der junge Goethe besitzt, leicht erklären, eine solche "anhaltende Betrübniß" ohne Bewußtsein baldiger Überwindung ist mit Goethes Wesen in diesen Jahren seines dynamischen Wechsels von Euphorie und Depression unvereinbar, und daß er den Gram als vielleicht tiefsten, fast hoffnungslosen Grad depressiven Affekts empfindet (noch tiefer als Sorge), zeigt die tonale Emphase, den der Ausdruck in allen genannten Stellen erhält, die dem Leser unvergeßlich im Gedächtnis bleiben.¹¹ So konnte er ihn auch nicht durch ein Eigenschaftswort "wahr" abschwächen. Dagegen finden wir "Gram" funfmal in Lenzens Gedichten, aber bei ihm bedeutet das Wort keinen außerordentlichen Seelenzustand.¹²

In *Dichtung und Wahrheit* bezieht sich Goethe auf seine Gedichte aus der Sesenheimer Zeit mit den folgenden Worten: "Unter diesen Umge-

⁹ *Iphigenie*, Vers 15-16 Ihm zehrt der Gram / Das nächste Glück von seinen Lippen weg Vers 66-67 Noch bedeckt der Gram / Geheimnisvoll dem Innerstes

Faust, Vers 1635-36 Hor' auf, mit deinem Gram zu spielen / Der, wie ein Geier, dir am Leben frißt

¹⁰ Dank freundlichen Hinweises von Professor J. A. Walz

¹¹ Vielleicht ist es erlaubt, hier ein persönliches Erlebnis anzuführen, da es immerhin die Wirkung einigermaßen anzeigt. Als ich in meiner Gedächtniszentrale wegen Grams anrief, kamen mir nach und nach zwei Melodiekurven ins Ohr, die ich fast eine Woche lang nicht mit Worten füllen konnte, obwohl die Rhythmen derselben immer deutlicher wurden. Dann sprang plötzlich das Wort Gram an seine richtige Stelle, die andern folgten nach und nach, und auf einige falsche Versuche der Einordnung zuckten plötzlich die "süßen Rosen" *Erwins* und die "regen Wipfel" *Iphigeniens* auf. Das *Faustwörterbuch* führte zu Mephisto.

¹² Ich zitiere die Gedichtanfänge in Kursiv und die betreffende Stelle

Geduld . . Drum will ich gerne Gram und Pein / In meine Brust verschließen
So kurz das . . . daß die bangen / Akzente seines Grams bis zu ihr selbst gelangen,
Des Grams, den ich so gern verschwie, / Der nie zur Sprache sich verstieg
Von Gram . Von Gram und Taumel fortgerissen / Verzweiflungsvoll dein Bild zu küssen

Ein wohlgenährter Kandidat . . . Nahm sie's als Zucht für ihren Gram (Dies ist das Gedicht auf Friederike Brion)

Bei fluchtiger Durchsicht fand sich das Wort auch in den Dramen *Hofmeister* Akt IV Scene 1 Sonst verwandelt sich ihr Gram in Narrheit *Die Freunde machen den Philosophen* Akt I, Scene 1 Es ist nichts mein geblieben als der Gram über ihren Verlust

Das Wort "Gramen" steht in dem Sesenheimer Gedicht Lenzens: *Ach bist du fort* . .

des Junglings stummes Gramen / Blieb unbemerkt.

und im *Pygmalion*: Das war mein Wunsch—und ist mein Gramen.

bungen trat unversehens die Lust zu dichten, die ich lange nicht gefühlt hatte, wieder hervor Ich legte für Friederiken manche Lieder bekannten Melodien unter Sie hatten ein artiges Bandchen gegeben, wenige davon sind übrig geblieben, man wird sie leicht aus meinen übrigen herausfinden"¹³ Bei der Freiheit, mit der Goethe mit den Tatsachen in seiner Biographie verfährt, wäre es leichtsinnig, hier auf Wendungen dieses Liedes schließen zu wollen; aber selbst wenn man es tat—und man hat es getan—, so wurde das "Lange hab ich nicht gesungen / Lange liebe liebe lang" vielleicht eine Stütze finden können, aber vom Fliehen des Mädchens und vom Gram im Herzen ist keine Rede, vielmehr von einer frohen Beschäftigung mit der Geliebten im Fortgange dieser Erzählung und mit Handarbeiten zu gegenseitiger Beglückung, wie mit dem gemalten Bande

Wenden wir uns zu der Form des Gedichtes, so zeigt das Ende der zweiten Strophe und die vierte den bekannten Goethischen Klang, warm im Ton, mit starker melodischer Bewegtheit und der tiefen, doppelstufigen Kadenz Überhaupt bewegen sich die drei Strophen 1, 2, 4 in ausgesprochenen Typenversen mit Legato-Bindung:

Bálde seh ich Ríckgen wíeder	Typus D
Bálde báld umárm ich Sie	Typus A
Múnter tántzen méine Líeder	Typus D
Nách der sústten Mèlodíe	Typus B

Die zweite Strophe hat B, A, D, D, die vierte B, A, B, C. Ein Vergleich des Gedichtes mit "Kleine Blumen, Kleine Blätter," das ja im selben Metrum geschrieben ist, ergibt für letzteres dieselbe bewegte Typenform: B, D, A, A, D, A, B, C, B, A (oder D), B, E; B, B, B, B; A, D, C, C. Ubereinstimmend in beiden Liedern haben wir die plotzlichen Melodiesprünge auf der zweiten Silbe der Versanfänge, wie in:

Und	dann	tríft . . ;	kein	schwáches . . ,	Ach	wie	schón . . . ;
Dòch	jetzt	síng. Já	ich	gábe			

Zum "Mailied" wurde endlich die Verquickung von Liedern und Tanzen passen: "Munter tantzen meine Lieder" = "Zu neuen Liedern und Tanzen gibst."

Vergleicht man nun mit Strophe 1, 2, 4 des Rickgen-Gedichtes die dritte Strophe, so überrascht sie durch ein verlangsamtes Tempo, eine hohe, flache Melodieführung in Staccato und gleichmäßige Akzente, zwischen denen die Senkungen, stark entwertet, hinuntersinken. Es muß allerdings zugegeben werden, daß auch der Anfang des Liedes eigenartig

¹³ Buch XI, Absatz 44

hoch und hart für Goethe klingt. Man wäre versucht, statt des "balde" sich einen andern Eingang zu denken. Goethe hat ja selbst einmal das Leipziger Lied "Jetzt verlaß ich diese Hütte," gedichtet zu einer Zeit, in der seine eigentliche Stimme noch nicht entwickelt war, später durch die Aenderung des ersten Wortes in "Nun verlaß . . ." auf sein charakteristisches Stimmniveau gesenkt. Indessen wurde durch solch einen Eingriff der Parallelismus des "balde—balde" mit "lange—lange—lang" gestört werden und es mag dahin gestellt bleiben, ob und was Lenz hier verschoben haben konnte, wenn ihm, wie mir mehr als wahrscheinlich ist, der Einschub der dritten Strophe zuzuschreiben ist. Dafür sprechen alle Gründe: der Inhalt (das Mädchen flieht, der Dichter schweigt—man vergleiche das Schweigen des Grams in *So kurz das . . .* in Anmerkung 5—), die Wortwahl (tiefe Schmerzen, der wahre Gram), die Form (monopodisch, flache Melodieführung, hohe, harte Stimme), und, wenn man sich auf das unsichre Gebiet der Rechtschreibung begeben will, das *Madchen*.

An sich wäre eine solche Interpolation Lenzens in Hinblick auf den gleichen Vorgang in "Erwache Friedericke" durchaus glaubhaft, und in der Dreistrophigkeit gewinnt das Lied eine größere Geschlossenheit, die erste Strophe drückt die Wiedersehensvorfreude aus; die zweite denkt zurück an die Zeit, in der die Geliebte des Dichters Lieder sang, die eine Weile verstummt sind durch das Entferntsein; die dritte steigert das Gefühl der ersten zu frohlicher Hyperbel. Die Stimmung des Ganzen ist charakterisiert durch die Worte: Wiedersehn, umarmen, tanzen, singen, Lieder, munter, süß, schön, rein—Wein, zu denen die schwermütige Note der vierten Strophe weit über die leichte Trübung des Nichtsingens hinausginge.

2. "ERWACHE FRIEDERICKE." Schroder zweifelte freilich noch immer daran, daß Lenz in dieses Gedicht die Strophen 2, 4, 5 eingeschoben habe, wie es Maurer mit Kriterien der Interpunktion, Wortwahl und Stilistik durchaus wahrscheinlich macht. Seinen Gründen wäre noch folgendes hinzuzufügen:

Der harte Staccato-Rhythmus der Lenzstrophen kann nur durch die ziehende baltische Aussprache, besonders des ei-Diphthongs, und das Zögern auf den Enjambements ertraglich gemacht werden, zumal bei seiner falschen, monopodischen Behandlung und deklamatorischen Emphase eines Gedichtes, das Goethe mit leichtem, spielendem Humor dipodisch und in munterem Tempo angelegt hatte. Ein Versuch, das Lied nach der Gornerschen Melodie zu singen, der es Goethe offenbar statt Hagedorns "Es lacht die Morgenrote" unterlegte,¹⁴ kann dies nur bestätigen. Lenz, der sicher die Melodie nicht kannte, bringt auf eine punktierte Dreiachtel Note das kurzvokalige Wort "rinnt," das im En-

¹⁴ Siehe Max Friedlander, *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert*, I, 27.

jambement vom Subjekt "mir eine süße Träne" getrennt wird. Ebenso unmöglich zu singen sind am Strophenschluß auf Viertelnoten entfallend (beim Zweivierteltakt!) die kurzvokaligen Worte mit Verschlußlaut "Kopf" und "wacht," die Doppelachtel *c-b*, *as-c* auf "(er)blassen" und der Oktavensprung von *es* hinab zu *es* auf "Philo(melens)" und "(er)roten."

Der Streit um dies Gedicht, das durch Maurers Studie wohl ziemlich sicher als halbgoethisch (Str. 1, 3, 6), halbblenzisch (Str. 2, 4, 5) erwiesen ist, zeigt, wie man in jeder Untersuchungstechnik irren kann mit den sichersten Argumenten und daß erst ein Zusammenstimmen aller anwendbaren eine ziemliche Gewißheit geben kann. Metrik und Melodik sollten schließlich die Probe aufs Exempel sein, wie sie andererseits auch oft den erregenden Zweifel des ersten Anstoßes geben können. Erheiternd wirkt gerade in ihrer Sicherheit Schroders Bemerkung: "Jedenfalls ist soviel klar: einen Reim wie 'heilig: unverzeihlich' hatte sich Lenz in seinen gesunden Tagen nicht gestattet. Das ist ein echt goethischer Reim!" Aber Lenz sprach doch wohl als Balte das -g als Reibelaut, und damit fällt die phonetische und orthographische Basis, auf der Schroders sonst so gründliche Studie ihr ganzes Argument aufbaut.

Als literarische Parellele zu dem Gedichte, nicht als Anregung, ließe sich Ronsards achtzehntes Sonett aus dem *Second Livre des Amours* anführen, wo es heißt:

Mignonne, levez-vous, vous êtes paresseuse,
Ja la gaye alouette au ciel a frédonné,
Et ja le rossignol doucement jargonné. . . .

Harsoir en vous couchant vous jurastes vos yeux
D'estre plustost que moi ce matin éveillée,
Mais le dormir de l'aube, aux filles gracieux,
Vous tient d'un doux sommeil encor les yeux sillés,
Ça ça, que je les boise, et vostre beau tétin
Cent fois, pour vous apprendre à vous lever matin.

Die bei Lenz in der vierten Strophe hervorbrechende Sinnlichkeit "ich seh Dich schlummern, Schöne! . . . Wer kann es fehllos sehen, Wer wird nicht heiß, Und war er von den Zahen Zum Kopf von Eiß!" zeigt noch die Tradition der Belauschungsgedichte des Barock und Rokoko, die zwar in Goethes Leipziger Anacreontik nachklingt (*An den Mond*) aber einer Friederike gegenüber als grober Mißton unmöglich scheint.

3. "DEM HIMMEL WACHS ENTGEGEN" UND "EIN GRAUER TRUBER MORGEN." "Kleine Blumen" schließt mit einer in diesem scheinbar leichten, anacreontisierenden Liede überraschenden Anrufung des

Schicksals (Vers 13 ff.), das einer Bitte um Segen und einem Gelobnis nahe kommt, ein Schicksalswunsch, der in manchem der Sesenheimer Lieder abgewandelt scheint:

Du gabst mir Schicksaal diese Freude
 Nun lass auch morgen sein wie heute
 Und lehr mich ihrer würdig sein (*DjG*, II, 58)

Sei ewig glücklich, wie du mich liebst (*DjG*, II, 61)

Und Zärtlichkeit für mich—Ihr Gotter!
 Ich hofft es, ich verdient es nicht! (*DjG*, II, 59)

Diese innere Ergriffenheit des Dichters geht hervor sowohl aus der neuen Auffassung der Dichtung, die er durch Herder erfahren hatte, aber auch aus seiner ganzen lebensfrommen Einstellung, wie sie die Straßburger Briefe schon vor dem Zusammentreffen mit Herder bekunden. Wir hören sie wieder in dem Spruche "Dem Himmel wachst entgegen."

Die acht Verse dieses Spruches sind aus Sophieens Gedächtnis mündlich überliefert worden und sollen sich nach ihr auf eine Tafel beziehen, auf der mit den Namen der jungen Sesenheimer das Goethische Gedicht verewigt worden sei Minor, Sauer, Schroder und von der Hellen nehmen dagegen mit der Emendation "den oberen" (d. h. Friederikens Namen) wohl mit Recht Bezug auf das Einritzen von ihrem und Goethes Namen in den Baum, von dem in "Ein grauer trüber Morgen" die Rede ist. Nehmen wir an, daß diese Lesung richtig ist, so haben wir in diesem Doppelvierer zuerst eine Anrufung der Elemente, den Baum und seine Namen zu verschonen, endlich in Zeile 7 und 8 eine Uebertragung dieses Wunsches auf das Schicksal. Denn verbunden mit dem Leben dieses Baumes sind zwei Namen und das Leben zweier Menschen, Goethes und seiner Geliebten, wie ja auch in "Ein grauer trüber Morgen" die Wirkung der Elemente die in den Baum eingeritzten Namen gefährdet.

Nun gibt es ein Gedicht, das sonderbarerweise im Zusammenhang mit dem Straßburger Volksliedsammeln Goethes immer aus seinem Briefe an Herder vom September 1771 zitiert wird, aber für die Sesenheimer Lieder noch nie herangezogen worden ist, das ist des Grafen Schlieben "Ich liebte nur Ismenen," aus dem einiges als Erinnerung bei Goethe nachzuklingen scheint.¹⁵ Es handelt sich darin um einen Wunsch, der eine

¹⁵ Wir müssen es wohl oder übel hier abdrucken, weil es nur bei Wustmann, *Als der Großvater die Großmutter nahm*, Leipzig 1905 zugänglich ist, in der vierten Auflage auf Seite 267. Die Melodie ist zu finden in Max Friedländer, I c 179.

DER GROSZMUTIGE LIEBHABER

Ich liebte nur Ismenen,	Getreu verließ ich dich.
Ismene liebte mich	Noch fuhl' ich gleiche Triebe,
Mit unverfälschten Tranen	Und du fliehst mein Gesicht;

Drohung, ja eine Beschwörung ubertont. Ismene hat den magischen Spruch in die Rinde eines Baumes geritzt: Wer untreu wird, der finde hier seinen Leichenstein. Die Bedingung ist erfüllt, sie hat ihr eigenes Urteil gesprochen, aber der Liebhaber bittet die Gotter trotzdem, sie zu verschonen.

Der Anklang liegt bei Goethe in dem "Soll ein Name verderben—mag der Dichter sterben" das heißt, wie der Liebhaber in *Ismene* die Gotter

Beweg ihr Herz, o Liebe, Nur straf Ismenen nicht!	Hier nahmst du meine Hand Dort gabst du mit Erroten Den Ring, den Untreu bricht— Gedanken, die mich toten, Ach straft Ismenen nicht!
Wie oft hast du geschworen, Du liebtest mich allein, Sonst sollt' dem Reiz verloren, Dem Antlitz schrecklich sein. Aus Liebe zu Narzissen Vergißt du Schwur und Pflicht O ruhre sein Gewissen, Nur straf Ismenen nicht!	Du grubst in diese Linde Mit eignen Händen ein · Wer untreu wird, der finde Hier seinen Leichenstein. Schont, Gotter, schont Ismenen, Die selbst ihr Urteil spricht! Mein Grab soll euch versöhnen, Nur straft Ismenen nicht!
Hier unter diesen Buchen Gabst du mir Strauß und Band Dort kamst du mich zu suchen,	

Morris (*DyG*, VI, 160) zitiert zu dem Baumgedicht Goethes verkürzt zwei Parallelstellen aus Cronegks Werken (Leipzig 1771, II 39 und 327), die wir hier in ihrem ganzen, etwas umfangreichen Zusammenhang wiedergeben und die natürlich zugleich mit dem obigen Liede als Reminiszenzen gewirkt haben können

Ihr Buchen, lebet wohl! In euern treuen Rinden
Soll einst die Nachwelt noch Zemirens Namen finden
Kein Nordwind und kein Sturm zerstöhr das heilige Grün!
Ich folge dem Geschick das heißt mich von euch fliehn

Und.

Verzeih, o Baum, wenn deine heiligen Rinden
Die Hand verletzt, die Chloens Namen schreibt
Er schutze dich vor den erzürnten Winden,
Dich ehrt der Hirt, der hier die Herden treibt,
Kein freches Beil soll stark seyn, dich zu fallen,
Des Himmels Blitz trifft deinen Scheitel nie.
· · · · ·
Beglückter Baum! Du tragst den schönen Namen,
Den meine Treu noch stets im Herzen tragt,
Behalt ihn auch, hierinn mir nachzuahmen,
Bis uns die Zeit in Staub und Moder legt
Doch nem, die Zeit wird deiner auch verschonen ·
Die Nachwelt kennt den schönen Namen noch
Der Himmel giebt, die Schmerzen zu belohnen,
Was ich gewünscht, mir nach dem Tode noch

Man vergleiche übrigens auch Lenz' Spruch "Dir, Himmel, wächst er kuhn entgegen," der sich wieder auf Goethes Gedicht beziehen mag

bittet, das Opfer seines Lebens für das der Geliebten anzunehmen, so möge die Magie des geloschten Namens lieber auf den Dichter fallen als auf die Geliebte. Der Strophenbau und der dipodische Rhythmus ist derselbe in allen drei Gedichten, dem Spruch, dem "Ein grauer trüber Morgen" und *Ismene*. Das Schliebensche Lied ist, wie wir aus Goethes Briefen entnehmen dürfen, in Sesenheim wohl gesungen worden (es konnte das "zärtlich-traurige" sein, das Friederike in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Buch x, vortragt), und die allgemeine Situation und ihr Ausdruck, die das Lied populär gemacht haben, waren wohl in aller Gedächtnis, wie wir das ja von solchen Schlagern kennen. Aber der Dichter münzt aus dem Modekramchen neues vollwertiges Gold.

Ein Wort sollte noch hinzugefügt werden in bezug auf die Frage nach den Handschriften, in denen diese Gedichte vorgelegen haben. Schroder sowohl wie Maurer haben beide durch die Aufwerfung dieses Problems unsere Erkenntnis der Lieder gefordert, aber die Frage selbst bleibt ungelöst. Kruse, dem allein die Originale (wenn man sie so nennen kann) vorgelegen haben, hat sich trotz anfänglicher Sicherheit auch geirrt und es scheint heute, wo die Handschriften verloren sind, gänzlich ausgeschlossen, durch irgend eine Methode die Schreiber mit Sicherheit zu ermitteln. Wer bürgt dafür, daß die Gedichte nicht schon vorher von verschiedener Hand kopiert wurden und daß Kruse nicht schon der dritte oder vierte in der Reihe war? Wir sind durchaus auf indirekte Schlüsse aus Rechtschreibung und Zeichensetzung angewiesen, die vielleicht nicht einmal den Kopisten zuzuschreiben waren. Die Orthographie der Zeit ist schwankend, und jeder Versuch einer Statistik muß schon an dem geringen Umfang des Materials scheitern. So darf es uns denn auch nicht übermäßig bekummern, wenn wir mit unserer Annahme einer Mischung von Goethe und Lenz in "Erwache Friederike" (Nr. 1. der Lieder) und in "Balde seh ich Rickgen wieder" (Nr. 8) mit Maurer sowie Schroder in Konflikt geraten. Ersterer glaubt, daß 1 von Lenz, 2, 3, 7 vom Friederike, 6, 8, 9, 10 von Goethes Hand geschrieben seien, während Schroder in 1 ein Autographon Goethes, in allen andern solche Friederikens sehen möchte. Die inneren Gründe sprechen in 1 gegen Goethe und Schroder aber nicht gegen Lenz und Maurer, in 8 gegen Goethe-Maurer aber wenigstens nicht gegen Friederike-Schroder. Es bleibt also immer noch bei den Sesenheimer Gedichten Zweifel und Anreiz genug für neue Fragestellung.

Da muß sich manches Rätsel lösen.

Doch manches Rätsel knüpft sich auch,

wenn wir diese leichte Abhandlung mit so schweren Worten schließen dürfen.

ERNST FEISE

JEAN PAULS GEDICHTE

JEAN PAUL, der fast allmächtige Herrscher im Bereiche deutscher Prosa, hat bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten bekannt, dass er gänzlich unvernünftig sei, Verse zu schmieden. Solche Einseitigkeit ist ja in der Literatur an und für sich keine Seltenheit. Es gibt eine ganze Anzahl großer Prosaisten, die keine oder doch nur vereinzelte und unbedeutende Verse geschrieben haben; es seien nur etwa Montaigne, Balzac, Sterne, Dickens, Hamann, E. T. A. Hoffmann, J. Gotthelf, Thomas Mann genannt. Bei Jean Paul war aber diese Unfähigkeit offenbar in ganz ungewöhnlichem Grade vorhanden. Und das muss umso mehr verwundern, als er doch, wenn man einmal die Unterscheidung zwischen Dichter und Schriftsteller gelten lässt, zweifellos als ein Dichter im vollen Gewichte des Wortes anzusprechen ist (obgleich er gewiss *auch* ein grosser Schriftsteller war). Hat ihn doch ein so strenger Forderer wie Stefan George die grösste dichterische Kraft der Deutschen genannt. Mag er auch selber gelegentlich, wie Lessing, an seiner Berufung gezweifelt und alles von ihm Geleistete nur seinem Fleiss, seiner "Heuristik" zugeschrieben haben, so gab es doch wieder Stunden (in dem ungedruckten Tagebuch seiner Heidelberger Reise hat er in bescheiden-stolzen Worten eine solche verzeichnet), wo er es im tiefsten fühlte und wusste, dass er ein echter Dichter sei. Ja die Art seiner dichterischen Begabung, wenn sie sich auch mit keiner der üblichen Gattungen voll deckte, lag doch mehr nach der lyrischen als nach der epischen oder gar der dramatischen Seite. Von einem Dichter, der von sich sagte: "Wenn mich eine Empfindung ergreift, daß ich sie darstellen will, so dringt sie nicht nach Worten, sondern nach Tönen, und ich will auf dem Klavier sie aussprechen,"¹ sollte man annehmen, daß ihm die musikverwandteste Form, die lyrisch-metrische, am nächsten gelegen hatte. Er hat denn auch bekannt, daß es ihm "in der hebenden Stunde" oft so gewesen sei, "als muß' er sich durchaus ins Metrum stürzen, um nur fliegend fortzuschwimmen."² Aber wie er auf dem Klavier sich niemals in geordneten Bahnen, in festen Takten und bestimmten Melodien bewegte, sondern sich in freiestem Phantasieren dahinstromen liess, gewissermaßen die "unendliche Melodie" seines Bayreuther Nachfahren vorausahnend, so vermochte er auch in der Dichtung seine lyrischen Empfindungen nicht in die Fesseln eines einmal gegebenen, regelmäßig wiederkehrenden Zeitmasses zu legen. Treffend

¹ Wahrheit aus Jean Pauls Leben, II (1827), 102. Vgl. auch Titan, 57. Zykel. "In der Leidenschaft (sogar im blossen Feuer des Kopfes) greift man weniger nach der Feder als nach der Saite, und nur in ihr gelingt das musikalische Phantasieren besser als das poetische."

² *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, § 86

und witzig hat er sich einem Vogel verglichen, der mit aneinander gebundenen *Fußen* nicht fliegen konnte.

Ein andermal hat er sein Unvermogen so formuliert: es werde ihm leicht, zu reimen, zu dichten, zu metrisieren, nur vermoge er nicht, das alles zugleich zu tun.³ Dass ihm die Fähigkeit des *Reimens* nicht abging, hat er in der Tat durch die häufige Verwendung von Reimworten in seiner Prosa zur Genüge bewiesen. Er macht in der *Vorschule der Aesthetik* (§ 35) auf die Vorliebe mancher humoristischer Schriftsteller, wie Rabelais, Fischart, Sterne, für solche "Assonanzen" oder "Wandnachbars-Reime" aufmerksam, und man begegnet denselben auch sehr häufig in seiner eignen Prosa, und zwar nicht nur in landläufigen formelhaften Verbindungen wie Knall und Fall, Handel und Wandel, Sack und Pack, Saus und Braus, Lehr-, Nahr- und Wehrstand, Stein und Bein, Schritt und Tritt, Kipper und Wipper, toll und voll, Lug und Trug, sondern auch in selbstgefundenen Zusammenstellungen wie etwa: Park und Quark, Nacht- und Schlachtstücke, Winter- und Hinterseite, Hemmungen und Stemmungen, Dichtigkeit und Tuchtigkeit, weniger als Flöte denn als Krote. Sogar Fremdwörter und Namen dienen ihm nicht selten zu solchen Reimbindungen, z. B. Glasur und Lasur, Natur und Statur, Pairie und Mairie, Finten und Qunten, Projekt und Prospekt, Vomitiv und Komitiv, Dyk und Tieck, Reussen und Preussen, Labitz und Zabitz. Es liesse sich unschwer ein ganzes Reimlexikon für Jean Paul zusammen stellen, wobei sich auch die häufige Wiederkehr gewisser einsilbiger Bindungen zeigen würde, z. B. kahl und fahl, satt und matt, mild und wild, dumm und stumm, lau und grau.

Auch der Sinn für den *Rhythmus* der Sprache kann Jean Paul keineswegs abgesprochen werden, wie es Vischer mit Unrecht getan hat. Man lese nur die feinen Beobachtungen und Regeln, die er darüber im 86 Paragraphen der *Vorschule der Aesthetik* gegeben hat; man lese vor allem seine Werke selber, besonders die dichterisch gesteigerten Partien darin. Aber eben nur in dem freien Wechsel des Rhythmus von Periode zu Periode lag seine Stärke. Gegen das *metrische* Gleichmass, die regelmässige Wiederkehr von Hebungen und Senkungen, sträubte sich sein angeborener Unabhängigkeitssinn ebenso entschieden wie gegen das Einzwängen der Haare in einen Zopf oder des Halses in einen hohen Kragen oder gegen eine amtlich geregelte Tätigkeit. Dieser mangelnde Sinn für Metrik geht so weit, dass er, wenn er fremde Verse anführt, sie entweder ganz in Prosa auflöst, wie z. B. in dem Abschnitt über Schiller in der *Vorschule der Aesthetik*, oder doch durch Auslassung oder Aen-

³ S. Festgabe der Gesellschaft für Deutsche Literatur in Berlin zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag ihres Vorsitzenden Max Herrmann (1935), S. 28

derung einzelner Wörter das Metrum zerstört. So zitiert er z.B. im Wutz die Schlusstrophe von Holtys "Aufmunterung zur Freude":

O wie schon ist Gottes Erde
Und wert, darauf vergnugt zu sein!

statt "O wunderschön ist Gottes Erde." Heinrich Voss erzählt in einem Briefe an Truchsess, wie Jean Paul ihm für seine Uebersetzung von Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* allerhand Verbesserungsvorschläge gemacht, aber dabei gar keine Rücksicht auf das Versmass genommen habe und ganz verwundert gewesen sei, wenn man ihn darauf aufmerksam gemacht habe.⁴ Er hatte die wunderliche Vorstellung mancher Laien, daß das Metrum etwas sei, was man nur mit vieler Muhe ergrubeln könne und gewissermassen immer an den Fingern abzählen müsse.

Wenn Jean Paul, wie es oft geschah, um Verse zu irgendeiner besonderen Gelegenheit ersucht wurde, so wusste er sich dem entweder mit einer scherzhaften Ausrede zu entziehen,⁵ oder er lieferte Gedichte in Prosa, wie z.B. das Hochzeitsgedicht für seine Freundin Friederike Otto (1792), die Trauergedichte auf den Tod der Frau Herold (1794) und der Frau Ellrodt (1797), den Neujahrswunsch für den Hofer Hochzeitsbitter Karl Hofmann (1791). Auch in seine Romane hat er gelegentlich solche prosaischen Gedichte eingelegt, wie etwa Nataliens Neujahrswunsch an sich selber im *Siebenkas* (23. Kapitel), Lismores Abschiedsgesang an die untergehende Sonne in den *Biographischen Belustigungen* (3. Kapitel), Karlsons "Klage ohne Trost" im *Kampaner Thal* (507. Station), Lianens Dankgedicht und Dians und Albanos improvisierte Gesänge zur Gitarre im *Titan* (43. und 118. Zykel). Neben solchen von Jean Paul selber als Gedichte bezeichneten Stücken lassen sich aber noch viele andere Abschnitte seiner Werke als Dichtungen in Prosa ansehen, alle jene "Träume, Gesichte und Abschlüsse," wie sie Stefan George und Karl Wolfskehl in ihrem *Stundenbuch für Jean Pauls Verehrer* (1900) gesammelt haben. Man könnte auch noch eine Gruppe erzählender Dichtungen aufstellen, zu der Phantasiestücke wie "Der Traum eines Engels," "Der Mond" und "Die Mondsfinsternis" im *Fixlein*, *Paramythien* wie "Luna am Tage" und "Die wandelnde Aurora" in Jean Pauls Briefen zu rechnen waren. Epigramme in Prosa hat er schon in seinem Erstling, den *Gronländischen Prozessen*, geliefert und in der Vorrede des zweiten Bandchens ihre Berechtigung dargetan, u.a. mit dem unwiderlegbaren Argument: "Vielleicht ist ein prosaisches Epigramm auch darum besser als ein versifiziertes, weil ich nur das erstere machen

⁴ *Jean Pauls Persönlichkeit*, hggb. von E. Berend (1913), S. 119. Vgl. auch ebenda, S. 149.

⁵ Vgl. z.B. den Brief an die Postmeisterin Wirth v. 3. März 1790, wo er "statt Versen Träume liefert." *Die Briefe Jean Pauls*, hggb. von E. Berend, Bd. 1 (1922), S. 298.

kann." Es ist begreiflich, dass diese "ohnfüssigen Lieder," wie er sie einmal nennt, nicht selten andere Dichter dazu gereizt haben, ihnen die fehlende Versform zu geben. So haben Klamer Schmidt und Kosegarten das Neujahrsgedicht Nataliens versifiziert, die "Rede des toten Christus" ist sogar in englische und in französische Verse gebracht worden; und später haben Holtei und Domansky ganze Sammlungen solcher Versifizierungen geliefert.⁶ Dass die Originalstellen dadurch an Kraft und Schönheit gewonnen hatten, wird sich kaum behaupten lassen.

Erst auf der Höhe seines Lebens und Schaffens hat Jean Paul dann für seine lyrischen Ergüsse eine Form ge- oder erfunden, die ganz seiner individuellen Veranlagung entsprach, die von ihm sogenannten *Streckverse* oder *Polymeter*, wie er sie zuerst in den Flegeljahren (1804) und später dann hauptsächlich in Taschenbuch-Aufsätzen zahlreich geliefert hat. Ernst Bertram sieht in diesen Streckversen die "Urform" Jean Pauls, von der Hagen hat sie den indischen "Sloka's" verglichen,⁷ während Jean Paul selber auf die Ähnlichkeit mit der griechischen Anthologie hinweist.⁸ Wie nahe er hier oft der Gedicht- oder Liedform gekommen ist, geht unter anderm daraus hervor, dass eine Anzahl dieser Polymeter von verschiedenen Komponisten mit mehr oder minder Glück in Musik gesetzt worden ist, zuweilen mit kleinen Veränderungen oder Versetzungen der Worte; besonders häufig (mindestens 18 mal) Walts Gesang an Wina (Flegeljahre, No. 36):

'O war' ich ein Stern, ich wollte ihr leuchten;—war' ich eine Rose, ich wollte ihr blühen,—war' ich ein Ton, ich drang' in ihr Herz,—war' ich die Liebe, die glücklichste, ich bliebe darin,—ja war' ich nur der Traum, ich wollt' in ihren Schlummer ziehen und der Stern und die Rose und die Liebe und alles sein und gern verschwinden, wenn sie erwachte'⁹

Die Streckform ist zuweilen von andern nachgeahmt worden, z B. von Jean Pauls Freunden Thieriot und Emanuel Osmund und von seinem Verehrer Wolfgang Menzel. Sie ist ihm aber so auf den Leib zugeschnitten, dass sie andern Dichtern meist nicht recht passen will.

Einigemale hat sich Jean Paul auch in sogenannten *freien Rhythmen* versucht, zuerst in dem "Ungereimten Schützen-Karmen in freiem Metrum," das er 1792 für den obengenannten Karl Hofmann aufsetzte. Dreizehn Jahre später verfasste er dann bei Gelegenheit der Anwesenheit des preussischen Königspaares in seinem Geburtsort Wunsiedel einen

⁶ S Jean-Paul-Bibliographie von E. Berend (Berlin, 1925), No. 466-476

⁷ In dem Aufsatz "Jean Paul und Goethe," *Germania*, x (1853), 263 f

⁸ Flegeljahre No. 9 Vgl. auch an Otto. 25 Dez. 1802. "ganz eigne neue griechische Gedichte"

⁹ S *Jean-Paul-Bibliographie*, No. 477-499 Man konnte Goethes Gedicht "Liebhaber in allen Gestalten" zum Vergleich heranziehen

„Wechselgesang der Oreaden und Najaden,“ der, von dem ihm befreundeten Bayreuther Arzt Langermann in Musik gesetzt, dem fürstlichen Paar bei dem Besuch der Luxburg aus einer Felsengrotte entgegentonte. Er hat diesen Gesang, der schon gleich damals als Sonderdruck erschienen war, einige Jahre später im Cottaischen Morgenblatt unter der Ueberschrift „Meine ersten Verse“ veröffentlicht. Und schliesslich hat er sich 1819 noch einmal bereit finden lassen, zu dem Namenstag der Frau Josephine von Welden in Bayreuth eine kleine „Allegorische Vorstellung“ in freien Rhythmen abzufassen, in die sich ganz vereinzelt sogar einmal schuchtern ein Reim einmischet.¹⁰ Wie alles, was Jean Paul nicht aus eigenem Drange, sondern aus ausserem Anlass dichtete, sind diese drei Stücke auffallend schwach, und die ausserliche Abteilung in Verszeilen kann nicht darüber hinwegtauschen, dass wir es nach Form wie nach Inhalt mit reiner Prosa zu tun haben. Ebenso gut oder so schlecht liessen sich auch viele andere Prosastellen in Jean Pauls Werken in Verszeilen abteilen, wie Rudolf Blumel noch unlangst gezeigt hat.¹¹ Für die besonderen Bedingungen, durch die sich echte freie Rhythmen von Prosa unterscheiden, fehlte ihm offenbar der Sinn.

Ist nun die Frage, die von der Hagen 1853 in dem oben angeführten Aufsatz aufgeworfen hat: „Gibt's ein *Reimgedicht* von Jean Paul?“ absolut zu verneinen?—Doch nicht. Es laufen zwar einige gereimte Gedichte falschlich unter Jean Pauls Namen. Das Grablied von Salis-Seewis („Das Grab ist tief und stille“), das er dem 36. Kapitel des Hesperus einfügte, wurde, obgleich er den Namen des Dichters ausdrücklich nennt, von manchen Lesern ihm selber zugeschrieben, z.B. von Josephine von Sydow, die es ins Französische übersetzte.¹² In neueren Schullesebüchern und Anthologien¹³ findet man zuweilen unter Jean Pauls Namen ein Frühlingsgedicht „Heilige Zeit,“ dessen wahre Verfasserin Ida von Reinsberg, geb. Duringsfeld ist. Wie dieser Irrtum entstanden ist, vermag ich nicht anzugeben; an einem andern bin ich aber leider selber ein wenig mitschuldig. In der zweiten Auflage des biographischen Werks von Georg Wilhelm Kessler „Der alte Heim“ (1846) ist S. 498 ein mit „Richter“ unterzeichneter Brief an die Hofrätin Heim in Meiningen, eine Schwagerin des bekannten Berliner Arztes, abgedruckt, ein Begleitschreiben zu einem aus Hamburger Rindfleisch und Portwein bestehendem Geburtstagsgeschenk. Es beginnt mit einem zweistrophigen Scherzgedicht, auf das einige Prosazeilen folgen. Die Verse sind so unbeholfen und holperig,

¹⁰ Veröffentlicht in der bayerischen Zeitschrift *Eos* vom 19. Januar 1820, No. 5.

¹¹ *Jean-Paul-Blätter*, 9. Jg. (1934), S. 9 f.

¹² S. *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben von Jean Paul Friedrich Richter*, hg. von Ernst Forster (1863), II, 145 f.

¹³ z.B. in der von Bruno Wille herausgegebenen lyrischen Anthologie „Und gib uns Frieden“ (1917).

dass man sie Jean Paul schon zutrauen und die anschliessenden Prosaworte: "Der arme Mann ist nur ein Prosaist" als Selbsteingeständnis des Misslingens auffassen durfte. So habe ich denn das Gedicht auch trotz einiger Bedenken in meine Gesamtausgabe von Jean Pauls Briefen aufgenommen (4 Bd, 1926, S. 147) Nachtraglich ist mir dann im Autographenhandel das Original des Schreibens zu Gesicht gekommen, und da ergab sich, dass die Verse von Jean Pauls Gattin Karoline geschrieben und zweifellos auch verbrochen sind, und nur die Prosazeilen von ihm selber herrühren, daß also in den Worten "Der arme Mann ist nur ein Prosaist" der Ton auf "Mann" liegt ¹⁴

Aber zwei Fälle von echten Reimgedichten lassen sich doch anführen. Der erste ist allerdings nicht ganz unzweifelhaft In dem sentimentalen "Romanchen" *Abelard und Heloise*, das Richter in seiner Muluszeit, im Januar 1781, also mit 17 Jahren geschrieben hat, finden sich in dem vom 24. Dezember datierten Briefe des Helden die folgenden Verse:

Ohne dich dies Leben durchzuwallen,
Heloise, kann ich nicht—
Wie die welke Blume werd' ich fallen,
Die die Wut des Sturmes bricht,
Wenn du vor mir hin in jenes Leben eilest
Und, der Leiden satt, in Jesu Arm verweilest

Da an einer fruheren Stelle des Romans, wo ein Gedicht von Richters Bayreuther Landsmann Krauseneck eingelegt ist, der Verfasser ausdrücklich genannt wird, müssen wir annehmen, dass jene Verse von Jean Paul selber herrühren. Schlecht genug sind sie ja, um ihm zugetraut zu werden Immerhin ist es nicht ganz ausgeschlossen, dass er sie von irgendwoher übernommen, vielleicht nur ein wenig für seinen Zweck zurechtgestutzt hat Auch sonst hat er sich ja in diesem ganz unreifen und unselbständigen Jugendprodukt manche nahezu wortliche Anleihen bei Werther und Siegwart gestattet.

Ganz einwandfrei aber ist der andere Fall. Es handelt sich da um einen Vierzeiler, den mein 1915 im Kriege gefallener Freund Karl Freye in der Sonntagsbeilage der Vossischen Zeitung vom 12. Oktober 1914 nach der damals in seinem Besitz befindlichen eignen Handschrift Jean Pauls veröffentlicht hat:

Willst du mich kleines Tischchen mit sechzehn Gulden begiessen,
Werd' ich als ein grosser Teetisch entspriessen.
Willst du das runde Gewachs gar mit Tee beregnen,
Werd' ich dich mit lauter Blüten von schonen Seelen segnen.

¹⁴ Das bekannte Lied von Wilhelm Ueltzen "Namen nennen dich nicht," das ebenfalls irrig Jean Paul zugeschrieben worden ist (s. Jean-Paul-Bibliographie No. 500), ist kein Reimgedicht

Von der Hand von Jean Pauls Freund Emanuel Osmund steht darunter: "Das heißt aufgetischt!" Wir haben es wohl wieder mit einem Begleitschreiben zu einem Geschenk zu tun, einem kleinen Tisch, den der Empfänger, vielleicht Enamuel,¹⁵ eventuell bei Zuzahlung von 16 Gulden gegen einen größeren umtauschen sollte, um dann eine Gesellschaft von schonen Seelen daran zu versammeln. Wie dem auch sei, für die Echtheit burgen in diesem Falle neben der Handschrift auch Inhalt und Form, die echt jeanpaulisch verzwickte Ausdrucksweise und die Unfähigkeit zu metrischem Gleichmass. Wir haben hier den unwiderleglichen Beweis vor Augen, daß der grosse Dichter, in dessen Prosa, nach Stefan Georges Zeugnis, unsere Sprache den erhabensten Flug genommen hat, dessen sie bis zu diesen Tagen fähig war, es in solchen kleinen Gelegenheitsversen nicht mit dem ersten besten Dilettanten aufzunehmen vermochte!

Geneva, Switzerland

EDVARD BEREND

¹⁵ Freye nimmt an, dass die obengenannte Frau von Welden die Empfängerin war. Diese hatte ihrerseits dem Dichter im Mai 1820 ein tragbares Schreibtischchen geschenkt (s. *Euphorion*, xxix [1928], 403 f.). Aber es wäre doch recht unartig gewesen, einer vornehmen Dame eine solche Zuzahlung zuzumuten.

XV

LORD BYRON AS RINALDO

. but ne'er magician's wand
Wrought change with all Armida's fairy art
Like . . . this . . .

Don Juan, I lxxi

Armida is the Sorceress . in whose palace Rinaldo forgets his vow as a crusader.

Prothero

IN identifying Lady Oxford as Byron's political "tutelar genius" of 1813, as the "woman, who, amid all her fascination, always urged a man to usefulness or glory,"¹ I have brought to light a certain speciousness in the interpretation accepted by Byron's biographers of his liaison with Jane Elizabeth Scott, Lady Oxford, as simply comparable to the story of Rinaldo overcome by indolence in the "Bower of Armida." Miss Mayne and M. Maurois and even Miss Raymond² have somehow overlooked the fact that Lady Oxford was a pupil of Horne Tooke, the Reform "agitator" (to use Byron's admiring term),³ was sometime mistress and lifelong political "genius" of the Radical spokesman, Sir Francis Burdett—was, in short, a woman who did not content herself with "soothing" and enchanting Byron but rather "always" pressed him on "senatorial duties" and endeavored to make him an advocate "particularly in the cause of weakness." Eywood was a pleasant bower, but Jane, it turns out, was not Armida—though Byron, eager to realize that dream of Tasso he had always cherished,⁴ took a cue from the picture of Armida and Rinaldo which she had hung in his room and let his fancy feed on the intensity of the passion which she inspired and "returned with equal ardour,"⁵ for the time preferring her sorcery to "parliamentary mummeries"⁶ of doubtful value in which she was urging him to engage. Byron liked her politics, but he wanted to escape politics for a while. He did

¹ *The Works of Lord Byron*, rev. ed. *Letters and Journals*, ed. by R. E. Prothero (London, 1901), II, 359, hereinafter referred to as *L & J*. I have traced the history of Lady Oxford and the Radical Reformers, particularly as it concerns Lady Oxford's relations with Byron and his with Radical politics in 1813, in "Lord Byron and the Genteel Reformers," *PMLA*, LVI (1941), 1065-94.

² Dora Niell Raymond, *The Political Career of Lord Byron* (New York, 1924).

³ *L & J*, II, 342.

⁴ See *L & J*, II, 49. Byron appears to have bought his *third* copy of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* in 1813.

⁵ Thomas Medwin, *Journal of the Conversations of Lord Byron* (London, 1824), p. 67.

⁶ *L & J*, II, 318.

not wish to think himself attached to her party, nor to any party.⁷ Similar conflicting emotions troubled Byron's dramatic hero Sardanapalus when his lovely Myrrha said, "I think the present is the wonted hour / Of council . . ."⁸

Thus suspecting the nature of Armida's magic, we must examine with new suspicion the portrait of Byron as Rinaldo. Since, as his diary reveals, Byron in the winter of 1813-14 felt that his parliamentary ambition could have revived only with Lady Oxford remaining to prompt it, we must ask, *With how much crusading zeal had he entered the House of Lords in 1812?* What sort of "past events," aside from the fate-shaking collapse of Napoleon, had "unnerved" him?⁹

Miss Raymond has brought together evidence that from the day his schoolmaster addressed him, in the formal usage of the House of Lords, as "Dominus de Biron,"¹⁰ Byron devoted his youth to an intensely conscious preparation for the rôle of orator and statesman as his inherited place in history, and the force of this evidence is incontestable. The climax of his first twenty-one years was to be his seating in Parliament, and he prepared himself by reading extensively in history and oratory, including the parliamentary debates of the age of Whig ascendancy. True, his cultivation of applause through poetic display—and even, tentatively, through Dandyism—provided his mouse's heart with more than one hole to start to should any complications threaten his ego in the main adventure, Parliament. But from the letters of his minority there is small doubt that he was looking ahead to his future in the House of Lords. His occasional air of sophomoric nonchalance but thinly disguises his interest:

I remain on purpose [he wrote to his sister when he was seventeen] to hear our *Sapient* and *noble Legislators* of Both Houses debate on the Catholic Question, as I have no doubt there will be many *nonsensical*, and some *Clever* things said on the occasion.¹¹

As Miss Raymond demonstrates, not only was some of Byron's juvenile poetry the product of his political loyalties but the very act of poetizing was regarded by him as a sort of preliminary exercise to oratory, and his early publication was designed in part to impress his associates in the Cambridge Whig Club, of which the Marquis of Tavistock seems to have been the leader.¹²

⁷ *Lord Byron's Correspondence*, ed. by John Murray (London, 1922), I, 122, hereinafter referred to as *Corr*.

⁸ Byron's *Sardanapalus*, I, ii ⁹ Cp. *L & J*, II, 339.

¹⁰ If not earlier. See Raymond, p. 3. Byron succeeded to the peerage in 1798.

¹¹ *L & J*, I, 64-65. April 25, 1805. Cf. *ibid.*, 140.

¹² See Hobhouse's letter, *L & J*, IV, 500, and Byron's, I, 135.

The first distressing complication in Byron's political career, the appearance of the famous savage attack on his *Hours of Idleness* by the Whig *Edinburgh Review*, fell upon his ambitious and sensitive spirit as a direct insult from the Holland House center of Whigdom, casting a shadow upon his hopes "Devoured by chagrin, and almost insane with the fumes of that evening's wine," he ordered his name scratched from the Whig Club, and although he soon sobered up and thought better of the matter ("as I could not abandon my principles, even if I renounce the Society"), perhaps persuaded by Tavistock, as Hobhouse had once been, that a "Revolution Whig" was not identical with a "Whig party man,"¹³ when he took his seat in the following year (1809) Byron took pains to "have nothing to do with any of them on either side," Whig or Tory:

I shall stand aloof, speak what I think, but not often, nor too soon. I will preserve my independence, if possible, but if involved with a party, I will take care not to be the *last or least* in the ranks¹⁴

Byron's behavior throughout this ceremony of entering Parliament was tense with the stage fright of a lonesome young man¹⁵ conscious of taking the first step of a public rôle in the drama of history. It was his plan after taking his seat to startle the world with one or two brilliant speeches and then to release his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, lashing at "either side" and in particular at those Whigs, Lords Holland and Carlisle, who had been hostile or indifferent when they might have welcomed the young oppositionist,¹⁶ whereupon he would set sail for Spain and Turkey to enlarge his knowledge of governments and peoples, and escape his creditors for a time.

The preliminary exchange of incivilities at his seating—Chancellor Eldon: "These forms are a part of my *duty*", Byron: "Pray do not apologise. Your Lordship, like Tom Thumb, did your *duty*, and you did *no more*"¹⁷—was not, as the story is usually told, the end of the matter. "I

¹³ Hobhouse himself had needed to be persuaded by Tavistock *L & J*, iv, 500, and *Corr*, i, 2

¹⁴ *L & J*, i, 210 Cf R C Dallas, *Correspondence of Lord Byron* (Paris, 1825), i, 53

¹⁵ Thomas Moore, *Life of Byron* (New York, 1857), p. 57, describes his "lone and unfriended" state—None of Byron's Cambridge acquaintance was in Lords yet. Bob Milnes, a Tory, had entered Commons, but Byron, hearing his second speech, January, 1808, had felt "it made no impression" *L & J*, v, 412 Lord Althorp, a Harrow and Cambridge man, Byron's friend since 1805, and of the same political views as Tavistock and others of the Whig Club, was also showing his first active interest in politics, in the Lower House. Very likely they saw something of each other this spring. See Sir Denis LeMarchant, *Memoir of John Charles Viscount Althorp Third Earl Spencer* (London, 1876), pp. 92, 141

¹⁶ John Cordy Jeaffreson, *The Real Lord Byron* (London, 1883), i, 196-197, discusses Byron's misconception of the etiquette and technicalities of seating

¹⁷ Reconstructed from *L & J*, v, 432.

have taken my seat," he said to Dallas, "and now I will go abroad." But according to the attendance records Byron actually went down to the House of Lords seven times in March, April, and May.¹⁸ That he did not speak before sailing off to the Mediterranean may be laid largely to the fact that no debate on major issues developed in the Upper House¹⁹ and partly, perhaps, to lack of courage, but scarcely to indifference.

His awe of senatorial glory was reduced by the distance of the next two years and the "experience" of seeing foreign and Oriental courts, but his ambition persisted, although he approached still with caution. He would hear, "and perhaps some day be heard." He attended a half dozen business sessions of the Upper House before he said, "The Catholic Question comes on this month, and perhaps I may then commence."²⁰ He was still frightened. "I must 'screw my courage to the sticking place,' and we'll *not* fail."

Most conclusive evidence of Byron's determination to enter upon a parliamentary career is the record of his attendance. A check through the daily rolls of the House of Lords reveals that beginning January 15, 1812, he attended twenty-four meetings of the session ending July 30, and two meetings of the short assembly in the following December. He was present that year at every debate of major length or importance, of which I count nine, including all six of the debates of sufficient significance to merit recorded roll-call of votes in Hansard.²¹ In addition he listened to seven out of about twenty-five minor debates and to two out of seven unchallenged addresses, and attended eight meetings of only routine business. Even a party floor leader like Lord Holland went down less than three times as often.²² Nor was the regular business of the House attractive and stimulating matter for an ambitious Childe or a zealous Rinaldo, who might be a "Revolution Whig" but was without party. On the first day he went down, Byron listened to pages of repetitious testimony by dozens of physicians on the state of the King's health—that was rather amusing. But he was appointed the following week to a committee

¹⁸ *Journal of the House of Lords*, 1809. Byron was present March 13, 14, 15, 21, April 28; May 10, 15. Compare Raymond, p. 17. "He did not again enter the House of Lords before setting forth on his travels", and Ethel Colburn Mayne, *Byron* (London, 1924), pp. 96-97, and André Maurois, *Byron* (New York, 1930), p. 117 ff.

¹⁹ In March he had hoped "the Duke's business" would be "brought before our House in a debatable form." "I believe I shall be tempted to say something on the subject." *L & J*, I, 218. But that business was closed in the Lower House, March 20, by the motion of his friend Lord Althorp (*Parliamentary Debates*, XIII, 745) without reaching Lords. In the Upper House practically nothing happened in these months.

²⁰ February 1, 1812. *L & J*, II, 96.

²¹ January 31, February 28, March 19, April 21, July 1, July 7. The other three are February 27, March 2, and April 20.

²² Seventy-five times in 1812, 66 in 1813.

which was to hear in six weeks some forty cases of Appeals on writs of error,²³ how long he stuck with this committee we do not know. Next he was put on a committee to consider "An Act for naturalizing David Bromer",²⁴ then on one to consider "An Act for repairing the Road from *Roborough Down* to the *Tavistock* Road, etc."²⁵ He probably thought of his friend Tavistock of the Cambridge Whig Club and groaned. The "Act for altering and enlarging the Powers of an Act for rebuilding the late Theatre Royal *Drury Lane*,"²⁶ however, may have aroused the interest that led in the autumn to Byron's *Address Spoken at the Opening of Drury Lane Theatre*.²⁷ And occasionally, racy divorce evidence was read off by the ream.²⁸

The young statesman persisted, nevertheless, to the end of the session, even after he had achieved fame as a romantic bard. He attended six times in January, six again in February—having missed fewer than twenty meetings in two months—twice in March (the first month of his fame), and three times in April. In May there were no debates. He attended once in June, and six times in July.²⁹ In 1813, the year of Lady Oxford's tutelage, he attended only ten times in the five months from February to July. He heard, however, three of the four major debates of that unusually uneventful season,³⁰ although on the only one of these occasions for which a roll-call of votes appears in *Hansard* he did not stay to vote nor bother to leave his proxy.³¹ In addition that year he attended only three out of about twenty-five minor debates, and none of the seven uncontested addresses, but he went to four debateless business sessions, three in February and March, and one in July after Lady Oxford had sailed for the continent. On June 1, under her tutelage, he made one brief speech, his last, presenting Reformer Cartwright's plea for freedom of petition. He seems to have half hoped that Jane might be able to revive his flagging senatorial ambition: "had she remained," he said in November (when Parliament was meeting again, unvisited by Lord

²³ January 20, and cf. report of the committee, March 5 *Lords Journal*.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, February 17. "Their Lordships, or any five of them, to meet on Wednesday next [Feb. 19], at ten o'clock in the Forenoon, in the Prince's lodgings, near the House of Peers; and to adjourn as they please." ²⁵ *Ibid.*, February 20. ²⁶ *Ibid.*, March 2.

²⁷ Lord Holland, for whom Byron wrote the *Address* in September, was also on this House committee. Cf. *L & J*, II, 145.

²⁸ As that on R. Moore's divorce bill, April 16. E.g. "What did you imagine this noise to be?" "I thought it must be them on the Bed." "Where was the Boy *Snazell*?" etc.—the kind of "pleasaunt mirth" that always delighted Byron.

²⁹ In June there was very little doing except the discussion, which Byron attended, of unsuccessful negotiations to get Whigs into the cabinet.

³⁰ March 12, May 14, and June 18. Byron did not attend the debate, April 2, on an attempt to repeal the death penalty for shop-lifting.

³¹ May 14, on a motion of inquiry into the Naval Administration.

Byron), "she would have been my tutelar genius" But she went away, and henceforth he subsided completely into the rôle of spectator, going down to the Lords only twice in each of his last three years in England, to hear discussion—and vote, it is true—³² on such matters as Napoleon's escape from Elba or the Whig criticism of Government's part in the Congress of Vienna ³³

Thus, apart from the question we must next consider of his political principles and his social desires, we are forced to two conclusions: first, that until he entered Parliament, and for some time after, Byron's main goal for personal success was the attractive career of statesman and Orator—he often capitalized the word—open to a British Peer, and that he was not at all indifferent (as he sometimes claimed) to the encouragement and praise he received from his old tutor Dr Drury and his friends Hodgson, Hobhouse, and Dallas;³⁴ second, that in 1812 he made a more than casual effort to assume his "senatorial duties" and establish himself in Parliament, and even in the following year, though his efforts slackened considerably, he did not altogether abandon the "experiment" until *she* had gone who might have "made" him at least "an advocate, if not an orator."

Elsewhere³⁵ in some detail I have shown that Byron's relative inactivity in 1813 can be partly explained by the disorganized state of the support for the cause in which Lady Oxford was involved and tried to involve Byron. This disruption, amounting to sharp tactical disagreements among leaders of the more militant parliamentary factions, partly arose from and was partly responsible for the general failure of the whole Opposition (Grenvillites, Moderates, Whitbreadites, and Burdettites [Radicals]) to rally in that year on any clear issue; and Byron could with a certain justness describe the doings of even the unwearied fighters in 1813 as "parliamentary mummeries." Nevertheless we are driven to

³² Byron's name is on the one roll-call vote of these six occasions, he probably voted on the others, which are unrecorded. But he no longer bothered to sign the Whigs' protests with Holland, Stanhope, Grey, and the rest, as he had done in 1812.

³³ Byron was present in 1814, April 9 (debate on Norway and on Dullwich College Bill) and May 10 (long debate on address to rescue "unoffending people of Norway from the dreadful Alternative of Famine, or of Subjugation"), in 1815, April 12 (Buonaparte's escape from Elba) and May 23 (Whig attempt to censure Tory part in Congress of Vienna, Byron voted); and in 1816, February 19 (debate on foreign treaties) and April 2 (debate on state of Ireland)—Of this last visit Lady Caroline Lamb wrote to John Murray, "Lord Byron was at the House which I am glad as it showed him calmed" "*To Lord Byron*", *Feminine Profiles* ed. by George Paston and Peter Quennell (London, 1939), p. 70.

³⁴ Cf. *L & J*, v, 415. Byron evinced rather the opposite of *no* "inclination to try" at becoming "a parliament man" ³⁵ "Lord Byron and the Genteel Reformers," *loc. cit*

conclude—if only from the eagerness with which he sought to transform himself into a minion of Circe, a bower-mate of Armida—that the virus of discouragement had penetrated the brave but thin panoply of his parliamentary hopes long before he left for Eywood. We cannot, however, be content with Byron's own *ex post facto* story that it was simply the fame of *Childe Harold* that distracted him and that once having been admitted to society, by whatever door, he was satisfied. His claim that he "spoke once or twice as all young peers do [merely] as a kind of introduction into public life,"³⁶ and that neither he nor anyone else "ever thought about my *prose* afterwards," is not substantiated. On the contrary, it is apparent even from his record of attendance that his interest continued for some time thereafter, often in Ravenna or Pisa when news from London stirred him to dream of returning, the only thing, he said, that might lead him back to "the stove of society" would be the temptation to "take a *decided* part in politics, with pen and person, and (if I could revive my English) in the house" ³⁷

There is evidence, moreover, of Byron's deep mortification at being made to feel that he had somehow positively *failed* in Parliament. Indeed his conviction of failure as an Orator must be taken into account for any full understanding of Byron's social "dissipation" and despondency during the years following. He did not abandon his life ambition simply because of the momentarily greater attraction of gay parties and romance. Several persons have testified to Byron's sense of failure, supporting the testimony of his own diary in which, especially in 1813 and 1814, he frequently curses himself for his uselessness, his severance from any absorbing, manly public activity.³⁸ This attitude appears to have developed after his second speech (on the Catholic Question) in late April. After his first speech (defending the Luddites) although as he said he "abused every thing and every body" "with a sort of modest impudence"³⁹ excusable in a Maiden Speech, he gathered from the tone of

³⁶ *L & J*, v, 415. There is a certain seductiveness about the frank opportunism in Byron's discourse on his youthful love of fame *after* he claims to have abandoned it. Disavowals of ambition were, of course, made every step of the way. Cf. i, 284.

³⁷ *L & J*, vi, 33, and *Corr*, ii, 204.

³⁸ He could hardly consider such "ephemeral poesie" as the *Giaour* and *Bride* more than a form of "dissipation." In the spring of 1812 his poetic efforts had all been subordinated to his politics and directly related to the speeches he was delivering and hearing—e.g., *Ode to the Framers of the Frame Ball*, *A Sympathetic Address to a Young Lady*, and the passages on British foreign policy probably then added to *The Curse of Minerva*, privately printed in February.

³⁹ *L & J*, ii, 105. John Galt, who was "frequently with" Byron that winter, says "his *début* was more showy than promising. It lacked weight in metal, as was observed at the time." *Life of Lord Byron* (New York, 1845), pp. 163, 167. My italics.

polite and even effusive congratulation from both sides—"from divers persons *ministerial*—yea, *ministerial!*—as well as oppositionists"—that he had "not lost any character by the experiment." And Lord Glenbervie, calling on him sometime in March or early April "when all London were in raptures about his *Childe Harold*, then lately published,"⁴⁰ attests that Byron "talked to me of that and his famous satire . . . as mere amusements, and seemed full of the idea of distinguishing himself in Parliament as a politician and an orator." Not only was he undiscouraged by the reception of his first speech; with newly-won fame he was beginning to boast of his "idea of distinguishing himself in Parliament." It must be a later opinion, following Byron's second speech, that Glenbervie reports when he adds that, "His unsuccessful attempts in the House of Lords soon convinced him that would not answer."

The following evidence of Leigh Hunt is distorted by an envious effort to belittle, but we can credit at least Byron's admission to a feeling of failure as an orator:

He was a warm politician, and thought himself earnest in the cause of liberty [says Hunt ironically, recalling Byron's visits to him in prison in May and June, 1813] His failure in the House of Lords is well known He was very candid about it, said he was much frightened, and should never be able to do anything that way. Lords of all parties came about him, and consoled him [*sic*], he particularly mentioned Lord Sidmouth, as being unaffectedly kind⁴¹

This curious comment may be interpreted in one of three ways: either Hunt has arbitrarily described as *consolations* the "ministerial" congratulations on his first speech which Byron bragged of receiving, or Hunt has distorted the significance of Sidmouth's gratuitous rebuke administered to Byron upon his third speech, about which Sidmouth may, of course, have said a kind word later⁴² (Moore, Brougham, and Byron dined with Hunt ten days after this third speech),⁴³ or else there occurred some disappointment on the occasion of Byron's *second* speech, a conjecture which may be corroborated by what Byron told Medwin—that he had been advised [possibly by Lord Holland], that his manner of speaking was undignified and better adapted to the Commons than the Lords⁴⁴ Hob-

⁴⁰ *The Diaries of Sylvester Douglas (Lord Glenbervie)*, ed. by Francis Bickley (London, 1928), II, 190—I deduce the date of the visit from the circumstances Peter Quennell points out that the fame did not catch fire till March 10 *Byron, The Years of Fame* (New York, 1935), p. 56

⁴¹ Leigh Hunt, *Byron and His Contemporaries* (London, 1828), I, 4-5.

⁴² See Sidmouth's motion to "reject" Byron's petition, after its reception had already been voted down *Parl. Deb.*, xxvi, 483-485

⁴³ June 11 The speech was June 1 Leigh Hunt, *Correspondence* (London, 1862), I, 90

⁴⁴ Medwin, p. 229 See Raymond, p. 60, Lord Holland, *Further Memoirs of the Whig Party, 1807-1821* (New York, 1905), p. 123, and Horace Twiss, *Life of Eldon* (London,

house, reporting that Byron's second speech, which is an ironic but an earnest exhortation, kept the House in a roar of laughter, does not define the quality of that laughter.⁴⁵ Byron may have been wounded by it. He has made strangely few references to this speech, and when he says his parliamentary "experiment" "as far as it went . . . was not discouraging," he adds "—particularly my *first* speech."⁴⁶

Shelving this problem for the moment, let us approach chronologically the question of Byron's experiences in 1812 which were to leave him with a sense of failure concerning his career in the House of Lords. Thus far we have considered only his general ambition to become a distinguished actor on that stage. Now we must discover the particular rôle he had selected for himself and the set of circumstances which ultimately discouraged him from playing it.

In the first place it is apparent, from his recorded "impression" of Parliament, that Byron wished to speak *through* Parliament to the wide audience of "the *public without*," knowing that "Cicero himself, and probably the Messiah, could never have alter'd the vote of a single Lord of the Bedchamber or Bishop."⁴⁷ And from all we know of his behavior as an Orator in verse—from his lines on the death of Fox in 1806 to the political cantos of *Don Juan*—we can assume that he would be inclined to take a sharp, satiric line of attack on the stupid blunders and repressive deeds of the Tory government, while feeling little compulsion to confine himself to the cautious, gentle arguments of the Whigs. He was "born for opposition." For his sensitive ego it formed a strong protection against rebuff. attack was safer than approval. Moreover, there was little he could approve in the present state of affairs which the Tories were committed to defend. A nearly bankrupt baron, he could favor neither the fiscal schemes of this land of "blest paper credit"⁴⁸ nor a foreign policy upon which he, in common with the Whigs, laid the blame for the economic distress and dislocation of classes in England. Dreading the appearance of his own name on one of the bankrupt lists appearing daily in the newspapers, and unable to submit peacefully to the prospect, his

1844), II, 72. Ward, from what he was told of Byron's speeches, imagined "they were strange, absurd, concerted performances." *Letters to "Ivy,"* p. 199.

⁴⁵ Lord Broughton (John Cam Hobhouse), *Recollections of a Long Life* (New York, 1909), I, 38.

⁴⁶ *L & J*, v, 415. Moore (p. 122) reports, from hearsay, that Byron's second speech "seems to have been less promising than . . . his first essay." Moore's suggestion that Byron's delivery was chiefly responsible is *only a guess*: "I take for granted (having never heard him speak in Parliament)." . . .

⁴⁷ *L & J*, v, 416. Hereinafter, unannotated quotations of Byron are from *L & J* or *Corr.*

⁴⁸ *The Curse of Minerva*, line 245, quoting Pope.

sympathy grew for those who fought back—the Luddites, the “Liberty lads” at home, as well as Napoleon and Washington who fought Tories on the battlefield: “I must e’en fight my way through between the files of ruined nobles and broken shopkeepers which increase daily.”

So much for his general inclinations. But the *sine qua non* for persistent action by Byron in any field was maximum public attention combined with a lavish amount of personal encouragement from his associates. He had no desire to become a “party man,” with all that such a rôle would involve, but he sorely needed friendly support, and in the Upper House this would have to come from the one active section of the Opposition there, the Moderate Whigs, whose leader was Lord Holland. Young Byron, in *English Bards*, had lashed “Holland’s hirelings”, but the maturer and more practical Byron of 1812 was willing, he indicated, to retract and make friends. Discouragement from Holland House would blight his hopes, unless he should find sufficient support outside the Lords to induce him to play the part of a lone wolf within it. As he told Leigh Hunt in 1816, “when a proper spirit is manifested ‘without doors,’ I will endeavour not to be idle within ”

One of three conditions, then, was requisite to Byron’s “success” in Parliament: a sufficient volume of applause from press and public; sincere encouragement from the Moderate Whigs “within doors”, or comradely support from an intimate band of fellow crusaders, such as Hobhouse, Kinnaird, and others of his undergraduate Whig Club might have been. Or, conversely, as Jeaffreson suggests, he might have become a great debater, “had he in his first forensic essay encountered such humiliation as would have stung him to assert his natural superiority to other men ”⁴⁹ Furthermore, to spur him to achievement, it was necessary that business of major controversial nature come before the House.

To what degree were any or all of these conditions existent or potential when on the 27th of February, 1812, Byron stood for the first time to speak before the “formidable . . . audience” of his peers, tense with “diffidence” and “nervousness” at the thought of “the *public without*” and the Whigs within? What friends, what connections, what commitments had he made during his seven months in England?

Young Baron Byron returning in July, 1811, from his travels through “some of the most oppressed provinces of Turkey” and “the seat of war in the Peninsula” impresses the uncharitable observer as a crusader with a price—prepared to storm Jerusalem with the threat of fire and sword, if need be, but at the same time a ready target for any embowered seductress who might seek him out: he had brought with him an advertisement

⁴⁹ *Op cit.*, I, 276

to that effect spelled out in some nine score Spenserian stanzas, though he was impressively modest about letting them be printed. He had also brought a number of satiric couplets calculated to "bring all Grub street" about his ears, and for the Tory Lord Elgin, despoiler of Minerva's marbles, two withering blasts,⁵⁰ of whose intended publication he obligingly informed Lord Elgin—not with any thought of blackmail, of course, but simply to observe the code of errantry.⁵¹ Sprinkled among his stanzas and couplets was the political comment of an up-to-date "Revolution Whig" flaring ominously with the flames of a more recent and less "glorious" revolution than that of 1688—flames kindled, announced the satanic rimes, by the "perfidious" foreign and colonial policy of "Albion" and threatening even now to shake their "red shadow o'er the startled Thames" ⁵²

But the man who in Athens had eulogized "the dark blue sea" and "the wild Albanian"—this Childe whose breast was not to be deemed a "breast of steel" despite the gusto with which he could record how "Red Battle stamps his foot, and Nations feel the shock"—this carborne dreamer had returned to find himself under a mountain of debt. He refused in eight languages to consider selling his ancestral hall, Newstead Abbey. But listening to his lawyer's report of the tangled insolvency of his estates, he feared he would "always be an embarrassed man" and imagined himself in actual danger of being elbowed by "broken shopkeepers" and "starved mechanics." Rebellion might prove his only recourse. He might, he supposed, marry an heiress, but he knew no one who might be pleased to allow him "to ennoble the dirty puddle of her mercantile blood." Ironically his lawyer told him that if he were to invest more capital in his Rochdale coal mines he could double his income. And if he chose to turn out his "old bad tenants, and take monied men, they say Newstead would bear a few hundreds more from its great extent." This, at first, he would "hardly do." At Christmas time, however, on his second stay at Newstead, although "not twelve hours elapsed without some fresh act of violence" by the desperate stocking-weavers, and although he saw some of these men "meagre with famine, sullen with despair," he saw his agents as well—and ended by letting them double the rents. The embarrassment of his position kindled an angry fire behind the Opposition principles he had absorbed at Cambridge. "All my affairs are going on very badly, and I must rebel too," he fumed, "if they don't mend. I shall return to London for the meeting of Parliament."⁵³

⁵⁰ Stanzas x-xv, *Childe Harold II*, and *The Curse of Minerva*, both with notes

⁵¹ See *Corr*, I, 43 ⁵² *The Curse of Minerva*

⁵³ The material of the above paragraph will be found in *Corr*, I, 20, 50, 57, 67, 69, 88, *L & J*, II, 12, and Byron's Maiden Speech.—For Byron's political views in 1809 see *L & J*, I, 209-210, and Jeaffreson, I, 199.

At the same time, however, his defensive "fatalism" was conveniently prepared. Even while he made ready to baste the cabinet and the foreign office, he was psychologically prepared to find his Cause lost, his success in Parliament doomed: Minerva in a vision has warned him that the voice of wise counsel will go *unheeded* "in the senate of your sinking state" while the "idle merchant" sees his wares "rot piecemeal" and

The starved mechanic breaks his rusting loom,
And desperate mans him 'gainst the coming doom

If much of this part of *The Curse of Minerva* (which is ostensibly all poured forth upon the head of poor Lord Elgin) was actually an after-thought inserted, as I strongly suspect,⁵⁴ when Byron was within the walls of the city but yet uncertain of his fortune (which would be any time in February or early March), the psychology is only more obvious. Much of what Minerva says about rotting merchandise and rusting looms (frames) and perfidious Albion springs from the mouth of Byron delivering his Maiden Speech, February 27. If the lines above were added to the satire in February, then, we can say that Byron was simultaneously composing his Maiden Speech *and predicting the failure of that speech*.

Byron's need for such "fatalism" is not far to seek, a more impeccably unaffiliated young rebel it would be hard to imagine. When he got on his legs to speak, seven months after his return to England, he could call himself truthfully and somewhat pathetically "a stranger not only to this House in general, but to almost every individual whose attention I presume to solicit." Since the middle of January he had come down to the House eleven times, but "diffidence" intensified by the amount of moral capital he had staked on the "experiment" had kept him from hobnobbing with the party Whigs, whose fancied slap of 1808 still smarted. He found no younger men he liked. He had sought out and received some slight help with his speech from Lord Holland, and their visits to the House had coincided during the past fortnight⁵⁵—yet as Byron spoke he was uncomfortably aware that Lord Holland would not entirely approve what he was saying: "I am a little apprehensive," he had written two days earlier, "that your Lordship will think me too lenient towards these men, and half a *frame-breaker myself*." Holland had given him to understand that his "line of argument against the bill" did not "coincide" with that of the Whigs. Whereas Byron took the distinctly

⁵⁴ *The Curse* was written in March, 1811, and the quarto edition, "printed by T. Davison in 1812, was probably set up at the same time as Murray's quarto edition of *Childe Harold*, and reserved for private circulation" *Poetry*, I, 453. It seems to me very likely that the lines of political comment which are echoed in the *Frame* speech were added to the poem at this time, February, 1812.

⁵⁵ February 13, 17, 20, and 24 *Lords Journal*

Radical (or, in the phrase of that day, "democratical") line,⁵⁶ arguing primarily on the basis of economic justice for "the industrious poor" ("our obligations to a mob") and only secondarily on the question of the "certain inefficacy" of severer legislation,⁵⁷ Lord Holland and his Moderate Whig associates primarily questioned the efficacy of the Tory suggestion of capital punishment, while at the same time favoring *some* increase in the severity of the laws.⁵⁸

The Radical character of Byron's condemnation of the use of military force against the frame-breaking stockingers may be gauged by the attitude of the "liberal" *Examiner*, which preserved a stony silence all during the debate on the Frame Bill and in May censured a speech of Sir Francis Burdett's as "pernicious" in which he had attacked somewhat in Byron's vein the government's use of force against the people. The *Examiner*, although agreeing that the "rulers" were "much too apt to make use of the military and to affect an antirevolutionary parade with their cannon and drawn swords," insisted that "there are times" when "it is but humanity to repress them [the workers] by violence."

It is indicative of Byron's dilemma in 1812 that, anxious though he was to please Holland (offering to "submit to your superior judgment and experience, and take some other line . . . or be silent altogether, should you deem it more advisable"), he could not refrain from plunging into the House of Lords with a speech of Radical, rather than Moderate Whig, coloring. Byron was evidently more sensitive to the difference than were the hospitable Whigs at the time,⁵⁹ both Holland and Grenville, leader of the Conservative Whigs, welcomed the new orator with high compliments, and so did some of the Tories. Yet the praise Byron con-

⁵⁶ Within the next six years the political left wing was to accept the party name *Radical*. I follow most historians in using the term for the entire period.

⁵⁷ Lord Holland could, of course, like any politician, speak sympathetically of the poor—when the issue under debate was not their defense. Compare his speech the following day (February 28, 1812) calling for an inquiry into the workings of the Orders in Council. Here he refers feelingly to the "suffering working classes," but his concern is over "the annihilation of commerce," and his emphasis is on the necessity "to *allay the ferments* of the distressed." *Parl. Deb.*, xxi, 1063–64.

⁵⁸ Holland proposed that those renting frames should be held responsible for breakage by Luddites. *Ibid.*, xxi, 973. Later (December 10, 1813) Holland even spoke of the Frame Bill as a success and approved the passage of a revised bill making its provisions permanent but substituting life transportation for the death penalty. *Ibid.*, xxvii, 275–276.

⁵⁹ We know, however, that Holland was sensitive and disapproving of the "republican" tendency in the arguments of his "Jacobinical" floormate, Earl Stanhope. Holland had been bolder in his younger years, but even as early as 1800 he was relieved to have Burdett and Stanhope supplant him in popularity with the workers for speaking against the Combination Acts which outlawed unions. *The Journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland (1791–1811)* (London, 1908), II, 101–102 *et passim*.

sidered most significant came from Sir Francis Burdett, the Radical spokesman, who had stepped in from the Commons to hear him:

He says it is the best speech by a *lord* since the '*Lord* knows when,' probably [observed Byron, again quite conscious of the "line of argument" he had taken] from a fellow feeling in the sentiments

Byron already knew Sir Francis by reputation and in the next few years they were to become fairly good friends⁶⁰ But was this their first meeting? How soon since Cambridge had Byron met anyone in whose political sentiments he could recognize a fellow feeling? Let us consider the political attitudes of Byron's associates during the seven months preceding his first speech

Of his closest college friends, Matthews was dead, drowned in the fall of 1811. Scrope Davies was available, but Scrope, though radical in spirit, was chiefly addicted to levity and drink "can't keep me or himself awake,"⁶¹ complained Byron. Douglas Kinnaird he saw once or twice in London,⁶² but neither he nor Hobhouse, though both later became active Burdettites, was to enter Parliament for some eight years Hobhouse had gone to Ireland with his militia regiment and Byron urged him in vain to get himself sent to Parliament from an Irish county, although on his return in February he was able to give Byron some help and encouragement, he was not to become active in politics himself till Byron was in Italy

Byron was thrown back upon fools like "dull" Claridge, and "bold Webster," whose "politics" he found on inquiry to consist of "soliciting a Scotch place, and [writing] a defence of Lord Fingal [leader of Irish emancipation distasteful to Tories] by way of ingratiating himself with [the Tory] Ministers!!" Hodgson, his Nottingham friend, about to enter the ministry, was in a scrape over a wench, he amused Byron by trying to proselytize him into the fold of believers while at the same time urging him to seek fame in Parliament; in December he wrote to Byron in London of the renewal of frame-breaking, frightened that "his frame will be broken among the rest."

"Even those coffee-house companions," says Moore, "who . . . had served him as a sort of substitute for more worthy society, were either relinquished or had dispersed."⁶³ As early as October, 1811, Byron found

⁶⁰ See *L & J*, index, and Patterson, pp 528-532

⁶¹ *Corr*, i, 47 In 1818 Scrope was a member of the Westminster Burdett Committee, the "Radical Rota Club" *Corr*, ii, 85, 96

⁶² See *L & J*, ii, 85, December 8, 1811

⁶³ Moore, p 111 Cp Byron (*Corr*, i, 42), July 31, 1811 "having never entered a coffee-house since my return, and meaning by the blessing of reformation to keep out of them"

himself "growing *nervous* (how you will laugh!)—but it is true,—really, wretchedly, ridiculously, fine-ladically *nervous*." He was "sweating notes" in anticipation of poetic publication; he hoped for "a session of Parliament" which he first expected would convene in October, then in November, he went to London to wait, but it was postponed till January

In London he slowly began to acquire new friends. In November he met Samuel Rogers, the banker-poet who knew intimately half of London—the liberal half, including Horne Tooke's old circle, Burdett, Lady Oxford, and Lords Archibald Hamilton and Folkestone, her "consolations" *pro tem*, both Radical Whigs⁶⁴ "From this time Byron saw more of Rogers perhaps than of any man in London",⁶⁵ but at the outset he met through Rogers only two men—Moore and Campbell—and for a time he thought himself doomed to a "*poetical life*", he accompanied them to a Coleridge lecture, which he considered a great bore Tom Moore had much to offer Byron, he taught him social grace and stirred his interest in Irish freedom; but he had little interest in Parliament, he did not even bother to go to hear Byron's speeches⁶⁶

At about this time also Byron had resorted to the Alfred Club, a dining club to which he had been elected while in Athens and of which in the most charitable mood years later he could only remark, thinking no doubt of this month: "It was pleasant—a little too sober and literary . . . a decent resource on a rainy day, in a dearth of parties, or parliament, or an empty season."⁶⁷ He was pathetically eager for any company, and there he met some "pleasant or known people"—Hobhouse's father, Lord Valentia, the Archbishop of Canterbury, "and such cattle",⁶⁸ "Ward, the eloquent," whom he had met in Portugal (a "most agreeable companion" "in a tête-à-tête"),⁶⁹ and his former schoolmate Peel, whom he had always liked, now a Tory Under-Secretary of State. Some of these people had political interests, but they were hardly the sort to guide a partyless young Rinaldo into paths of support Ward, with whom he was to become intimate in the next three years, "did not happen to hear any of B's speeches." He was in the House of Commons,

⁶⁴ In November, 1811, it was reported of Lady Oxford "She says that she has three consolations under all the censure of the world the consciousness of her own virtue, Lord Archibald Hamilton, and Lord Folkestone" Lord Auckland to Lord Grenville *Report on the MSS of J B Fortesque* (London, 1927), x, 181

⁶⁵ R. E. Roberts, *Samuel Rogers and His Circle* (London, 1910), p. 184

⁶⁶ Moore, p. 122.

⁶⁷ *L & J*, v, 424 In 1820 Ward called the Alfred "the asylum of doting Tories and driveling Quidnuncs."

⁶⁸ The Archbishop was a Tory of the King's party

⁶⁹ Lady Blessington, *Conversations with Lord Byron* (London, 1824), p. 197.

but at this period he was disgruntled with all factions, and his basic principles were conservative.⁷⁰ Ward dined with the atheistic wits⁷¹ and blues and extra-parliamentary Jacobins of Princess Caroline's circle, but Byron does not seem to have gravitated toward this coterie until the following May or June. Lord Valentia, brother-in-law of "bold Webster," had already won a place in *English Bards* for his "tremendous travels," but Byron now found him "nothing very 'Cativo'."

Of the seven Cambridge Whig Club members named by Hobhouse besides himself, Kinnaird, and Byron,⁷² five are never mentioned by Byron after 1808 nor did they play any conspicuous part in the political world of 1812-13.⁷³ Of the remaining two, Lord Hartington, Byron's school-mate of "soft milky disposition, and . . . happy apathy of temper," now the Duke of Devonshire, was also entering the House of Lords, but approaching with indecent composure what was to Byron a tremendous ordeal. Byron heard him speak, February 1, on the Catholic Question, which he was himself considering, and "nothing could have been inferior";⁷⁴ this performance was reassuring to Byron: "I did not speak: but I might as well. . . ." His only potential fellow in the Lords was thus early put *hors de combat*; he may have attended but he never spoke again.⁷⁵

The remaining member of the Cambridge Club, apparently its leading spirit,⁷⁶ Lord Tavistock of the Bedford-Russell clan of "ardent Whigs," was in the House of Commons. Evidently Byron continued to associate with him; there is a record of Byron and Hobhouse dining at Tavistock's

⁷⁰ "He is an alarmist about reform and popular principles," said Brougham, "and he considers me as being a Jacobin very absurdly." *Letters to "Ivy"* (London, 1905), p. 155. See *ibid.*, pp. 93, 126, 160, 199, *et passim*, *L & J*, v, 420, and *Parl. Deb.*, xxxiii, 113-142. Ward was a Whig on the way to become a Tory, but apparently he did not introduce his new leader, Canning, to Byron until 1813. *L & J*, ii, 286.

⁷¹ "A lady told me the other day," wrote Ward in 1812, "that she had heard that I, Mr. Luttrell, Mr. Nugent, and one Smith, a clergyman [Sidney Smith], were a set of good-for-nothing people who made open profession of unbelief." *Letters to "Ivy"*, p. 164.

⁷² *L & J*, iv, 500. Hobhouse to Murray, November, 1820.

⁷³ These are Mr. W. Ponsonby, Mr. George O'Callaghan, Mr. Dominick Browne, Mr. Henry Pearce, and the young Lord Ellenborough. Browne entered Commons in 1815; introduced a minor and non-controversial Reform Bill in 1816 on limiting the time of the Irish Elections. O'Callaghan was a Hampden Club charter member in 1812, but never an M. P. Ellenborough, inclining the way of his father, was to enter Commons in 1813 as a Tory, although liberal on some points. Cf. Albert H. Imlah, *Lord Ellenborough* (Cambridge, 1939).

⁷⁴ *L & J*, ii, 96. See *Parl. Deb.*, xxi, 412.

⁷⁵ Another Cambridge Whig mentioned by Byron in 1807 (but never afterwards) is the Duke of Leinster. In 1812 Leinster was in Sicily until August; he took his seat in Lords February 3, 1813.

⁷⁶ Although Byron was sure that Hobhouse had founded both that club and an Amicable Society. *L & J*, v, 123.

June 4, 1814, and Byron mentions seeing Sheridan at Tavistock's at an undetermined date.⁷⁷ Associated with Tavistock was another Cambridge Whig, Lord Althorp, a predecessor at Harrow and Trinity but, since 1805, a personal friend of Byron, to whom in 1814 he turned over his apartments in the Albany.⁷⁸ Both Althorp and Tavistock were earnest young Whigs who had alarmed their Whig elders by joining the ranks of

Mr Whitbread, and the small section of the Liberals usually termed Democratic Whigs, or Patriots [for] their unsparing denunciations of abuses at home and abroad, and their eloquent vindication of popular rights,⁷⁹

and their "sentiments" must have been acceptable to Byron. But neither was aggressive Althorp, though a champion of "the lower classes," was a cautious one,⁸⁰ and Tavistock, who for a time promised to be the Reformer of the hour, failed to follow up his initiative steps.⁸¹

That year Byron could have absorbed little enthusiasm for parliamentary activity from even the most cheerful of these young liberals. For them, as for him, the spring-summer session of 1812 was a disappointment, a period of hopeful trials damped down by the impressive dead-weight of parliamentary inertia.

George Sinclair, the "prodigy" of Harrow with whom Byron in his school days had "talked politics, for he was a great politician,"⁸² was a Moderate Whig, fairly active in this his second session in Commons, although Byron seems not to have renewed his acquaintance until July.⁸³

⁷⁷ Hobhouse saw quite a bit of Tavistock before 1814. See *Recollections*, II, 174, and *L & J*, I, 163n, v, 414.

⁷⁸ LeMarchant, p. 141. Byron and Althorp were boxing companions. They witnessed the fight between Gully and the Chicken, October 8, 1805.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112. Thomas Grenville wrote to Lord Grenville, in 1809. "Lord Milton and Lord Althorp have both dipped more into this [Reform agitation] than one could wish, and I see by the letters from Althorp that there is more ground of uneasiness in our young friend than I had expected." *MSS of Fortescue*, IX, 285. And in May, 1812. "I lament to count Lord Tavistock in that list [of Whitbread's declared associates] and certainly regret that Whitbread should have had influence enough to have placed him in those ranks." *Ibid.*, x, 246. Tavistock had not been a Whitbreadite in 1809. See Michael Roberts, *The Whig Party 1807-1812* (London, 1939), p. 215.

⁸⁰ LeMarchant, p. 133. In 1812 Althorp, although he spoke against the Leather Tax Bill, June 26, following Brougham's "excellent landlord's speech" with a plea against the tax's "unequal pressure on the lower orders," in July, speaking against the Preservation of the Peace Bill, "with the love of truth that kept him from propitiating the landlords, he now showed himself equally independent of the people,—for he [insisted] that his opposition did not arise from any apprehensions that the power entrusted to the magistrates would be abused." *Ibid.*, pp. 136, 138, and *Parl. Deb.*, XXXI, 785, 1024.

⁸¹ See J. Cartwright, *Six Letters to the Marquis of Tavistock on a Reform of . . .* *Parliament* (London, 1812). ⁸² *L & J*, v, 454. For Sinclair's career see *DNB*.

⁸³ See Hobhouse, *Recollections*, I, 44.

Sinclair was, or was soon to become, a close friend of Burdett, but in 1812 Byron could not have found in him a kindred soul: he was one of those Whigs who spoke *in favor of* the Frame Bill, conceiving "the present to be an instance in which lenity to the aggressors, is cruelty to the injured," and attacking the arguments of Hutchinson, whose opposition to the Bill, in Commons, most nearly approached Byron's in vigor ⁸⁴

There was, in the House of Lords, one outspoken man of "Jacobin" sentiments, Earl ("Citizen") Stanhope, a lifelong intimate of Reformer Cartwright, who had never been quite subdued to the temporizing caution of the party Whigs.⁸⁵ Stanhope thrived on the smoke and din of parliamentary battle. "This, my dear Citizen, is rare fun," he exclaimed to Lord Holland after a long siege in 1811. "If I could often have such nights as these, I would like to live in the House of Lords, it is such high fun"⁸⁶ And it was a sense of this fun that he imparted to Byron when in 1813 he alone of the Opposition peers rose to defend Byron in what was to be his last speech. "Stanhope and I," says Byron, "stood against the whole House, and mouthed it valiantly—and had some fun and a little abuse for our opposition." But these valiant lone fighters met too late. In 1812 their visits to the House did not coincide till mid-April and thereafter but rarely. Stanhope heard Byron's second speech, during the Catholic Emancipation debate, but he himself remained silent on that occasion, and the two times that Byron heard him speak no battles developed. Indeed, in 1812 Stanhope as well as younger Reformers was in defeatist mood. In November, when Cartwright asked him to join the Hampden Club, Stanhope replied with Byronic misanthropy. "I have correct principles. . . . But . . . I have too indifferent an opinion of men, to consent to form an union with any men, for any purpose, good, bad, or indifferent."⁸⁷

As the session dragged on, it must have become increasingly apparent that he was to find neither fellow rebels in the Lords nor courage and inspiration from the few rebels he knew in the Commons. The year had started hopefully, with Burdett creating a sensation on the opening day by a "trick of war," as the *Examiner* called it, obtruding a long and powerful speech of his own between the Regent's address and the official reply—"a *prepared and studied* satire," according to the junker *Morning Post*, "such as might become a seditious tavern meeting, upon the whole of His Majesty's long and venerated reign."⁸⁸ And spring saw renewed

⁸⁴ *Parl. Deb.*, xxi, 864-865, cf. 859 ff.

⁸⁵ See *Life and Correspondence of Major Cartwright* (London, 1826), and Stanhope and Gooch, *The Life of Charles Third Earl Stanhope* (London, 1914), *passim*.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁸⁷ *Life of Cartwright*, II, 43.

⁸⁸ Printed, it sold 30,000 copies, one of which Byron most probably read. His speech seems to echo certain passages.

efforts toward working unity among Whig and Radical Reformers, out of which developed the somewhat promising charter meeting of the Hampden Club, April 20. But the debate which followed in May concluded all Reform hopes in Parliament for many years to come. Byron heard Tavistock,⁸⁹ supported by both Whitbread and Burdett, speak for "a Reform radical, as far as it went to the root of all corrupt influence, and moderate as far as it restrained itself within the limits of practical good sense,"⁹⁰ but he heard also the alarmist, anti-Reform and pro-war oratory of his turn-coat friend Ward, and he saw the latter carry the day and his Reform friends thoroughly routed by the lowest Reform vote in years, 88 to 215.

A month later (June 8) when Byron joined the London Hampden Club as one of a mere dozen new members, none of his old friends enrolled along with him, nor any of the nobility, and only one Member of Parliament. The meeting cannot have been inspiring, Burdett, the president, did not attend, the Reformers' hopes of that spring were waning.⁹¹ Thus Byron entered the Reform movement only after it had passed the apogee of its current cycle and only after the initial brightness of his own ambition to become an Orator had begun to diminish. Acquaintance with the Radical leader, Sir Francis Burdett, upon whom he had looked in 1809 with mixed attraction and repulsion as "the general football . . . kicked at by all, and owned by none," and whom he came to consider "the greatest favourite in Pandemonium,"⁹² had not yet had occasion to ripen.

Both Byron's Maiden Speech and his longer speech on the Roman Catholic Claims, April 21, were produced, then, without benefit of organized Reformers of either the old Cambridge Whig or the new London Hampden Club. Yet that his first speech, at least, was somehow stimulated by men of experience in the political world is indicated by the suddenness with which, after long delay, he made his specific decision, and by the nature of the subject he selected. His servants at Newstead were but dimly aware of a possible connection between the "sad times" at Nottingham and their lord's going to Parliament:

⁸⁹ Conjecture. Byron mentions Tavistock's speaking (*L & J*, v, 68), and this is Tavistock's only speech until July, 1815. Byron might well have gone to hear Ward, who delivered a prepared speech. Byron called his speeches "studied, but keen, and sometimes eloquent." *L & J*, v, 412. The speaking of Burdett and Whitbread also might have attracted him. ⁹⁰ *Parl. Deb.*, xiii, 107, May 8, 1812.

⁹¹ For the June 8 meeting and Byron's election see *Examiner*, v (June 14, 1812), 385. For full membership list see *Life of Cartwright*, II, 380-383.

⁹² "at least I always heard the Country Gentlemen and the ministerial devilry praise his *speeches* upstairs, and run down from Bellamy's when he was upon his legs." *L & J*, v, 412.

Doest thou know [Keeper asked] whither *Our me Lord* is gone up to that Lunnon to speech for the goode of the Nation. . . .

[Billy Whitehead, 'the labourer,' opined] I cannot make out what the *voating* means. I don't think they go a *voating* any where, beside only about Nottingham . . . Oh, D—m their voating, D— their voating If they voat themselves to H—ll, they will do no good to *Our me Lord*. . . .⁹³

As for "Our me Lord" himself, when he went up to that Lunnon, he seems not to have had any notion of taking action "only about Nottingham"—nor indeed to have been much clearer than Keeper as to precisely how he might do himself or the Nation any good. Well aware though he had been, since his Christmas visit to Nottingham, of the plight of the stockingers—for the second half of his stay (i.e. the first fortnight of January) saw "a serious recrudescence of disorder"⁹⁴ following the breakdown of negotiations for a wage agreement between masters and men—and constantly though he had been urged by his ambition and by his unpolitical friends such as Hodgson and Dallas to speak in Parliament, he had not, even as late as February 1, determined on a subject.⁹⁵ Then three days later we find he has decided to take parliamentary action regarding the Luddites, has introduced himself through the good offices of the ever-present Sam Rogers to Lord Holland and conferred with him on procedure⁹⁶ (Holland offering to lead off with an interrogation of the ministers, which Byron is to follow by giving notice of a motion for a Committee of Inquiry) and has confirmed this arrangement in a formal letter addressed to Rogers.⁹⁷

That Holland himself did not instigate this action is clear from his own statements.⁹⁸ And we may assume that it was not inspired by knowledge of the secret Cabinet discussion January 29 and 31 upon the Nottingham "disturbances," or of the nature of the Frame-breaking Bill prepared at that time but not yet published.⁹⁹ In the first place none of the better informed politicians except Lord Holland had enough interest in Byron to acquaint him with these confidential matters; in the second place, we know from Romilly that the contents of the Bill were kept strictly secret until it was "sprung" on the unsuspecting House of Commons, February 14.¹⁰⁰ We may also exclude Hobhouse as a possible influence on this

⁹³ Susan Vaughan to Byron, January 1812. "*To Lord Byron*," pp 31–32

⁹⁴ See F. O. Darvall, *Popular Disturbances and Public Order in Regency England* (London, 1934), p 78

⁹⁵ *Corr*, I, 68–69, *L & J*, II, 96 —Note that the letter to Hodgson disproves his biographer's assertion that Hodgson was the begetter of Byron's first speech

⁹⁶ " . . . anxious to learn the forms and consult some peer in Opposition." Lord Holland, *Further Memoirs*, p 123 ⁹⁷ *L & J*, II, 96–97 February 4, 1812.

⁹⁸ *Loc cit* ⁹⁹ See Darvall, pp. 82, 225

¹⁰⁰ So Romilly complains during the debate. *Parl. Deb*, XXI, 833, 840

phase of Byron's career. Although he did return from Ireland some time after the 16th in time to help with the actual drafting of the speech, his interests that spring were non-political; he had as few party affiliations as Byron himself and cannot be credited with the inception of the speech nor the enlistment of Whig support for his friend.¹⁰¹ We must look elsewhere, therefore, for possible influences upon Byron's action and his subsequent "line of argument."

On December 14, 1811, the day before Byron's attention was called to the frame-breaking by Hodgson's terrified communication, Major Cartwright, that "patriarch of Reform" who was soon to organize the Hampden Club, made a "missionary" trip to Nottingham as elected Burgess of that town (a borough in which the artisans frequently ruled the constituency).¹⁰² He found "men almost in a state of famine"¹⁰³ and the magistrates deciding to call in more troops. He talked with "two gentlemen who wholly concur with me in principle, and are ready to do so in act [but who are demoralized] from observing how few among the great are ready to support the people in efforts for restoring the constitution." One of the "two gentlemen" may have been the Rev. Becher, Southwell magistrate active in protesting the importation of troops,¹⁰⁴ a friend of Byron's boyhood. They spoke to Cartwright quite frankly and must have named the inactive "great"—certainly Lord Holland, who was Recorder of Nottingham, and possibly Lord Byron. Cartwright then drew up a "requisition" which he left on the doorstep of the town clerk, forwarding a copy to Lord Holland,¹⁰⁵ with a letter intended to stir that great one to activity. May we not suspect that some effort to stir Byron was initiated at the same source?

The "line of argument" embodied in Cartwright's requisition objecting to the use of troops—that the workers were the unfortunate victims of heartless industrial speculators on the one hand and a ruthlessly repressive government on the other—corresponds exactly to that of Byron's

¹⁰¹ See *L & J*, II, 100.—Hobhouse's first dinners with Burdett did not take place until May, and he was not introduced to Whitbread till 1814. See *Recollections*, I, 38, 148, and *L & J*, IV, 500.

¹⁰² In 1812 elections the "Whig-Radical Party" recaptured Nottingham after brief Tory control. *Annals of Nottingham*, ed. by T. Bailey, III, 258. Cp. Lujo Brentano, *History of Guilds and Origin of Trade-Unions* (London, 1870), pp. 117–119.

¹⁰³ *Life of Cartwright*, II, 17–21.

¹⁰⁴ See Darvall, pp. 38, 80, 244. Becher wrote to the Home Office on February 11.

¹⁰⁵ *Life of Cartwright*, II, 18.—Said clerk, Mr. Coldham, secretary of a secret Committee recently appointed by the Nottingham Corporation to detect Luddites (Darvall, p. 243), wrote to Lord Holland a letter which was turned over to Byron on his request for "documents" but which Byron returned as useless, primarily selfish, and ignoble. *L & J*, II, 102–104.

speech, even to the comparison with Turkey: "If the nobility and gentry of once free England shall witness it [military despotism] with patient apathy, it must ere long be as firmly rivited . . . as [in] Turkey" It is true that Byron had himself "been in some of the most oppressed provinces of Turkey."¹⁰⁶ And his speech was undoubtedly, as he said, based on his own observations in Nottingham. But for actual recognition of his "senatorial duty" he required the prompting of an experienced politician. It is possible that Major Cartwright, whose method of agitation was to send off a barrage of letters, may have written to his old friend Sam Rogers, urging him to prod Byron, one of the potentially active "great" of the distressed district. Or the Rev. Becher could have suggested ways of arousing him. Or Cartwright may have written to Byron directly.

Whitbread's is another name which frequently appears in contexts indicating his particular interest in the Nottingham distress.¹⁰⁷ We have no record of the time of Byron's first meeting with this parliamentary leader of the Reform Whigs, whom he was to know well on the Drury Lane Theatre committee three years later,¹⁰⁸ but from the way in which the question of the Nottingham "disturbances" was raised in Parliament we must conclude that by February 4 Byron was working in cooperation with Whitbread as well as Holland. Holland and Whitbread in their respective Houses interrogated ministers on February 4 and 6 in practically identical language, asking what the Government intended to do about the increasing "disturbances."¹⁰⁹ Byron, according to his letter of the 4th, was to follow the ministers' expected evasion by moving for a Committee of Inquiry into the whole matter. When the Bill to make frame-breaking a capital offense was first introduced into the Lower House, February 14, Whitbread's friend, C. W. Wynn,¹¹⁰ apparently in reference to Byron's intended motion, said, "Great advantages were likely to result from the inquiries of a committee up stairs."¹¹¹ And the opposition speakers that followed—Sheridan, Henry Martin (Nottinghamshire magistrate and Reform Whig), Babington (non-party humanitarian, resident in the district), and Whitbread himself—were apparently agreed on the avoidance

¹⁰⁶ Byron's speech

¹⁰⁷ The government spy sent to penetrate the Luddite organization called himself Samuel Whitbread Darvall, p. 287. In mid-February the leading hosiery workers of Nottingham were to meet to prepare a report for Lord Holland, M. P. for the town and county, and Mr. Whitbread. *Nottingham Journal*, February 15, 1812. Darvall, p. 85.

¹⁰⁸ His first references to Whitbread, in the fall of 1812, contain no suggestion of the degree of their acquaintance.

¹⁰⁹ *Parl. Deb.*, xxi, 602-603, 671-672. In Lords, Liverpool replied that Government was taking steps to bring the matter before Parliament.

¹¹⁰ Wynn was of the Grenville clan but frequently supported Whitbread; he was a steady voter for Reform in 1809-11. Michael Roberts, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-235.

¹¹¹ *Parl. Deb.*, xxi, 815.

of frontal attack and on pressing instead for an inquiry W Herbert, another Whitbreadite,¹¹² twice forced a roll-call vote on motion for a House committee,¹¹³ and on the next day of debate (February 17) Whitbread got through a resolution for the future that no bill extending capital punishment should be introduced without a previous committee of inquiry

When, eventually, Byron presented his Maiden Speech, it contained, surprisingly, no mention of a motion for a committee,¹¹⁴ instead, it constituted that which the Whigs had avoided, a direct attack, stressing the drama of the workers' misery, the law's cruelty.

Not only, then, did Byron take a line of argument more militant than that of the Whigs, he also abandoned what appears to have been Whitbread's or Holland's advice on tactics. But he was venturing alone, for in the Lower House Burdett and others of the left (except Lord A Hamilton, Lady Oxford's lover) had merely voted in silence, and the Cambridge Whigs Althorp and Tavistock had not even attended, while in the Upper House only Moderate speakers came to his aid. Thus Byron found himself, even while taking a Radical approach (with Cartwright and Rogers somewhere behind scenes), embarked on an issue which had neither the vocal support of the Radicals nor a conspicuous attraction for his friends among the Reform Whigs.¹¹⁵ Holland and his Moderate Whig cohorts, on the other hand, although not hostile to the bill from any strong conviction, cordially rallied to the support of the young peer, graciously making a serious effort to induct him into their ranks.

Lord Holland with a party leader's eye had been watching Byron ever since his "hirelings' " *Review* had apprised him of the existence of a lord whose title he had believed extinct.¹¹⁶ In November,¹¹⁷ through Rogers, he had let Byron know he was unoffended by *English Bards*, and now "This accidental intercourse about his first speech led to our acquaintance and even friendly familiarity, which was never interrupted." Evidence indicates that Holland and his supporters went out of their way to court young Byron, both by their support for the moment of a cause he had chosen to champion and by their flattery of his oratory. On Febru-

¹¹² Indicated by his vote on 12 out of 17 minorities with Whitbread in 1812, especially on the Walsh resolution, March 5.

¹¹³ Lost by 11 to 49 and 15 to 40. On the second vote George Sinclair voted in favor of a committee, although he was not opposed to the Frame Bill itself.

¹¹⁴ Except for the passing remark that "I think a little investigation, some previous inquiry, would induce even them [Tories] to change their purpose."

¹¹⁵ Although Althorp spoke later (July 13, 1812) against the related Peace Preservation Bill. *Parl. Deb.*, xxxiii, 1024, and LeMarchant, p. 138 — "Very few upper-class people," says Darvall (p. 337), "agreed with Lord Byron . . ."

¹¹⁶ *Further Memoirs*, p. 122.

¹¹⁷ See *Corr.*, i, 59.

ary 13, Byron's and Holland's attendance coincided for the first time, and subsequently, on the three times before his speech that Byron attended, Holland was also on hand.¹¹⁸ On the last of these occasions they heard Lord Liverpool announce for "to-morrow" the second reading of the "Bill to prevent Frame breaking,"¹¹⁹ which had been hurried through its first reading on a day (February 21) when only five peers, all Tories, were present. Now Holland, probably at Byron's request, asked to have the reading postponed to "Thursday next," the 27th. On this date there was an attendance of fifty-six, a sizable crowd for that year, to hear the debate.

Privately Byron's fellow aristocrats, both Whig and Tory, considered his speech, like those of Burdett, "a sarcastic discourse, adapted rather to the taste of a popular meeting than to the business of a legislative assembly,"¹²⁰ yet the Whigs accorded him a grand welcome: Conservative leader Grenville and Moderate leader Holland both supported him against the bill and gave him public praise. His periods were like Burke's, beamed Grenville, he would beat them all if he persevered, urged Holland. But in his *Memoirs* Holland recorded his private judgment: "His speech was full of fancy, wit, and invective, but not exempt from affectation nor well reasoned [n.b.], nor at all suited to our common notions of Parliamentary eloquence."¹²¹

A business of minor curiosity in the *Journal* of the House of Lords supports the impression that the Whigs went out of their way to encourage Byron by their support. After the debate on the day of his speech, the Lords Rosslyn and Lauderdale in the usual fashion entered a protest against the bill. On the next day, having thought better (or worse) of the matter, they desired that their protest, "together with the Signature of

¹¹⁸ February 17, 20, 24

¹¹⁹ Cp. *Lords Journal*, February 24, 25, and the *London Packet and Lloyd's Evening Post*, February 24.

¹²⁰ Twiss, *Eldon*, II, 190. Cp. Thomas Grenville in May regarding "the abominable and wicked speech of Sir Francis Burdett." *MSS of Fortescue*, x, 242.

¹²¹ *Further Memoirs*, p. 123.—Dr. E. Dudley H. Johnson, in an unpublished paper, "Lord Byron: Poet-Laureate of the Whigs," points out that Byron, in blaming Tory foreign policy for the misery of the weavers, "oriented his address to this controlling purpose of his [the Whig] party." He has traced with more clarity and force than Miss Raymond the coincidence of Byron's early political interests and views with those of the Foxite Whigs, and he has correctly emphasized the fact that Byron's political development cannot be properly understood without a consideration of how thoroughly his formative years were steeped in Whiggery. Dr. Johnson calls Byron's voting with the Whigs very "significant" because "the debates involved issues of national importance which produced clean-cut differences of opinion between the two opposing parties." As between Tory and Whig, it is clear Byron was on the Whig side.

their Lordships thereto, should be vacated."¹²² Other counsel again prevailed, however, and on the next day of debate on the measure (March 2), Rosslyn and Lauderdale re-entered their protest, and "certain Lords who were down" too late that day to "sign the Protest" sought permission to do so later in the week.¹²³ This action may indicate a politic shifting with the rising wind of popular hostility to the bill—evidence enough of the Whigs' lack of strong convictions—or it may signify that "certain Lords" were somewhat tardily whipped into a show of support for Byron's sake

The fact that, after persevering to the extent of attending the two days subsequent to his speech and perhaps contributing to the committee discussion in which the terms of the bill were successfully modified,¹²⁴ Byron deserted the House for more than a fortnight does not necessarily indicate a loss of interest in his political career, although his neglect of the debate on the third reading and final passage of the bill¹²⁵ may reveal a developing impatience with "parliamentary mummeries." As a blushing young Author he was naturally in demand elsewhere, *Childe Harold* was off the press soon after his speech, and Byron's fame was reverberating by March 10. In view of the attendant distractions, it rather argues his determination that he went down on the 19th to vote for the Whigs' censure of the Prince Regent in their call for a new administration, and that in April he plunged into the seasonal bull-fight on the Catholic Question, attending three times, and on the 21st delivering his second speech, which, though lengthy and documented, was more fiery and Radical than the first.¹²⁶ A few excerpts will establish the tone of this unduly neglected speech, prose base of parts of *The Irish Avatar* and *The Vision of Judgment*:

It is indeed time that we should leave off these petty cavils on frivolous points, these Lilliputian sophistries. . .

¹²² *Lords Journal*, February 28 They had decided their action "was informal and irregular."

¹²³ *Idem* and March 4 and March 6 It is not recorded which lords did add their names.

¹²⁴ Byron attended this meeting, but the discussion is not recorded. On February 28 he voted in the minority for the revocation of Orders in Council.

¹²⁵ March 5 and 11. The Lords' amendment to "fine 'or' imprisonment" was rejected in Commons, Ryder insisting that it was the "constant practice of the House [to reject] any amendment from the Lords which interfered with any branch of the public revenue." *Parl. Deb.*, xxi, 1216, March 9.

¹²⁶ He attended April 16, when Stanhope presented a bill "for the better protection of the Peasantry and Tenantry in Great Britain and Ireland," and April 20, when a message from the Regent and some Catholic petitions were read. He spoke on the 21st and signed a protest with twenty-eight others.

I pity the Catholic peasantry for not having the good fortune to be born black . . .

Who made them beggars? Who are enriched with the spoils of their ancestors? And cannot you relieve the beggar when your fathers have made him such? If you are disposed to relieve him at all, cannot you do it without flinging your farthings in his face? . . . at this moment . . . the starving people are rising in the fierceness of despair . . .

[As to] that Union so called . . . if it must be called an Union, it is the union of the shark with his prey, the spoiler swallows up his victim, and thus they become one and indivisible. Thus has great Britain swallowed up the parliament, the constitution, the independence of Ireland . . .

A growing feeling of insecurity, an increasing awareness of his position as a conscious outsider desperately preaching to and indicting "you, my Lords," characterizes these passages; finally Byron turns directly to "his Majesty's ministers" and accuses them of a nefarious "popularity" among "the people".

. . . to what part of the kingdom . . . can they [the ministers] flee to avoid the triumph which pursues them? If they plunge into the midland counties [Nottingham, etc], there will they be greeted by the manufacturers [workers], with spurned petitions in their hands,¹²⁷ and those halters round their necks recently voted in their behalf [the Frame Bill] . . . If they journey on to Scotland, from Glasgow to John o'Groats, every where will they receive similar marks of approbation. If they take a trip from Portpatrick to Donaghadee, there will they rush at once into the embraces of four Catholic millions, to whom their vote of this night is about to endear them for ever. When they return to the metropolis . . . they cannot escape the acclamations of the livery [Radical town body of London] and the more tremulous, but not less sincere, applause, the blessings, 'not loud, but deep,' of bankrupt merchants and doubting stock-holders . . . [and they will see, ascended from the army], a 'cloud of witnesses' . . .

As rebelliously as in his correspondence with Hobhouse in the fall, Byron, still on the verge of bankruptcy, and inhibited by contemporary ethics from accepting monies from the sale of *Childe Harold*,¹²⁸ was speaking as one of the angry "people"—dodging between "the files of ruined nobles and broken shopkeepers." With an aroused dramatic sense he shared the "fierceness of despair" of the starving peasantry and cried bitterly against governmental oppression and interference with trade—the essence of the Radical position, which was assumed more realistically

¹²⁷ In March, Lords Gower and Milton had protested in Commons that they were denied admittance to the Regent to present petitions signed by thousands of workers "complaining of deep distress and praying for relief." *Parl. Deb.*, xxi, 1162 ff.

¹²⁸ "Far from being peculiar on the point of dignity, Byron was not more certain than the ignoble journalists of his acquaintance that, as a peer, he could not honourably take to his own use the pecuniary fruits of his literary toil." Jeaffreson, I, 222.

by speculators like Cochrane Johnstone and members of banking families like Burdett and Douglas Kinnaird. In his impatience, his scorn of the "Lilliputian sophistries" of the noble legislators, we see already forming Byron's "indifference" of the following year to futile parliamentary schemes and his anarchistic opinion that "only a good civil buffeting" could surmount the stupidities of the existing "system"¹²⁹

No matter how Radical in tendency his speeches appeared, however, Byron was never one to continue a lone fight without obvious results or copious applause. Failing to overwhelm the Tories by his first or second attack, he did not play the tiger and go sulking back to his jungle (as he might dream in heroic mood), but rather, London offering him applause in the more respectable rôle of Lion, he soon found a pedestal in the very center of Whig Society.¹³⁰

Launched upon his parliamentary career without benefit of a congenial Radical coterie, Byron had encouraged (though tardily, almost three months after first learning of them, and then with a show of diffidence) the overtures of Lord Holland, underneath his ostentatious pride—allowing the genial Whig leader to come to *his* apartments for their first meeting—he had been in truth almost abjectly eager to oblige.¹³¹ Learning that his political sentiments did not exactly "coincide" with those of Whigdom, he had been ready to make concessions. Although on the sly he was sending to the *Morning Chronicle* a vitriolic *Ode* threatening broken frames to the "Framers of the Frame Bill" who "when asked for a remedy, sent down a rope,"¹³² and was circulating a private printing of his *Curse* of Tory policy fit for Cobbett's *Political Register*, at the same time with ingratiating humility he was sending Lord Holland an advance copy of *Childe Harold*, from which he had expunged passages that reflected unfavorably on the Whig leader. At this time too he abandoned an intended new edition of *English Bards* in "immediate" acquiescence to Rogers' suggestion that Lord and Lady Holland would "not be sorry" to see it suppressed; he kept anonymous his authorship (although this would not have displeased the Whigs) of "Weep, daughter of a Royal line," printed in the *Morning Chronicle* March 7, the avowal of which two years later brought torrents of abuse on his head, and he refrained from publishing *The Curse of Minerva*, upon receiving "a friendly remonstrance

¹²⁹ See *Corr*, I, 122, 161

¹³⁰ "Lord Byron is still [May 10] upon a pedestal, and Caroline Wilham [Lamb] doing homage." *Letters of Harriet Countess Granville* (London, 1894), I, 34.

¹³¹ Early in November Byron had received through Rogers "a kind of pacific overture from Lord Holland." *Corr*, I, 59. "The introduction took place at Lord Byron's lodgings." Holland, *loc cit*, Dallas, III, 13.

¹³² Published March 2, second day of debate on the Frame Bill. See *L & J*, II, 97n.

from Lord Elgin, or some of his connexions."¹³³ Soon Holland House became "one of his most flattering resorts . . ."¹³⁴

Indeed the Whig Aristocracy, the one group which had come forward to applaud and encourage the young rebel lord, gave its approval and support only with the polite but firm discouragement of the generating force of his oratory, its rebellious "sentiments." It was the philosophy of Holland House that most young "Jacobins" could be "cured of their democracy" by a little practical experience, and so it had often proved, as in the case of Sir James Mackintosh, who had once been considered "a furious Jacobin." Lady Holland had at first refused him entrance

on account of his principles, as I have always dreaded this house becoming a *foyer* of Jacobinism, and have invariably set my face against receiving all who are suspected of being revolutionists, etc etc However, since M[ackintosh] has regained his character, and is become a friend of Canning's [a young Tory] etc., I admit him . . .¹³⁵

Moore has remarked the "docility" with which Byron "from his strong wish to oblige Lord Holland" yielded "to friendly suggestions and criticisms" in polishing the *Drury Lane Address*.¹³⁶ Lord Holland had already found him "courteous, I might say almost grateful" for his "trifling services"—though also "of an extreme susceptibility to slight, even imaginary, injuries."¹³⁷ But behind the congratulations and "services" he received from the party leaders, Byron must have perceived a shade of disapproval and sensed that Holland, for instance, was encouraging him to "persevere" and become a good Whig *in spite of* his faulty "reasoning." Our inquiry returns to the question of the reception of Byron's second speech. Was it an impression that he was amusing, not moving, the attentive Peers that convinced Byron of his oratorical failure? Was he politely but painfully given to understand, by Lord Holland and possibly by Sidmouth, that he belonged in the Lower House, which is to say with Burdett & Co.? Did Whig disapproval combine with his philosophical inclination and Lady Oxford's "uncommon civility" in leading Byron to join the Reformers formally in June?

All Byron's subsequent references to his speaking seem calculated to camouflage his mortification at the verdict of his peers. Returning in "a state of most humorous exaltation" from the battle occasioned by his speech in June, 1813, in defense of Reformer Cartwright's petition, Byron endeavored by mock-heroic flippancy to conceal from his sophis-

¹³³ *L & J*, III, 227, Moore, p 121

¹³⁴ Dallas, III, 36 —Cp Lady Alvanley to Scott, April 25 "Politics have lately brought [Byron] and Lord Holland to become very intimate . . ." *The Private Letter-Books of Sir Walter Scott* (New York, 1930), p 184

¹³⁵ *Journal of Lady Holland*, I, 251; II, 10-11

¹³⁶ Moore, p. 125.

¹³⁷ *Loc cit.*

ticated friend Moore—and perhaps also from himself—the extent of his departure from true Whig propriety and the sting of reprimands received from both parties¹³⁸ Under his apparent “docility” there lurked always an intransigent perversity. Ashamed he might appear to be, of the “theatrical” language of his speeches defending weavers and peasants, but he retained more Jacobin sympathies than would have pleased Lord or Lady Holland, and it seems evident that his sense of political failure in 1812 grew from the necessity of submerging his ebullient radicalism beneath the kindly but firm restrictions established by Holland House. Hobhouse records, perhaps of an earlier period, that Byron had “the most sovereign contempt” for “Holland House sycophants”—whom Hobhouse “tried to induce him to tolerate.”¹³⁹

If, following his first speech and the appearance of *Childe Harold*, Byron's political career had prospered rapidly and in harmony with his social career, then Poetic Fame and Romance, achieved as additional glories, might well have contributed to a fully gratifying success. But coming as substitutes, as a kind of solace for discouraged political ambitions, fame and romance could never be accepted except as symbols of failure.

The spirit of defeatism which descended upon the Whigs by summer further contributed to Byron's disillusionment. Suppressing his satirical and Jacobinical tendencies in conformity with their standards he interested himself for a time in party Whiggery. After his April speech he had stopped attending Parliament, but on June 19 he went down again to see how the Whigs fared in their *post mortem* discussion of the failure of negotiations to form a coalition ministry.¹⁴⁰ The nadir of Whig hopes had been reached, and there was a “Lilliputian” squabble over the question of responsibility. Byron, sitting “immediately behind Lord Moira,” the negotiator who had played the Regent's game against the Whigs, “did not know very well” what to make of the dispute, the complexities of which have not to this day been completely untangled.¹⁴¹ A fortnight before this

¹³⁸ Moore's account (p. 138) has been traditionally misinterpreted. For its most flagrant perversion see Quennell, *Byron*, pp. 149-150. When Byron, interrupted in his “mock-heroic” take-off of his recent speech by a matter-of-fact question from Moore, shouted back through the chamber wall, “The grievance?”—then, pausing “as if” to consider—“Oh that I forget,” the point was not at all that Byron didn't know the subject of his speech (see Raymond, p. 68, on that matter); the point was the “fun and oddity” of the remark. Moore is trying “to convey an idea of the dramatic humour with which he gave effect to these words,” to describe the “irresistable” comedy of Byronic make-believe.

¹³⁹ *L & J*, iv, 500.

¹⁴⁰ A failure which marked the end of what may or may not have been a genuine chance for the Whigs—who were not eager, in any event, to risk the adventure of office. Canning's young Tories were also out. “Canning has disbanded his party by a speech from his . . . —the true throne of a Tory” Byron to Murray, July 22, 1813.

¹⁴¹ *L & J*, v, 431 —Michael Roberts, pp. 382-405, elucidates the probabilities

debate Byron had attended an Opposition meeting on the matter at Lord Grenville's,¹⁴² which he found to be characterized by dreary resignation. Still thinking politics meant action, he had asked, "What is to be done next?" But there was nothing left to be done, he was told, except to "wake the Duke of Norfolk." That worthy, once a fiery Jacobin dismissed from his military command for toasting "The Majesty of the People," was now placidly snoring. It was at this time, between the Whig meeting and the discussion in parliament, that Byron went over to the Reformers in the Hampden Club.¹⁴³

In July he attended Lords six times. But, if he were to confine himself to the standards of Whigdom, it was apparent that its Balls offered more attraction than its Bills. On July 1, a motion for a committee on the Catholic Claims, which had swept through the Commons,¹⁴⁴ was defeated in the Lords by one vote—even though Byron "had been sent for in great haste to a Ball, which [he] quitted . . . somewhat reluctantly, to emancipate five Millions of people."¹⁴⁵ A week later he voted with the minority against the Leather Tax Bill and for the Church of England Disabilities Bill, but he did not bother to sign the Whig protest when the latter was defeated.¹⁴⁶

Meanwhile, even as Rinaldo's political prospects were dimming, a blight was descending upon his Romance with the Whig Ariel, Lady Caroline Lamb, a romance which, if it had not proved to be a complement to Oratorical fame, might at least have provided compensatory pleasure. Not only, he discovered, must any lover of Lady Caroline "sacrifice his senatorial duties"¹⁴⁷ to attend to the "perplexities" she stirred up, but such perplexities rapidly outweighed any comfort the sacrifice might have brought. During the first fortnight of July, Byron had divided his time between Parliament, where nothing happened, and Melbourne House, where a crisis in the Caro affair was brewing. In August the crisis erupted with Caroline's scandalous runaway escapade. By September she had been shipped off to Ireland, Parliament had been dissolved; and Byron thankfully retreated, with a "very pleasant set" of Whig families,¹⁴⁸ to the Cheltenham spa, accepting the hospitality of the Hollands' house there,¹⁴⁹ and staying on, when the others departed, content for a

¹⁴² *L & J*, v, 430—This was undoubtedly the meeting of June 3 described by Creevey. *The Creevey Papers* (New York, 1904), I, 164.

¹⁴³ The Duke of Norfolk also joined the Hampden Club, but not at the same time as Byron, he was not a charter member.

¹⁴⁴ Even on this their favorite question the Whigs had lost the initiative to the young Tories, Canning in Commons and Wellesley in Lords. ¹⁴⁵ *L & J*, v, 431. Byron voted

¹⁴⁶ July 7, 10. ¹⁴⁷ *Corr*, I, 102.

¹⁴⁸ "The Jerseys, Melbournes, Cowpers, and Hollands" *L & J*, II, 163–164.

¹⁴⁹ Byron first stayed at a "sordid inn" but was soon ensconced in the Hollands' house.

while to be "quiet and alone without any wish to add to my acquaintances "

Thus ended the first canto of Childe Byron's siege of London Straitened circumstances and the youthful sympathies nourished at Harrow and Cambridge in the aftermath of the French Revolution had combined to develop his rebellious inclinations; yet, arriving in London eager to crown his aristocratic ambition with a rapid oratorical success, he had willingly adapted himself to the discipline of party leaders, attending every major debate in Lords and probably in Commons, meeting dutifully with the Whig caucus. And, in his own eyes at least, he had failed. He had obligingly choked in the printer's shop the impertinent satires intended for publication, but he had been unable to refrain from speaking out with an earnest Radical impudence. Unsupported in his impatience (having ripened too soon for his slower Cambridge friends, Radicals of the future) and in his political defiance, unattracted by the "petty intrigues of cabinets, or the pettier factions and contests for power among parliamentary men"¹⁵⁰ which preoccupied the Whigs—"What should I have known or written," he exclaimed eight years later, "had I been a quiet, mercantile politician, or a lord in waiting?"—he had made the most of the sudden flattery of Society, only to encounter, on embracing its most exotic rose, the sharp thorns of madness scandal, torment He had enlisted with the "respectable" wing of the Reformers, only to find their fire gone out—for the season, at least Resting in Cheltenham, he resorted again to satire—not now with the voice of Minerva cursing the deeds of empire, nor as a son of Lud lambasting the framers of death bills, but as "a country Gentleman of a midland county," one Horace Hornem, who "might have been a Parliament-man," who was diverted by London Society, and who now thanked its goddess, "Seductive Waltz," for having ruined his hopes of "domestic happiness "

The author of *The Waltz* ("Horace Hornem") touches with withering lightness upon the mummeries of the recent parliamentary session—new laws (the Frame Bill), new coins, new wars (with the United States), new mistresses, Moira's negotiations—yet the butt of his attack is the Voluptuous Goddess, symbol of the social "dissipations" that had both seduced him and, in the person of Caroline, made a fool of him.

In this humor he ingenuously returned to the simple opportunism of the previous autumn He now possessed the necessary connections he had lacked a year ago to promote a substantial marriage, he asked Lady Mel-

Lady Holland had left and Byron's acceptance of Lord Hollands' commission to do the Drury Lane address, which busied him for the next month, was a sort of return for obligations. See *Corr* , I, 71-72 ¹⁵⁰ Medwin, p 228

bourne to open negotiations with her virtuous and well-dowered niece; moreover, having found a purchaser for Newstead and hence not being in immediate need, Byron was in a favorable bargaining position:

I do not care at all [he could say] about sir R's [his prospective father-in-law's] involvements, for I think that with the command of floating capital which my late N[ewstead] business has put in my power, some arrangement might be made with *him* that might be advantageous to both, supposing this marriage could be effected.

His alternative plan, if the "marketable"¹⁵¹ girl were "disposed of to a better bidder,"¹⁵² was to invest his floating capital in the purchase of "the great tithes of 12,000 acres of waste" in Rochdale, or perhaps he might find some other marriageable female—"the very first woman who does not look as if she would spit in my face . . ."

Miss Milbanke's refusal, galling though it was, came as something of a relief. Rather than the desperate last resort of marriage, a sordid business affair at best, he secretly desired a genuine romance, such as had eluded him in Caroline's histrionics, his fancy now played among the various females of his immediate acquaintance with whom he was "falling in love as much as I can": "a new Juliet" soon to appear at Covent Garden, "an Italian songstress", "a Welsh seamstress", "my agent's wife and daughter", and "a picture of Buonaparte's Empress, who looks as fair and foolish as she is dark and diabolical." What he wanted, in short, was an Armida in the flesh, an enchantress who could really lure him into pleasant bowers far from the disappointing world of auctions and negotiations and routs.

Quite possibly, under cover of this promiscuous chatter of his letters to Lady Melbourne, adulterous negotiations were already proceeding between the weary Childe and the radiant sorceress of two score, Jane Elizabeth, Lady Oxford, who had been at Cheltenham all month with her miscellany and her obligingly retiring Earl. At any rate, by the end of the next month, October, Byron had gone off to their country home in Herefordshire with Lady Jane and her Potiphar, and he soon believed himself to be well secluded "in the 'bowers of Armida'" and "certainly . . . very much enchanted." Not only had he "completely rendered a renewal with C[aroline] next to impossible," but life with Armida was "infinitely more to [his] taste" than the scheme of marrying Annabella.

It is at this point that Byron's biographers, thinking of Lady Oxford as simply a kind and seductive autumnal beauty grateful for one last conquest which Byron was flattered to believe had been reserved for himself, have failed to detect the true irony of Byron's progress. Failing sufficient

¹⁵¹ See Preface to *The Waltz*

¹⁵² *Corr*, I, 82-88.

encouragement in his oratorical ambition, Byron had accepted poetic fame and the flattering but soon, thanks to Caroline, exasperating attentions of Whig society, at length hoping to escape further through precipitate flight into the sweet oblivion of Circean swinehood, he had run straight into the arms of a political conscience-keeper, a woman who "amid all her fascination" endeavored persistently to renew his senatorial ambition. But, he must have protested, they had told him he was no Orator. No matter, she insisted, as a member of Parliament and a believer in justice he had *duties*. Failing "glory" he could at least achieve "usefulness"; if not an orator, she would *make* him an advocate.¹⁵³ Although she was sincere in love, she was equally sincere in politics. They had not been a month at Eywood before she was sending him back into the world of duty—for she, surely, was responsible for his dashing off to the gathering of the clan at Lady Jersey's and thence to London for the opening week of the new Parliament, which he attended on the third and seventh of December.

It was precisely the realization that Jane *was not* willing to play the part of Armida that forced "doubly bitter" tears and a lugubrious lyric from this Rinaldo. She had "fondly sought" him, and he had been warmed by "truest, tenderest passion." But now she was changed,

she who not a thought disguises,
Whose love is as sincere as sweet,—

she was not false, but alas she was "fickle."¹⁵⁴

Actually Jane was only in her own way stirring him to duty, and when he returned shortly to report that nothing was buzzing yet in Parliament, she renewed her generous passion. It is true that she did much to lend credence to the Armida myth. It was she who remarked that they lived like the gods of Lucretius, she who had placed the painting of Armida and Rinaldo in Byron's bedroom. There was easeful, lulling magic in the combination of passion and domesticity provided at Eywood. But Jane had a weather eye on the political world, hoping to make Byron a party to the Radical cause. It was Byron and not she who argued in defeatist spirit that parliamentary battles were futile, it was he, disillusioned from the apparent ineffectiveness of his bold speeches among the "Lilliputian sophistries" of Whigs and Tories, who in anarchistic vein insisted that a civil war was necessary, though he saw no immediate prospect of one. Jane and her Radical conversation did much, we may be sure, to

¹⁵³ "There is a woman, who . . . always urged a man to usefulness or glory. . . [She] would have made me an advocate, if not an orator" *L & J*, II, 359

¹⁵⁴ "Thou art not false, but thou art fickle," November, 1812, is generally recognized as written to Lady Oxford, but the context has never been studied.

strengthen his political courage, although he had repaired to her bower with so much more faith in escape than in oratory that, after his partial efforts in 1813 under her direct tutelage, he abandoned active political life. Only years later, in circumstances which called for physical action promising tangible results, was he to undertake again an active political rôle—in Italy and Greece

The probable nature of Byron's relationship with Jane is revealed in the drama he wrote in 1821 of Sardanapalus, Hedonist monarch indolent in affairs of state, and his concubine Myrrha, beautiful but persuasive to duty. He stubbornly prefers "the anarchy of sloth"; she exhorts him to reestablish himself in "civic popular-love" and "glory",¹⁵⁵ he makes desperate trial—and fails, gloriously. Both Sardanapalus and Byron were secretly immensely flattered to have mistresses who, beneath their charming exteriors, maintained earnest political ideals. While Byron sought bowers of enchantment, his desire for senatorial glory still smouldered. He must have known before he went to Eywood—and even before Cheltenham—the irony of the situation: he must have recognized that in turning to Lady Oxford he was going to the inspirational center of "the democratical party" even while for his heart's balm he was fancying her in the rôle of Armida! In December upon hearing that Lady Holland was "not pleased with my present abode," he exclaimed: "no bad reason for liking it better myself."

How soon had the affair begun? Is the conjecture of E. Barrington correct that before Cheltenham, and even earlier than July, Byron was playing Lady Oxford against Lady Caroline?¹⁵⁶ Apparently not. For had Caroline detected any grounds for jealousy before she was spirited off to Ireland in September, she would certainly have made something of them in her *roman à clef*, *Glenarvon*; whereas in the novel, Lady Mandeville [Oxford] is "all kindness" to Carantha [Caroline] at the time,¹⁵⁷ and only at Mortanville Priory [Cheltenham or Eywood] does Glenarvon's [By-

¹⁵⁵ Cf. *Sardanapalus*, I iii

¹⁵⁶ In E. Barrington's *Glorious Apollo* (New York, 1929), pp. 77, 91–92, a novelized life of Byron, Sam Rogers is made to account for Caroline's hysterical behavior of July, 1812, by the gossip that Byron was spending "many days and hours" in the company of Lady Oxford and taking her to parties and routs. We know that Byron enraged Caroline by going to parties that month without her, but there is no evidence that he went with Lady Oxford. Sam Rogers' actual account mentions no names, does not even suggest there was any question of another woman. Moreover Rogers described the Byron-Lady Oxford affair as *news* in the following February. See Sir Herbert Maxwell, *Sir Charles Murray, a Memoir* (Edinburgh, 1898), p. 21.

¹⁵⁷ It is Glenarvon [Byron] who first breaks off, from imagined jealousy, and Lady Mandeville [Oxford] who comforts Carantha [Caroline]. *Glenarvon*, II, 212

ron's] new affair begin in earnest.¹⁵⁸ To Lady Melbourne in September Byron insisted that "It is not that I love another, but [that] I am tired of being a fool."¹⁵⁹

On the other hand, *Glenarvon* indicates that the peculiar, somewhat scandalizing friendship which had existed between Jane and Caroline as early as 1810¹⁶⁰ was flourishing in 1812, that Jane was of the party in March when Caroline and the others first saw and lionized Byron,¹⁶¹ and that when Caroline was in the throes of her affair with Byron, defying her own and her husband's anxious families, it was Jane who

generously came forward to sooth and to assist her. She appeared really attached to her, and at this time more even than at any former period, shewed her sincere and disinterested friendship; and yet she was the person Mrs. Seymour [Lady Bessborough] distrusted, and even Glenarvon [Byron] spoke of her with asperity and disdain.¹⁶²

Writing after the event, of course, Caroline is emphasizing the perfidy of her "disinterested" friend, yet it appears that at this point there was nothing tangible to suspect—"Mrs. Seymour" simply distrusting Jane on general grounds as a bad woman.¹⁶³ At the same time it is clear that circumstances were forcing Byron upon Lady Oxford's attention, and it may be supposed that as Byron broke away from the furious Caroline, he turned in a natural way to her understanding companion, although not thinking of her (sixteen years his senior) in an amatory way until some time later.

Plainly Byron had ample occasion to discover the reputation and the "philosophy" of this woman before choosing her as his Circe. He had followed the career of Burdett since 1809, and he knew undoubtedly of Jane's old liaison and continued friendship with Sir Francis, an affair revived in the stream of common gossip by the blackmail suit of the previous autumn.¹⁶⁴ He may at first have echoed the Holland House "asperity and disdain" concerning her, but we know that by June he had gravitated into the Burdett-Oxford political orbit, and circumstantial evi-

¹⁵⁸ See III, 49, 82, 94. Events of Cheltenham and Eywood are telescoped in the novel. Mortanville Priory represents at one point Cheltenham, at another, Eywood.

¹⁵⁹ *Corr*, I, 72.

¹⁶⁰ See *Letters of Harriet Countess Granville*, I, 4.

¹⁶¹ *Glenarvon*, II, 31, 46, 117-118.—She seems to be always with Caroline's entourage, but seldom in the foreground. See II, 46, 138, 167-168.

¹⁶² II, 198.

¹⁶³ If Caroline had known of any goings-on before she left England, Byron's caution to Lady Melbourne in late October would have been pointless. Lady Oxford had asked him "not to mention that we have met, to C[aroline]," and he warned Lady Melbourne, "You may say that we met at C[heltenham] or elsewhere,—anything but that we are *now* together." *Corr*, I, 95-96, October 20, 24, 1812.

¹⁶⁴ See M. W. Patterson, *Sir Francis Burdett and His Times 1770-1844* (London, 1931), I, 295-311, and Byron's reference to the affair, *Corr*, I, 171.

dence of the highest kind suggests that it was none other than Lady Jane herself who invited him in, recruiting him to the Hampden Club, June 8. It might possibly have been the obscure Hon. George O'Callaghan, the one Cambridge Whig Club member who is on the Hampden list—but O'Callaghan is never mentioned in Byron's correspondence or reminiscences; he has no recorded public career. It was not Burdett, although his name as president may have attracted Byron to the organization (and there is evidence Byron and Moore may have dined with him in March)¹⁶⁵ for he could hardly have invited him without planning to attend himself. Lady Jane, however, could well have sent him along with her husband, a charter member. That it was she who moved him is indicated by Byron's reminiscence that she was the political promptress who always "made him" do his duty, and by the fact that it was she, a few weeks later, who "made a push" to get Byron's crony, Hobhouse, to join.

Hobhouse's diary for this period must be quoted extensively for the light it sheds on the question of Byron's probable contacts with the Radicals. After noting, "*May 27.*— . . . Whigs coming in at last. *June 2.*—Whigs not coming in," Hobhouse was allowing the Radicals to woo him, even while he remained essentially unsympathetic. Although he frequently met Sir Francis and the Oxfords, who were laying siege to the younger Opposition men with a number of dinners and balls, Hobhouse in 1812 was vastly unenthusiastic about any of them except the Oxford females:¹⁶⁶

June 22—Dine at Reilly's. At night went to Lady Oxford's ball—pleasant night [Byron was in town and may well have gone]¹⁶⁷

June 24.—Dined at Lord Oxford's, met [not for the first time] Sir F Burdett, Rogers,¹⁶⁸ Monk Lewis, etc. Lady Jane Harley a delightful creature, but *un peu libre* . . . Lady Oxford most uncommon in her talk, and licentious—uncommonly civil, made a push to get me into the Hampden Club. For the first time in my life knew how to put off a question and civilly say, No [Perhaps just such an occasion led to Byron's joining, no great intimacy is implied]

June 27.— . . . I should certainly be in love with one of the miscellany [Lady Oxford's daughters] if I had £5,000 a year . . .

¹⁶⁵ Moore, p 122.—Byron to Moore, Friday [March 28?] "I must consult with you about the day we dine with Sir Francis" Sir Francis D'Ivernois, of the Alfred Club, might be the man, or Sir Philip Francis—although Sir Francis Burdett is most likely

¹⁶⁶ Although Byron had joined the Hampden Club, Hobhouse would not, and not till seven years later did he and Kinnaird help Burdett form the similar Radical Rota Club, which Byron joined *in absentia* Hobhouse, *Recollections*, II, 113.

¹⁶⁷ Byron was so frequently with Hobhouse in his daily adventures that the latter may sometimes have neglected to name him in his meager entries

¹⁶⁸ Was it perhaps on this or a similar occasion that Samuel Rogers received "a note from Lady—requesting the pleasure of my company on a particular evening, with a postscript, 'Pray, could you not contrive to bring Byron with you?'" *Table Talk*, p 230.

Dined with Sir Francis Burdett, a very large, and not at all a pleasant party [Was Byron present? Was Byron thinking of this and other Reform dinners of 1812-13 when he said, "I saw enough of them (Reformers) at the Hampden Club; Burdett is the only one of them in whose company a gentleman would be seen, unless at a public meeting, or in a public-house"?] . . .

June 30 — Heard bad news from Byron this day relative to his affair [with Caroline Lamb] . . .

July 8 — I called on Hanson, and had a full account of Lord Byron's affairs. Poor Newstead! Things are bad enough in that quarter . . . Byron went with me to my father's to-day at Whitton . . .

July 19 — Dined with Lord Byron and [George] Sinclair. . . .

July 23. — Dined at Lord Oxford's [Was Byron along?] Met Burdett, Ward (called "Conversation"), Lady Cork . . . Thornton, Bank director . . . Lord Arch Hamilton [Lady Oxford's lover, possibly not yet deposed] ¹⁶⁹ A very dull party. . . . Lady J. Harley told me she could say all Shakespeare by heart—she is a most surprising girl . . . ¹⁷⁰

Of possible significance during this same period is Lord Oxford's frequent attendance in Parliament, uncommon for him, in coincidence with that of Lord Byron; the record for June and July follows:

June 19 Byron	July 6 Byron & Oxford
29 Oxford	7 Byron & Oxford
30 Oxford	10 Byron & Oxford
July 1 Byron & Oxford	14 Byron & Oxford
3 Byron & Oxford	17 Oxford ¹⁷¹

General attendance, it is true, was high on most of these days; so that this may be only an accidental coincidence; yet it may be safely conjectured that Byron's renewed attendance in Parliament was stimulated in part by his new affiliation with a purposeful, if for the time quiet, minority.

Newspaper files disclose a further possible link between Byron and the Oxfords. On July 16 the Earl and Countess of Oxford were among the first dozen aristocrats to subscribe to the National Benevolent Institution, a scheme of private charity pensions for persons in "a state of abject though virtuous poverty." And on the following week Lord Byron's name was added to the list of subscribers. That the Oxfords' interest was

¹⁶⁹ "I was flattered," Byron told Medwin (pp 67-68), "at a preference that had led her to discard another, who in personal attractions and fashion was far my superior." Hamilton was handsome, but deaf.

¹⁷⁰ *Recollections*, I, 40-45 — The next entry touching Lady Oxford is: "January 12 [1813] — "Got a picture of Lady Oxford from Mrs Mee Lord B's money for it." *Ibid.*, I, 47.

¹⁷¹ *Lords Journal* In 1812 Lord Oxford was also present January 31, February 28, April 21 (Byron's speech), and May 1, 5, and 12. In 1813 February 22, March 2, 4, 12, and 23. Byron was also present March 4 and 12, 1813

not superficial is indicated by Lord Oxford's nomination to the small permanent committee of the Institution in September¹⁷²

More formidable evidence of Lady Oxford's rapprochement with Byron in the summer of 1812 is Dallas's conjecture that it was the "influence" of a "newly-made friend" (apparently female) that discouraged Byron from appearing in Court, after he had been temporarily impressed by the Prince Regent's compliments. Byron had met the Regent at Miss Johnson's ball on the 23d or 24th of June, and Dallas found him "in a full-dress court suit" ready to go to the levee at Carleton-house on July 7 (for that is the date of the only postponed levee of the summer) and only prevented by news of its postponement. Before the next levee (July 17) Byron's new love, according to Dallas, had diverted him from susceptibility to "royal praise." Of course any of his old or new friends representing the general drift of sympathy away from the Regent may have influenced him. Douglas Kinnaird, for instance, among Byron's closest friends, by June had shifted his sympathies from Regent to Princess of Wales.¹⁷³ Yet Dallas, writing of course after the event, distinctly had the impression that an unnameable "friend" *new* that summer (i.e. between his meeting the Prince and the next levee held) had exercised "flattery of a more congenial kind" to encourage Byron's "assumed philosophical [i.e. Radical]¹⁷⁴ contempt of royalty"¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² *Examiner*, v (1812), 463-464, 478, 495, 606 ¹⁷³ *Letters to "Ivy,"* p. 164

¹⁷⁴ Cp. *L & J*, vi, 101, Byron "it is necessary in the present clash of philosophy and tyranny, to throw away the scabbard"

¹⁷⁵ Dallas, III, 29-30, *L & J*, II, 125, 135 —We know the ball occurred during the week ending June 27. Samuel Smiles, *Memoir of John Murray* (London, 1891), I, 213. Byron on June 25 writes of it as "the other night." And it was apparently later than the June 23 levee, since that levee, like the only other June levees announced (12th and 19th), took place as announced. Cp. *London Gazette* and *London Packet* for the season. The next levee, announced in the *Gazette* of June 29, was to be held July 7, but on that day the King's illness was acute and the Prince visited him instead, apparently, of holding the levee. The next and last levee of the season was held July 17.

Under date of July 6, Byron wrote to Scott reporting the Prince's compliments at the ball and adding, in his last paragraph, "I never went to the levee." Did Byron proceed the following day to dress for the levee? We must conclude either that he mistook the date on which a levee was to be held and dressed for one some day between June 23 and July 7—perhaps on Friday (June 26 or July 3), the day levees had been held fairly regularly—or that he misdated the letter to Scott.

Some Biographers, such as Miss Raymond (p. 63), interpret Dallas as referring to "a new love who deterred [Byron] and instilled her own aversion to the Regent." Others, such as Prothero, supply the name of Thomas Moore. But Dallas's account is confused. On the one hand he clearly refers to a "newly made friend" and indicates that this influence was not operative until after a postponed levee following the meeting at the ball, that is some time in late June or July. On the other hand he mixes in a reference to Byron's "harsh verses" (apparently the "Tear" lines against the Regent done in March but not publicly ac-

Related to the question of Byron's Radical associations in 1812, there exists also a probability that he had begun to enjoy the hospitality of that Oppositionist among the royalty, Lady Oxford's "democratic" friend, the Princess of Wales, who wrote apparently in late May or June to her Lady-in-Waiting Charlotte Campbell:¹⁷⁶

Lord Byron did inquire for you also, I must not forget to mention He was all *couleur de rose* last evening, and very pleasant, he sat beside me at supper, and we were very merry, he is quite anoder man when he is *wid* people he like, and who like him, than he is when he is *wid* oders who do not please him so well [e g Caroline Lamb?] I always tell him there are two Lord Byrons, and when I invite him, I say, I ask the agreeable Lord, not the disagreeable one He take my plaisanterie all in good part, and I flatter myself I am rather a favorite with this great bard ¹⁷⁷

Although this passage could belong to a later period, it is most likely that Princess Caroline, who in 1812 was storming the Whigs with invitations, should have sent for the "great bard" soon after his burst of fame, Dallas, failing to mention dates, tells us that Caroline's daughter, the Princess Charlotte, had her copy of *Childe Harold* specially bound. Princess Caroline could have reached Byron through any of her intimates: Ward, Galt, or Drummond of the Alfred Club, or the ubiquitous Sam Rogers, or, of course, Lady Oxford.¹⁷⁸ Yet Byron's bachelor attentions to the Princess and the absence of reference to Lady Oxford in the above letter suggest that he may have joined the Princess's merry friends in the spring of 1812, even before he became acquainted with Lady Oxford ¹⁷⁹ In short,

knowledgeed till 1814), which he "believes" were "composed more to humor his new friend's passions than his own" If the influences of March and July were from the same source, it could hardly have been Lady Oxford—although Dallas, in recollection, could have thought so. If, howe ver, these are two separate matters, connected only in Dallas's mind, then the "friend" of July, whose identification in Dallas is chastely obscured by three rows of asterisks, may well have been Lady Oxford, although the case is thin Miss Raymond's account (p 63) of Byron's relations with the Regent is based on a vagueness in dates

¹⁷⁶ Date conjectural—from the evidence that Byron was well enough acquainted at Kensington to inquire after the Princess's attendant, whom he could have met in April or May, her period of attendance

¹⁷⁷ *The Court of England under George IV, founded on a diary* [by Lady Charlotte Campbell Bury] (London, 1896), II, 239 This letter, like so many in the Bury collection, is a composite The first portion, dated February, 1810, by inscription and internal evidence, belongs to a time when Byron was in Greece and is obviously unrelated to the second portion, quoted above

¹⁷⁸ Perhaps Jane's activity is indicated in the fact that Princess Caroline and her daughter became Patronesses of the Benevolent Society at the same time that Byron subscribed

¹⁷⁹ Only once again in the Bury diary and correspondence is Byron referred to without mention of Lady Oxford—in a passage of April 24, 1814 *Op cit*, II, 272. The quotation

for a glamorous young rebel in Regency London to have escaped both Scylla and Charybdis he must have had both eyes and ears sealed. But again the classical allusion is inept: neither of these women was a de-vouress. Beneath the "very merry" suppers of one and the autumnal passion of the other lay the Radical cause and conscience. Both women endeavored to draw Byron into their serious political concerns, it was he who preferred to bask in the merriment and enchantment

Nevertheless we must not suppose that he was indifferent to the prospect of a mistress who talked politics or that he did not welcome her encouragement of his senatorial duties, even though he despaired of success. He condemned, when it was over, his more frivolous romance with Caroline Lamb as responsible for a year's "waste of time" and for "the destruction of all my plans last winter."

In 1813, after a quiet winter, Byron half-heartedly began again to attend Parliament, going down thrice in February, twice in March, once in May, thrice in June, and once in July, his attendance roughly corresponding with Lady Oxford's presence in town. At the end of March, when she was away, he wrote to his sister:

I have no connections to domesticate with. . . . I cannot fortune-hunt, nor afford to marry without a fortune. My parliamentary schemes are not much to my taste—I spoke twice last Session, and was told it was well enough, but I hate the thing altogether, and have no intention to "strut another hour" on that stage. I am thus wasting the best part of life, daily repenting and never amending.

But in June when Jane was with him again, he did speak once more.

This third speech was Radical not merely in tone but in origin, being a presentation and defense of a petition from the Hampden Club organizer

above could belong to 1814, although it seems written when the acquaintance was fairly new.

A puzzling letter that may belong to 1812 is the following from the Princess to Lady Campbell [Bury]: "Lady Oxford has no thought but for Lord B——. I wonder if she will succeed in captivating him. She *can* be very agreeable when she pleases, but she has not pleased to come near me this long time past, she has quite forgotten that Kensington Palace used to be a convenient place to see certain folks, and be seen by them. . . ." II, 255

The last lines imply that Byron is now on view at Kensington, but not necessarily that Lady Oxford has previously seen *him* there; she used frequently to see other lovers there, Lord Hamilton and Lord Gower. The only dated record of Lady Oxford's visiting the Princess in 1812 is that of May 13. I, 163. If the letter belongs to that summer, then Jane's interest in Byron must have been evident enough for gossip to have reached the Princess. It won't fit into any of the time that Jane and Byron were together at Cheltenham and Eywood—which brings us to January, 1813, when the Princess knew well that Byron *was* captivated. The possibility remains that the letter belongs to late spring 1813, with "captivate" in the sense of "recapture"—except that it seems to have been Jane and not Byron who then became "fickle."

and Reform missionary, Major Cartwright. Byron spoke as a lone wolf, and was attacked not only by Sidmouth but by the Moderate Whigs, Lauderdale (he who had entered, withdrawn, and reentered the protest supporting Byron against the Frame Bill the previous year) and Norfolk (he who had snored at the Grenville caucus)¹⁸⁰ With this speech there was born a Radical in the House of Lords, and to his support arose Earl Stanhope, one-time "comrade" of Major Cartwright and still the "Ishmael" of the Upper House.¹⁸¹ But it was a stillbirth. A few weeks later Lady Oxford left England, and Byron apathetically tortured himself with the thought that, "had she remained, she would have been my tutelary genius."

The misery he felt at her departure ("I feel more *Carolinish* about her than I expected") was the result of many thwarted hopes. On the one hand there were no more pseudo-Armidan bowers and no women to lead him to any *genuine* forgetfulness, blindly seeking the latter he was to pursue the mutually destructive courses of marriage for spite and convenience and incest for rebellion and comfort. On the other hand there was no one to urge him on in Parliament, and he was to relapse with increasing conviction into his mood of defeatism and anarchism:

All I like is now gone, and all I abhor (with some few exceptions) remains, viz the R[egent], his government, and most of his subjects. What a fool I was to come back! I shall be wiser next time, unless there is a prospect of alteration in the whole system

He who had come to London two years before, a Rinaldo of a sort, ready for Success and Glory—but not for failure or a long battle—now, having subsided, resorted to the dull "dissipation" of the lost generation of unproductive wits who sat about the tavern or Holland House with "poor dear old Sherry" and talked nostalgically of "all the agitators of other times. . . ." By the summer of 1814 Byron, Hobhouse, and Kinnaid were dining frequently with Burdett and other Radicals, but all were bored and grumbling at life.¹⁸²

Now he knew them all—they were all "good men and true," but defunct or hibernating. Across the channel Napoleon was tottering in his last not-so-glorious defeat. The Dutch burghers were said to be staging a Revolution. Byron itched to be on the spot, but when Ward would not go with him his eagerness flagged. Gloom even touched the merry parties of the Princess:

¹⁸⁰ In May Cartwright had tried without success to get Whitbread to present his petition in the House of Commons. *Life of Cartwright*, II, 56. ¹⁸¹ *Life of Stanhope*, p. 189.

¹⁸² See Byron's Journal, November, 1813, to April, 1814, *passim*; Hobhouse, *Recollections*, *passim*, and Patteison, II, 408.

I was once in company with the late Queen Caroline [recalled Byron in *Mis-solonghi*], I was sitting on her right hand, and another young nobleman was sitting on her left. All of a sudden she burst into tears, and I never could divine the cause ¹⁸³

If evidence were wanting that Byron's central ambition in 1811-12 had been to do great things in Parliament, we need only observe the reasons he gave in the autumn of 1813 for his "indifference," annoyance, and despair. The Whig aristocrats with whom he dissipated he regarded as

all the refuse of the Regent and the Red Book—Bedfords, Jerseys, Ossulstones, Greys, and the like the women tied back to back upon half a dozen wool-sacks [as the Lord Chancellor's seat in Parliament was called] hating each other and talking, and the men sprinkled round the corners in dull duets. Rogers fell to my share, and we abused everybody .

And this is what annoys one, to see Scott and Moore, and Campbell and Rogers [add and Byron], who might have all been agents and leaders, now mere spectators. For, though they have other ostensible avocations, these last are reduced to a secondary consideration .

If I had any views in this country, they would probably be parliamentary . .

'Tis said *Indifference* marks the present time,

Then hear the reason [he scribbled] . .

A king who *can't*, a Prince of Wales who *don't*

Patriots [Reformers, or Whigs] who *sha'n't*, and Ministers who *won't*,

What matters who are *in* or *out* of place,

The *Mad*, the *Bad*, the *Useless*, or the *Base*? . .

I prefer the talents of action—of war, or *the senate*, or even of science. . . Dis-gust and *perhaps incapacity* have rendered me now a *mere spectator* [*vide supra*], but I have occasionally mixed in the active and tumultuous departments of existence, and *in these alone* my recollection rests with any *satisfaction*, though not the best parts of it ¹⁸⁴

Having begun with the Whigs, he would "go on with them" "because it would not be honourable to act otherwise,"¹⁸⁵ but he could "adhere" to that party only on a basis of "indifference on the subject altogether." He began to take up pugilism again, finding at least physical release in this diversion. Here he was joined by his old friend, the Whitbreadite Lord Althorp, who was likewise bored by the "indifference" and the "mummeries" of Parliament. Althorp's career at this point strikes an illuminating parallel to Byron's own:

Except a single speech . . . against the leather tax, Lord Althorp took no part in the debates of 1812, and, I suspect, very seldom attended them [writes his

¹⁸³ William Parry, *The Last Days of Lord Byron* (Paris, 1826), p. 174

¹⁸⁴ Quotations from *Corr.*, I, 162, *L & J*, II, 338, *Corr.*, I, 182; *L & J*, III, 405 —My italics in the last paragraph. ¹⁸⁵ *L & J*, II, 381

biographer] His zeal for Catholic emancipation, which never flagged . . . alone brought him down to vote for Mr Grattan's Bill, which after a gleam of success, was defeated on the First Reading I can find his name in no other division He was, in fact, becoming weary of politics The unexpected turn of events, both in Russia and Spain, unfavourable to Napoleon, gave almost absolute power to the Ministers Parliament did scarcely more than register their edicts, and as this was an occupation little to his taste, he gradually ceased to attend the House, unless he happened to be called there by the business of constituents

This estrangement from politics left more time [for boxing] He had many matches with his schoolfellow, Lord Byron, with whom it appears to have been, at this time, a favourite pursuit ¹⁸⁶

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¹⁸⁶ LeMarchant, pp 139-140 See *Corr* , i, 217, November 25, 1813 "Yesterday I dined with the patrons of pugilism, and some of the *professors*, who amused me almost as much "

XVI

BROWNING'S LITERARY REPUTATION AT OXFORD 1855-1859

IN an article published in *ELH*¹ I attempted to describe the intense admiration for Browning that existed in Pre-Raphaelite circles during the years 1847-56, and to suggest the importance of this admiration in furthering the growth of Browning's literary reputation. I pointed out that the proselytizing zeal of Dante Gabriel Rossetti was the chief source for the enthusiasm of his friends, and that the Browning worship of the whole group of Pre-Raphaelites reached its height at the time of the publication of *Men and Women* in 1855. In the present article I propose to trace the influence of Rossetti in kindling devotion to Browning's poetry, especially *Men and Women*, among certain Oxford undergraduates in the years immediately after the publication of *Men and Women*, and to draw conclusions about the significance of this in the story of Browning's gradual advance to fame.

Edward Burne-Jones (1833-98) was twenty and William Morris (1834-96) nineteen when they first became friends as undergraduates at Oxford in 1853. At this time they were intending to take holy orders, and for both Tennyson was the top-poet, any other poet except Shakespeare seeming to Burne-Jones unreal in comparison.² But at this time, also, neither had made those contacts that were to determine their future lives. Morris and Burne-Jones became leading spirits in a group of Oxonians who gradually formed themselves into a set that used to meet together to discuss artistic and literary matters, and finally came to call themselves, quite probably after the Pre-Raphaelites, the Brotherhood.³ Among the members were Edwin Hatch,⁴ Lushington, and R. W. Dixon.⁵ This was the set, along with a few young men from Cambridge, who in 1856 published *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*.⁶ Both Rossetti and Morris contributed poems to it, and it was full of the influence of Rossetti, Ruskin, and Browning. Such a clique was a very potent agency for spreading Browning's fame.

Burne-Jones has left us a description of what was probably his first contact with the Pre-Raphaelite Browning enthusiasm. It was his first meeting with Rossetti, who had recently become an object of idolatry to

¹ "What Browning's Literary Reputation owed to the Pre-Raphaelites, 1847-1856," *ELH* VIII, 305-321

² Georgiana Burne-Jones, *Memorial of Edward Burne-Jones* (New York, 1904), I, 76-77, J. W. Mackail, *The Life of William Morris* (London, 1899), I, 46

³ Georgiana Burne-Jones, *op. cit.*, I, 115 ff ⁴ *D. N. B.* under Hatch

⁵ *D. N. B.* under Dixon ⁶ Georgiana Burne-Jones, *op. cit.*, I, 130.

him and his friends. Burne-Jones was in such a state of excitement that whatever the chief of the Pre-Raphaelites had said on the occasion would have made a profound impression on him. As it happened Rossetti came forth with a burning and memorable defense of Browning, and therefore once again struck a stalwart blow for the advancement of his fame:

About ten o'clock, I went to Lushington's rooms where was a company of men . . . I remember Saffi was there, and Rossetti's brother William, and by and bye Rossetti came, and I was taken up to him and had my first fearful talk with him. Browning's "Men and Women" had just been published a few days before, and someone speaking disrespectfully of that book was rent in pieces at once for his pains, and was dumb for the rest of the evening—so that I saw my hero could be a tyrant and I thought it sat finely upon him.⁷

Burne-Jones, then, first met him when Rossetti's greatest love and admiration for Browning were still upon him, it is small wonder that he also soon caught the Browning fever and that in August 1856 the exclusive Tennysonian of 1853 was writing exultantly:

We (meaning Morris and himself) know Rossetti now as a daily friend, and we know Browning too, who is the greatest poet alive, and we know Arthur Hughes, and Woolner, and Madox Brown.⁸

So it was that Pre-Raphaelite influence and hence Browning's fame entered Oxford.

In 1857 in a letter to Miss Charlotte Salt of Birmingham, Burne-Jones is shown following the example set by other young Browning enthusiasts like Rossetti, Woolner, and James Thomson⁹ in the proselytizing of a female friend for Browning.

You won't at first like him much perhaps, he is too different from anyone else to be liked at first sight by most, but he is the deepest and intensest of all poets—writes lower down in the dark heart of things—rises up to the seemingly clear surface less often. Oh, how ten lines of him help one . . . as if old Browning sat continually at the roots of human life and saw all things.¹⁰

William Morris was an equally convinced Browningite at this time. His poetry, like that of other Browning enthusiasts, James Thomson, Rossetti, and Swinburne, was deeply influenced by Browning's. Mackail in his *Life of Morris* tells an interesting story in connection with the *Defense of Guenevere*.¹¹ Morris read this poem, before it was published, to a friend, who then asked in whose style it was written. Morris replied,

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 128-129

⁸ Mackail, *op cit.*, I, 108. See also Georgiana Burne-Jones, *op cit.*, I, 139

⁹ H. S. Salt, *The Life of James Thomson* (London, 1889), pp. 8, 22, 31-32 "you will probably not care for these poems at first, but they are worth your study," etc.

¹⁰ Georgiana Burne-Jones, *op cit.*, I, 153.

¹¹ Mackail, *op cit.*, I, 131-132

"More like Browning than any one else, I suppose " Many of the poems in Morris's 1858 volume show the influence of Browning, especially *Sir Peter Harpdon's End* Browning must have felt this affinity, for he was unusually enthusiastic about Morris's poetry¹² He took pains also that his opinions should reach Morris's ears, for as in the case of other young admirers Browning knew how to respond to, repay, and hold Morris's affection¹³

In 1856 Morris wrote for *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*¹⁴ the only piece of literary criticism he ever voluntarily wrote, a review of *Men and Women*,¹⁵ almost unique among the reviews of Browning for the emphasis it lays on the magical, musical, gay, and romantic elements in Browning. Morris is glowingly eager to praise, and finds all manner of beauty and truth, attractiveness, perfection, and grandeur in the poems. The wrath of the initiate is also visible Morris confesses that while he wrote angry words came to his lips at the thought of Browning's unpopularity and the unjust charges that were being leveled at him. In this review Morris was unable to make up his mind which of the two, Browning or Tennyson, was the first poet of the day, but in a letter written in the same year he expresses the orthodox Pre-Raphaelite dogma that Browning was the greatest poet alive¹⁶

Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837-1909) was a Browningite, and the history of his opinion of Browning is more voluminously documented than almost any other admirer's except Dowden's, and more spicy than any other except Carlyle's and Rossetti's. It is interesting to speculate on the means through which he became infected with the Browning fever. If not through Paulina Lady Trevelyan, William Bell Scott, or Ruskin, three Browningites¹⁷ under whose influence Swinburne had come before he went to Oxford, then certainly through his friends at Oxford, where in 1856 Swinburne entered Balliol College. In November, 1856, at a time when members of the Brotherhood were beginning to drift away from Oxford, a younger generation of undergraduates was forming itself into a company called Old Mortality, patterned somewhat after the two older

¹² *Ibid.*, I, 133, *Ruskin · Rossetti. PreRaphaelitism Papers 1854 to 1862*, ed W M. Rossetti (New York, 1899), p 219

¹³ *Rossetti Papers 1862 to 1870*, ed W M Rossetti (London, 1903), p 299, Mackail, *op cit*, I, 133

¹⁴ William Morris, *Men and Women, Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, I (1856), 162 ff.

¹⁵ Mackail, *op cit*, I, 91-92

¹⁶ R G Watkin, *Robert Browning and the English Pre-Raphaelites* (Breslau, 1905), p. 9, Mackail, *op cit*, I, 58, 219

¹⁷ Amy Woolner, *Thomas Woolner, R A Sculptor and Poet* (New York, 1917), p 126, Georges Lafourcade, *La Jeunesse de Swinburne (1837-1867)* (Paris, 1928), I, 105 ff ; Edmund Gosse, *Life of Algernon Charles Swinburne* (New York, 1917), pp. 40, 47.

Pre-Raphaelite-Browningite groups, and with a membership of six at first, including Swinburne, A. V. Dicey, G. B. Hill, and John Nichol, in whose rooms they first met, and who dominated the group.¹⁸

John Nichol (1833-94) came to Oxford in 1855 from "advanced" intellectual circles of Glasgow after four years at the university there. Swinburne held him in awe and respect, and was enormously influenced by him. Nichol was a thorough Browningite, according to Gosse almost the only one in Oxford at the time,¹⁹ and according to Dr. A. W. Ward, quondam Master of Peterhouse, preeminently instrumental in the popularization of Browning.²⁰ These two statements are exaggerated, but there is evidence in his available extant writings of an admiration for Browning. In an article in *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* in 1856 he praised the lilt of *Evelyn Hope* and of the *Patriot*, and asserted that "Browning's 'Blot on the Scutcheon' and 'Pippa Passes' alone would prevent us from despairing of some revival of our Drama."²¹ In an article in the *Westminster Review* for October, 1859, he spoke of the "gorgeous writing" in the forest storm-scene of Tennyson's *Vivian*, and said "The only description we know to compare with it in recent poetry is that of the storm which breaks over Sebald and Ottima in Browning's 'Pippa Passes'."²² Enough evidence has been brought forward here to indicate another source whereby Swinburne might have become inspired with an enthusiasm for Browning. It is certainly true that Swinburne and Nichol discussed Browning in their letters.²³

Old Mortality began to acquire a solid reputation. They drank, "des bruits atroces circulaient sur leur compte dans l'Université."²⁴ It became a considerable distinction to belong,²⁵ and about twenty-eight new members were subsequently taken in,²⁶ including Walter Pater and J. A. Symonds, both of whom entered Oxford about the time that Nichol and Swinburne were leaving and both of whom were affected by the Browning enthusiasm.²⁷ T. H. Green,²⁸ the philosopher who had such a fundamental

¹⁸ Lafourcade, *op cit*, I, 123 ff., H. A. L. Fisher, *James Bryce* (New York, 1927), I, 48-49, Gosse, *op cit*, pp. 38 ff., *D N B* under R. W. Dixon, G. B. Hill, John Nichol, and Swinburne. ¹⁹ Gosse, *op cit*, p. 56. ²⁰ *D N B* under Nichol.

²¹ John Nichol, *Fragments of Criticism* (Edinburgh, 1860), pp. 92, 99.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 159. See also *ibid.*, pp. 76, 88, for further examples of Nichol's Browning enthusiasm.

²³ Lafourcade, *op cit*, II, 160. Nichol became an influential professor of English literature at Glasgow 1862-89, and one wonders how much he may have helped to foster the unusual Scottish enthusiasm for Browning. ²⁴ Lafourcade, *op cit*, I, 125.

²⁵ Gosse, *op cit*, pp. 38-39. ²⁶ Fisher, *loc cit.*

²⁷ I shall discuss Pater's Browning enthusiasm later in this paper, for Symonds's interest in Browning commencing with his undergraduate days at Oxford see H. F. Brown, *John Addington Symonds: A Biography* (London, 1895), I, 187, and the attractive, well-written,

influence in Oxford, and the future Lord Bryce were also included. Admiration for Browning soon became a part of the creed of these young men as it was in similar groups where the influence of Rossetti made itself felt. Early in 1857 Hill said that "they were a revolutionary set and read Browning"²⁹ A. V. Dicey, against whom in 1858 Swinburne wrote a diatribe to Nichol for not liking Browning sufficiently,³⁰ recalled that Swinburne read aloud among other things at their meetings Browning's *The Statue and the Bust* and *The Heretic's Tragedy*, and *The Defense of Guenevere* by Morris, a significant combination.³¹ This tends to verify the picturesque story that Gosse claims to have heard from Lord Bryce.

Lord Bryce remembers a meeting in Swinburne's room in 1858, at which the host read Browning's essay prefixed to the forged *Letters* of Shelley, and afterwards repeated, or rather chanted, to his friends a few of Browning's poems, in particular "The Statue and the Bust," "The Heretic's Tragedy," and "Bishop Blougram's Apology." Of those present only Swinburne himself and Nichol had, so far as Lord Bryce can recall, ever read any of Browning's poems. Two or three years later everybody was reading them.³²

Swinburne was equally intimate and somewhat more at home with that more strictly Pre-Raphaelite group of Browningites at the University, with the survivors, former members, and friends of the Brotherhood. Throughout 1856 he had read with care *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*.³³ Then Hill of Old Mortality introduced him to Edwin Hatch of the Brotherhood,³⁴ with whom Swinburne discussed Browning later by letter. Thus gradually Swinburne was moving closer to a meeting with the leading personalities of Pre-Raphaelitism. In November, 1857, in Hill's room, Edwin Hatch introduced Swinburne to Morris, Burne-Jones, and Rossetti, who were then still at the height of their enthusiasm for Browning kindled by *Men and Women*, and who were to have a very great influence on Swinburne.³⁵ Lafourcade makes the point that during the years just after Swinburne's withdrawal from Oxford Rossetti caused

and intelligent short appreciations of Browning by Symonds in *Academy*, VII (1875), 389-390; VIII (1875), 543-544, XII (1877), 419-420, and in *Macmillan's Magazine*, XIX (1868-69), 258-262. See also Browning in index of *Letters and Papers of John Addington Symonds*, ed. H. F. Brown (New York, 1923).

²⁹ For a public expression by T. H. Green in 1877 of admiration for Browning see Mrs. Sutherland Orr, *Life and Letters of Robert Browning* (Boston, 1891), II, 450.

³⁰ Lafourcade, *op cit*, I, 125-126.

³¹ *Ibid*, II, 160.

³² *Ibid*, I, 125.

³³ Gosse, *op cit*, pp. 39-40.

³⁴ Lafourcade, *op cit*, I, 119.

³⁵ *Ibid*, I, 120.

³⁵ Rossetti had returned to Oxford to paint the frescoes at the Oxford Union, and brought with him in addition to Morris and Burne-Jones such stalwart Browningites as Arthur Hughes and Alexander Munro. This group was in Oxford from about June 1857 to February 1858 and by their influence doubtless did much to further Browning's cause in the University. See Lafourcade, *op cit*, pp. 133-148.

Swinburne to share in his enthusiasm for his favorite books, and that the poems of Browning that Swinburne admired especially were *Sordello*, *Pauline*, and *Paracelsus*, "les préférés de Rossetti"³⁶

The influence of Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelites on Swinburne's attitude toward Browning may be clearly seen in an amusing letter he wrote to Hatch on February 17, 1858:

I long to be with you by firelight between the sunset and the sea to have talk of *Sordello*, it is one of my canonical scriptures Does he sleep and forget? I think yes Did the first time Palma's mouth trembled to touch his in the golden rose-lands of Paradise, a sudden power of angelic action come over him? I suspect, not utterly companionless. Sometimes one knows—not now but I suppose he slept years off before she kissed him In Heaven she grew too tired and thin to sing well, and her face grew whiter than its aureole with pain and want of him And if, like the other Saint, she wept, the tears fell upon his shut lids and fretted the eyes apart as they trickled Who knows these matters? Only we keep the honey-stain of hair I write more folly to you than I dare read over³⁷

It becomes obvious what it meant for Browning to be taken up by the æsthetic movement; and that æsthetes were going to mouth all sorts of nonsense about him. There is in this revealing letter a prophetic hint not only of Walter Pater, but even of Oscar Wilde It makes clear the connection between Swinburne's Browning enthusiasm and his friendship for Pre-Raphaelites He calls *Sordello* "one of my canonical scriptures"; and this poem as long ago as 1847 had been the Bible of the Pre-Raphaelites and their disciples. The whole poem is interpreted and expressed here in an atmosphere heavy with Pre-Raphaelitism Like Rossetti and Morris at the dawn of their Browning enthusiasm Swinburne immediately began, and continued, to write poetry in which there is evidence of a fascination for and close familiarity with Browning's style.³⁸

Another member of the Old Mortality whose relation to Browning I must discuss is Walter Pater (1839-94) Pater occupies an important place in the main stream of the history of Browning's reputation; the influence of Rossetti and Ruskin is strong within him, and brings with it, as in so many other cases, a devotion to Browning as one of its hall-marks Pater entered Oxford in 1858 Like Swinburne and Morris he had read Ruskin, especially *Modern Painters* wherein was Ruskin's famous passage on Browning. He was coached and influenced by Jowett, who was accustomed to read Browning aloud sometimes with undergraduate

³⁶ *Ibid*, I, 139, 163 ³⁷ Gosse, *op cit*, p. 55

³⁸ Harold Nicholson, *Swinburne* (New York, 1926), p. 62, Lafourcade, *op cit*, II, 142-143, 160, Paul de Reul, *L'Œuvre de Swinburne* (Bruxelles, 1922), p. 370

friends, and who within seven years was to become a close and serviceable friend of Browning's³⁹

Pater's friend Moorhouse remembered "many a vigorous discussion" with Pater at Oxford about 1859,

about Robert Browning's poems, "Men and Women," in which I was surprised to find a meaning, when Pater professed he could not. He set it down to my having been in love which he had never been. My knowledge of music also helped me to give him the clue to "Master Hugues of Saxe Gotha" and "A Toccata of Galuppi's."⁴⁰

For many years after this Pater continued to speak⁴¹ and write about Browning in words that echo Rossetti and many another Pre-Raphaelite, and Browning continued to seem to him "one of my best loved writers,"⁴² "second among English poets to Shakespeare," "a master of all the arts of poetry," and "the most modern of poets."⁴³ But in all the appropriate and high praise that Pater was to shower on him through thirty years it was of the Browning of his first enthusiasm that he thought. For Pater did not like Browning's later work, to him *Pippa* was Browning's "most perfect piece of work," and *Men and Women*, "as they formerly stood," his "most delightful volumes." He regretted that "in the later collected edition of the works these two magical old volumes are broken up and scattered under other headings." He came to think that the ideal Browning "would have for his entire structural type those two volumes of *Men and Women* with *Pippa Passes*."⁴⁴ This nostalgia for the early poems, for the poems of their bright youth and most eager enthusiasm, is not uncommon among the admirers of Browning, and serves to emphasize the

³⁹ Jowett was an important Browningite and had a great influence on Browning's career in Oxford. The most important instances of his influence belong to a period beyond the present discussion, but his interest in Browning had already begun. He read or discussed Browning with his students. See H. F. Brown, *op. cit.*, I, 187; E. Abbott and L. Campbell, *Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett, M. A.* 2nd ed. (London, 1897), I, 402, II, 354-355; Swinburne, "Recollections of Professor Jowett," in *Studies in Prose and Poetry* (London, 1897), pp. 35 ff. After 1865 Jowett kept inviting Browning down to Oxford to show him off to undergraduates (E. F. Benson, *As We Were* [London, 1932], p. 148), and saw to it that Browning was showered with the highest academic honors. See *Letters of Robert Browning*, collected by T. J. Wise, ed. T. L. Hood (New Haven, 1933), p. 90; W. H. Griffin and H. C. Minchin, *The Life of Robert Browning* 3rd ed. (London, 1938), p. 238.

⁴⁰ Thomas Wright, *The Life of Walter Pater* (New York, 1907), p. 172.

⁴¹ See for example William Sharp, "Some Personal Reminiscences of Walter Pater," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXIV (1894), 803-804.

⁴² Arthur Symonds, "Some Browning Reminiscences," *North American Review*, CCIV (1916), 603.

⁴³ Walter Pater, Review of Symonds's *Introduction to the Study of Browning* in *The Guardian*, November 9, 1887. Reprinted in Pater's *Essays from 'The Guardian'* (Macmillan and Co., New York, 1928), pp. 42, 45.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-50.

fundamental importance of *Men and Women* in the history of Browning's reputation, and to throw into relief the deep impression that these two volumes made on Browning's readers through the eighteen fifties⁴⁵

Browning seems so alien to Pater's real nature, that it is interesting to speculate as to why Pater became a Browningite. A long passage on Browning in Pater's essay on Winckelmann published in 1867 in the *Westminster Review* provides us with a basis for speculation.⁴⁶ The Browning described in this passage is not alien to Pater, for just as Swinburne in 1858 had interpreted *Sordello* in Pre-Raphaelite fashion and made it the center of a Pre-Raphaelite fantasy, so Pater here has created something more like Pater and Pater's world than like Browning. It is not strange, then, that the æsthètes of Victorian England took up Browning with such eagerness, since they were able to recreate him into something harmonious with their own more delicate and exquisite temperament.

The winning over of Pater was of no small importance to the advancement of Browning's career, for Pater was to become the center of a band of devoted disciples, and to have his influence felt through the nation. Three of his disciples, William Sharp,⁴⁷ Arthur Symons,⁴⁸ and Oscar Wilde⁴⁹ were affected with the Browning fever, and corresponded or conversed with Pater about Browning's greatness. But these are matters beyond the scope of this essay.

I should like to suggest in closing that this entrance into Oxford of the Browning fever was of considerable importance in the growth of Browning's literary reputation. It was at Oxford about 1865 that Browning first became conscious of a large change that had taken place in his position,⁵⁰ and it was doubtless partly because the fashion was set at Oxford that the Browning fever spread to other British universities where it burned with tremendous ardor for many years.⁵¹ It was at Oxford, also,

⁴⁵ See for example Thomas Wright, *The Life of John Payne* (London, 1919), p. 14. John Payne, who became acquainted with Browning's poetry about 1859, said late in life that "Browning was the delight of my boyhood, and I still treasure and love the two little volumes of the original edition (1855) of *Men and Women*, which, to my taste, contains all his worthiness." Many of Browning's early admirers turned against his later poems.

⁴⁶ Walter Pater, *The Renaissance* (Macmillan and Co., London, 1925), pp. 214-215.

⁴⁷ See Sharp, *loc cit*. Sharp wrote a life of Browning in 1890. See also F. R. G. Duckworth, *Browning, Background and Conflict* (New York, 1932), p. 56.

⁴⁸ See Symons, *loc cit*, and his *Introduction to the Study of Browning* (London, 1886), which he wrote when he was twenty-one. He says that he adored Browning "to the point of idolatry." See also F. R. G. Duckworth, *op cit*, p. 56.

⁴⁹ Thomas Wright, *The Life of Walter Pater*, I, 173, footnote. See also F. R. G. Duckworth, *op cit*, p. 52. Wilde said in true Pre-Raphaelite fashion that Browning was "the most Shakespearean creature since Shakespeare."⁵⁰ *Letters of R. B.*, p. 90.

⁵¹ Selected references that give some idea of British academic enthusiasm for Browning after this period are as follows.—Cambridge: Orr, *op cit*, II, 452; S. Colvin, "Some Personal

about the same time that a marked reaction against Tennyson set in⁵² and a related spurt occurred in the sale of Browning's poems⁵³ The enthusiasm here was very effective since it was so youthfully eager, organized in such a sensitive and limited microcosm, and so loudly articulate It was not, however, a sudden and surprising leap into popularity, as Browning thought, but the result of long preparation beginning during the years which I have described in this essay, and it was one other service that Browning owed in large measure to Dante Gabriel Rossetti. I have described in this essay the planting of the seed that blossomed later in the extraordinary series of honors that Oxford was to shower on Browning, the honorary degrees and the Balliol fellowship, the banquets and teas and adulation that were to warm Browning's heart during the brilliant days of his career⁵⁴ If the facts that I have set forth here and elsewhere are interpreted in the light that I believe to be correct, then we must revise somewhat our notions about the state of Browning's literary reputation in England in the years before the publication of *Dramatis Personae*.

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Recollections," *Scribner's Monthly*, LXVII (1920), 77-80 St Andrews Orr, *op cit*, II, 403, 454 Edinburgh R Masson, "Browning in Edinburgh," *Cornhill Magazine*, XXVI (1909), 226-240 Glasgow *Letters of Robert Browning to Miss Isa Blagden*, ed A J Armstrong (Waco, Texas, 1923), p 194, Orr, *op cit*, II, 453-454, Griffin and Minchin, *op cit*, p 238

⁵² Mackail, *op cit*, I, 44, Walter B Scott, *Tennyson and His Age, 1850-1875* (unpublished thesis in the Princeton University Library, 1934)

⁵³ *Letters of R B*, p 90 Aubrey de Vere in 1865 said that all at once Browning's poems "have leaped into popularity so great that I hear the young men at the Universities run after him more than Tennyson," *Letters to William Allingham* (London, 1911), p 175 C E Mallett, *A History of the University of Oxford* (New York, 1924-28), III, 368, suggests that by 1855 Browning was blazing into fame at Oxford

⁵⁴ For later examples of the Oxford Browning cult see *Letters of R B*, pp 107-109, 114-115, *Letters of R B to Miss I B*, pp 144-145, 151, 176, Orr, *op cit*, II, 449, Griffin and Minchin, *op cit*, p 271, Abbott and Campbell, *op cit*, I, 400-402, C E Mallett, *op cit*, III, 459

XVII

HAWTHORNE'S LITERARY THEORY

LIKE every original artist, Hawthorne may be approached in a variety of ways, and each of these ways will add something to the ultimate picture of his mind and art. Most of the work that scholars have done on Hawthorne, however, has been historical and biographical, and the result has been that Hawthorne the artist and thinker has been relegated to the background.¹ This is particularly regrettable when one remembers that he was the most complete artist of the New England renaissance, and in *The Scarlet Letter* the author of a book which as art transcends all other American novels. It is to fill out the contemporary conception of Hawthorne that his theory of art is here considered as it may be pieced together from allegory, preface, and chance remark. Focusing attention on his ideals in art makes certain the meaning of the prefaces, and an investigation of his doctrine of the artist gives an insight into his method of achieving his ideal. In brief, to study Hawthorne's literary theory is to discover the intellectual basis of his art, and to see his work from the inside is to arrive at a fresh sense of his intention. It was Goethe's conviction that the critic should first of all ask what the author had intended. If the following investigation makes for clarity, it should furnish an opportunity for a new appraisal of Nathaniel Hawthorne.

I Although Hawthorne's prefaces have been reprinted often, they are enigmatic considered in themselves. Before approaching them with understanding, it is necessary to be aware of Hawthorne's ideal in the use of imagination, his sense of the limitations of the novel, and his philosophy of art. For this reason "The Hall of Fantasy" (1843), written when Hawthorne was tiring of short fiction and contemplating the possibilities of the novel, is very important, however esoteric it may seem.

The most significant item in this allegory, perhaps, is one with which Hawthorne spends little time—"the rulers and demi-gods in the realm of imagination" in niches and on pedestals around the hall. They are Homer, Aesop, Dante, Ariosto, Rabelais, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, and Bunyan.^{1a} These figures, it will be seen, except for

¹ This paper was accepted before F. O. Matthiessen's chapters on Hawthorne in *American Renaissance* were available for consideration.

^{1a} *Works*, iv, p. 241, "The Hall of Fantasy." All references in this paper are to *The Complete Writings of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, Old Manse edition (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1900). This edition is more nearly complete than the Riverside Hawthorne in the version of "The Hall of Fantasy" published in *The Pioneer* mentions Alcott, Bryant, Cooper, Emerson, and Poe, but his remarks are valuable chiefly from a biographical standpoint. See Harold P. Miller's article on the subject, "Hawthorne Surveys his Contemporaries," *American Literature* (May, 1940), pp. 228-235.

Aesop, Ariosto, and Bunyan, are those one would expect to find in any list of the masters of imagination. But to pass over the exceptions would be to throw away the key to the whole group. The presence of such a writer as Aesop indicates that the list was not merely arbitrary, and and suggests the common denominator of allegory and symbolism found in all Hawthorne, to be sure, does not call attention to the allegoric elements in Shakespeare or to Homer's story of Penelope's web, or to Circe's enchantments, which he retold in *A Wonder Book*,² but it seems more than likely that the smaller writers tell us the quality which he found particularly praiseworthy in the rest.

This fact is at the basis of Hawthorne's theory and practice. Hawthorne's originality, like that of every artist, consists in the adaptation he made of his preference, in the manner in which he passed from a center of admiration to a circumference of emulation; and it is in the realization of his point of departure that his theory takes on meaning. When he writes, for instance, that the world requires "a deeper moral, and a closer and homelier truth" than is supplied by Scott and Dickens,³ he has obviously in mind the rich spiritual significance of his favorites, Spenser, Milton, and Bunyan. This admiration for allegory is also doubtless behind the remark he made in his notebooks after seeing the pass of the Trossachs and realizing that Scott had handled the scene with considerable freedom. "Nature," he wrote, "is better no doubt, but Nature cannot be exactly reproduced on canvas or in print, and the artist's only resource is to substitute something that may stand instead of and suggest the truth."⁴

These statements, the first made in 1845, the second in 1857, come after Hawthorne had established his practice in *Twice-Told Tales*, and may be regarded as voicing the limitations he sensed from the first in conventional fiction. Taken together, they suggest in large measure his literary theory. Doubtless his life-long conviction was that which he put into the mouth of Hilda in *The Marble Faun*, that the highest merit of art is suggestiveness.⁵ He wished for something more subtle in respect to both content and form than was furnished by, let us say, *The Pickwick Papers*, and something more beautiful. "If art," he wrote, "had not strayed away from its legitimate paths and aims, it ought to soften and sweeten the

² *Works*, XIII, "Circe's Palace," pp. 366-410.

³ *Works*, V, "P's Correspondence," p. 178.

⁴ *Works*, XX, pp. 402-403, *Notes of Travel*, II.

⁵ *Works*, X, p. 237, *The Marble Faun*, II. See, for instance, *Works*, VII, p. xxiii, "Author's Preface," *The House of The Seven Gables*. "When romances do really teach anything, or produce any effective operation, it is usually through a far more subtle process than the ostensible one."

lives of its worshippers, in even a more exquisite degree than the contemplation of natural objects."⁶

Much has been said of Hawthorne's preoccupation with moral truths; not enough of the insistence on beauty implied in this last quotation. It is sometimes forgotten that Hawthorne entitled his chief allegory on art "The Artist of the Beautiful." Mrs. Hawthorne has undoubtedly caught her husband's spirit when she writes that he suffered from any failure in beauty, physical, moral or intellectual, and remarked one day with "infinite joy," taking a half-bloomed rose in his hand, "This is perfect. On earth a flower only can be perfect."⁷ Beauty alone seemed to him worthy of immortality,⁸ and beauty in his estimation was not a matter of size. It might be as perfectly developed in microscopic space "as within the ample verge that is measured by the arc of the rainbow."⁹ Its chief components seem to have been vitality and loftiness. Drowne's carvings, with the exception of his masterpiece, it will be remembered, show deficiency of no "attribute to render them really works of art, except that deep quality, be it of soul or intellect, which bestows life upon the lifeless and warmth upon the cold,"¹⁰ and Drowne receives Copley's praise only when like another Pygmalion he has made a living statue. In "Fancy's Show Box," Hawthorne indicated the high degree of vitality he desired by ascribing greater liveliness to the creative imagination than to the imagination of the criminal, since to give the reader a sense of reality, the writer must see his incidents more as truth than as fiction or daydream not likely to be executed.¹¹ But Hawthorne was not content merely with vitality. In "A Select Party," he compared the meteors that lighted the guests to "the brilliancy of a powerful yet chastened imagination—a light which seemed to hide whatever was unworthy to be noticed and give effect to every beautiful and noble attribute."¹² A sentiment similar to this, yet pointing even higher, occurs in *The Marble Faun* when Hawthorne likens Miriam's studio to a poet's imagination because of its "half developed hints of beings and objects grander and more beautiful than we can anywhere find in reality."¹³

This comparison reveals the final quality which distinguished Hawthorne's conception of art from that of the great English novelists. Subtlety, truth and beauty are noble ideals Hawthorne shared with other

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 184 ⁷ *Works*, xxi, pp. 267-268, *Notes of Travel*, III

⁸ *Works*, xviii, p. 441, *American Notebooks*

⁹ *Works*, v, p. 294, "The Artist of the Beautiful"

¹⁰ *Works*, v, pp. 91-92, "Drowne's Wooden Image"

¹¹ *Works*, I, p. 305, "Fancy's Show Box"

¹² *Works*, iv, p. 80, "A Select Party"

¹³ *Works*, ix, p. 51, *The Marble Faun*.

writers of fiction, but in aspiring to make an art more beautiful than nature, an art which suggested another realm of truth, Hawthorne stood almost alone in his time. In at least two of his allegories, he hinted at his ideal. In "The Great Stone Face," for instance, he described a poetry which surpassed both natural object and human being. The poet made a mightier grandeur visible in the mountain than had ever been seen there before,¹⁴ and the common man and woman were glorified when "he beheld them in his mood of poetic faith."¹⁵ Thus the world, Hawthorne wrote, assumes a better aspect from the hour the poet blesses it with his eyes. Indeed one may say, "Creation was not finished till the poet came to interpret, and so complete it."¹⁶ Those who thought the beauty resulting from this idealization a lie were plastered up out of nature's refuse "after all the swine were made. As respects all things else, the poet's ideal was the truest truth."¹⁷ When we put this together with Owen Warland's aspiration to produce "a beauty that should attain to the ideal which Nature has proposed to herself in all her creatures, but has never taken pains to realize,"¹⁸ we see that Hawthorne's theory of art was not unlike the idealistic theory of the Greeks. Like Sophocles, Hawthorne aimed at an idealization which was not a beautiful realm of escape from actuality but was actuality shaped so that it was universal truth. Hester Prynne, for all her difference of circumstance and conviction, is not unlike Antigone; and that Hawthorne should create such a character is to be explained in terms of his theory of idealization and his belief that

The artist—the true artist—must look beneath the exterior. It is his gift—his proudest, but often a melancholy one—to see the inmost soul, and, by a power indefinable even to himself, to make it glow or darken upon the canvas, in glances that express the thought and sentiment of years.¹⁹

Hawthorne's ideal in art apparently had its roots in allegory and took first and last certain qualities from the ground in which it grew, but growing strong it grew straight and approached the norm of classicism.²⁰

II In the light of what we have examined of Hawthorne's literary theory, it is possible to come to terms with his doctrine in the prefaces respecting externals. There is little or no change apparent on this point from the introductory remarks in "Rappaccini's Daughter" (1844) to the

¹⁴ *Works*, III, p. 54, "The Great Stone Face"

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55 ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 54. ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 55

¹⁸ *Works*, v, p. 316, "The Artist of the Beautiful"

¹⁹ *Works*, I, p. 236, "The Prophetic Pictures"

²⁰ Austin Warren notes Hawthorne's classicism in the concluding paragraph of his introduction to *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New York, 1934). He suggests that Hawthorne attempted by his definition of Romance something analogous to Aristotle's definition of poetry as more philosophical than history.

conclusion of *The Marble Faun* (1860). First and last, Hawthorne's program was, as he wrote in the preface to "Rappaccini's Daughter," to content himself "with a very slight embroidery of outward manners,—the faintest possible counterfeit of real life," and rely for interest on "some less obvious peculiarity of the subject."²¹ The writer of the romance, we learn in the preface to *The House of the Seven Gables*, "has fairly a right to present that truth under circumstances, to a great extent, of the writer's own choosing or creation";²² Brook Farm was chosen as the scene of *The Blithedale Romance* because it was a little removed from life, a possible substitute for Fairyland;²³ *The Marble Faun* had Italy for its site "as affording a sort of poetic or fairy precinct,"²⁴ and the characters were intended to be "artfully and airily removed from our mundane sphere."²⁵

Undoubtedly, Hawthorne's belief that allegory was the highest use of the imagination lay at the root of these sentiments. Liberated by Spenser and Bunyan from the tradition of English fiction, he saw no good reason why prose should not handle external reality with poetic freedom. It was a source of artistic grief to him, however, that America as yet afforded no such Fairyland as was found in the Old Countries, "an atmosphere of strange enchantment, beheld through which the inhabitants have a propriety of their own."²⁶ He sought therefore the nearest approximations he could find in scenes apart from the common experience of his readers, seventeenth-century America, a strange corner of Salem, Brook Farm, Italy. Given thus some leeway in the handling of scene, he was free to make the natural world a mirror of character and to reshape it to demonstrate the abiding truths of human experience on an ideal plane. As he wrote Bridge, "there is no harm, but on the contrary, good, in arraying some of the ordinary facts of life in a slightly idealized and artistic guise."²⁷

"David Swan" and "The Ambitious Guest" illustrate as well as any of the tales Hawthorne's method of idealizing ordinary facts. In the first of these, by compressing into a single afternoon and into the experience of a single man, events that might well belong to several persons and several days, Hawthorne achieves in the manner of Greek drama something typical of human experience, and is able to suggest the strong hand

²¹ *Works*, iv, p. 126, "Rappaccini's Daughter."

²² *Works*, vii, p. xxi, *The House of the Seven Gables*.

²³ *Works*, vii, p. xxx, *The Blithedale Romance*.

²⁴ *Works*, ix, p. xxii, *The Marble Faun*, i.

²⁵ *Works*, x, p. 353, *The Marble Faun*, ii.

²⁶ *Works*, viii, p. xxx, *The Blithedale Romance*.

²⁷ *Works*, iii, p. xx, "Dedicatory letter to Horatio Bridge."

of providence in human life. In "The Ambitious Guest," the unfortunate coincidence which happened to the Wiley family becomes through Hawthorne's idealization a dark drama of fate. All members of the family are ambitious and their young guest is ambition itself. The catastrophe when it arrives, therefore, is the punishment of *hubris* by *Nemesis*, and the perfection of the action illustrates "the ideal which Nature has proposed . . . but has never taken pains to realize."²⁸

Idealization is the key to *The Scarlet Letter*, and the other romances, for each is an attempt to make a "drama truer than history" illustrative of some universal truth. This is obvious to anyone who reflects on these works, but the allegories and sketches may seem to be wrought in a different fashion. Actually, however, the same method of reshaping events and materials until they take on the guise of truth universal and poetically beautiful is at work in even the most abstruse of the allegories and in the sketches. "Feathertop," a strange tale of a witchwoman's scarecrow who comes to life, is, for instance, not a simple fantasy but a study in superficiality; and in making his chief character an actual "man of straw," an actual "pumpkinhead," Hawthorne is idealizing into a single figure all the scattered stupidities of mankind. Such semi-realistic sketches as "Snowflakes," "Night Sketches" and "The Old Apple Dealer," which stand apparently at the opposite extreme from such a fanciful piece as "Feathertop" show the same attempt to idealize human experience. "Snowflakes" is the essence of winter days, and "Night Sketches" is an epitome of all evening walks in the rain. "The Old Apple Dealer" and "Sights from a Steeple," unexcelled in the perfection with which they render reality, are far from transcriptions of life. A Rembrandt portrait suggestive of all the living dead is achieved in the first by selection and development; "Sights from a Steeple" is a landscape in words shaped in such a fashion that at the close one sees that it is a picture of life. Hawthorne's work is various, but it derives unity from a single intent, to carry out the tendencies of nature in an imaginative realm.

Hawthorne did not, of course, intend that any of his work should be taken as a grotesquerie, however novel it might be. He used the method of poetic idealization because he thought that it revealed most efficiently the *ethos* of human character. The romance, he insisted, "sins unpardonably so far as it may swerve aside from the truths of the human heart,"²⁹ and in a letter to Bridge he spoke of himself as "burrowing, to his utmost ability, into the depths of our common nature, for the purposes of psychological romance."³⁰ Indeed, it is evident on almost every page of his

²⁸ *Works*, v, p. 316, "The Artist of the Beautiful."

²⁹ *Works*, vii, p. xxi, *The House of the Seven Gables*.

³⁰ *Works*, iii, p. xx, "Dedicatory letter to Horatio Bridge."

works that not simply beauty, but a beauty that was truth was the goal of his art. It is this aim combined with rare talent that makes *The Scarlet Letter* and his best tales abiding literature.

One evidence of this talent is his use of symbolism to portray character. He used this technique, it seems likely, for the same reason that he used a fireside chair in "Grandfather's Chair" to give "the hues of life" to "the shadowy outlines of . . . men and women" by connecting their images with "a substantial and homely reality."³¹ At any rate, Hawthorne does not employ Spenser's free association where Idleness rides on an ass, Gluttony on a swine, Lechery on a goat.³² Rather, he relies on objects naturally associated with his characters to reveal their inner qualities. Such are the Great Stone Face, so like Ernest's own in nobility, the exotic flower Zenobia wears, symbolic of her rich and exciting beauty, Westervelt's false teeth, which suggest that he is a sham; Hester's scarlet letter; and Lady Eleanor's mantle, which points to her proud isolation as she wraps it about her shoulders, and which in being the source of the plague punishes her with ostracism. Few writers, if any, have shown such genius as Hawthorne in making objects, insignificant in themselves, take on a rich burden of meaning as symbols.

Some of these symbols are highly specialized. The black veil of the Reverend Mr. Hooper is a riddle until it is gradually revealed that he wears it as a melancholy reminder to men of the veils they wear to each other. An even more subtle symbol is the mechanical butterfly of "The Artist of the Beautiful," which in addition to serving its purposes in the allegory may indicate Hawthorne's ideal in the use of this technique. It will be remembered that Owen Warland is throughout the story of his life associated with the butterfly. He spends his days in the chase of the bright creature, "an apt emblem of the ideal pursuit in which he had spent so many golden hours."³³ A least once, he is recalled to himself from materialism by its presence,³⁴ and his life work is, in making a butterfly, "to put the very spirit of beauty into form and give it motion."³⁵ The significant detail may well be the manner in which Hawthorne terminates the allegory by having the butterfly represent "the intellect, the sensibility, the soul of an Artist of the Beautiful"³⁶—subject to diminution like the artist's own at the nearness of Peter Hovenden and crushed by the child born of the union of Anne and Robert Danforth. In view of

³¹ *Works*, XII, p. xxiii.

³² *The Faerie Queene*, Book I, Canto 4—This is not to say that Hawthorne was not influenced in his use of symbolism by Spenser. Randall Stewart's excellent article, "Hawthorne and *The Faerie Queene*," PQ, XII, 196-206 (April, 1933), indicates Hawthorne's debt

³³ *Works*, v, p. 304, "The Artist of the Beautiful." ³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 296. ³⁶ *Works*, v, p. 324, "The Artist of the Beautiful."

Hawthorne's subtlety, it does not seem too much to believe that he recalled at this point the Greek association of Psyche or the soul with the butterfly, and thus in an allegory on art voiced his ideal in the use of symbolism: the symbol should become the individual associated with it

It is evident that Hawthorne, like all true artists, was not completely satisfied with his practice. He felt that he occupied an "unfortunate position between the Transcendentalists . . . and the great body of pen-and-ink men who address the intellect and sympathies of the multitude"³⁷ He was a fictionist unacceptable to the "spirited or metaphysical requisitions" of the few, and "too shadowy, and unsubstantial in his modes of development"³⁸ for the many. He wondered, for instance, how the *Twice-Told Tales* gained the vogue they did:

They have the pale tint of flowers that blossomed in too retired a shade. Instead of passion there is sentiment, and, even in what purport to be pictures of actual life, we have allegory, not always so warmly dressed in its habiliments of flesh and blood as to be taken into the reader's mind without a shiver.³⁹

His "inveterate love of allegory," he wrote in the guise of an editor of "Rappaccini's Daughter", "is apt to invest his plots and characters with the aspect of scenery and people in the clouds, and to steal away the human warmth out of his conceptions"⁴⁰ This discontent is apparent even in his reflection on *The Scarlet Letter* and the possibilities there were of a novel in his custom house experience:

The wiser effort would have been to diffuse thought and imagination through the opaque substance of today, and thus to make it a bright transparency, to spiritualize the burden that began to weigh so heavily, to seek, resolutely the true and indestructible value that lay hidden in the petty and wearisome incidents, and ordinary characters, with which I was now conversant. The fault was mine . . . my brain wanted the insight and my hand the cunning to transcribe it.⁴¹

Late in life, he wrote Fields: "It is odd enough that my own individual taste is for another class of works than those which I myself am able to write . . . Have you ever read the novels of Anthony Trollope? . . . They precisely suit my taste."⁴²

Hawthorne, of course, was right in feeling that much of his work had "the aspect of scenery and people in the clouds"; and it shows the health of his mind that he should wish that he had dealt more with the life around him. This is not to say, however, that Hawthorne is his own best

³⁷ *Works*, iv, p. 125, "Rappaccini's Daughter" ³⁸ *Ibid*

³⁹ *Works*, i, p. liv, "Author's Preface to *Twice-Told Tales*"

⁴⁰ *Works*, iv, p. 126, "Rappaccini's Daughter."

⁴¹ *Works*, vi, pp. 52-53, "The Custom House"

⁴² Fields, J. T., *Yesterdays with Authors*, p. 63 (Boston, 1871)

critic His world has not the passion and turmoil of Smollett's or Fielding's world, there is something suggesting late summer or early autumn in the reflective cast of even his most objective writing. Yet therein lies its charm One is constantly reminded of the line, "How sweet is melancholy . . ." As in reading the seventeenth century essayists, one becomes aware that the darkness of life has woven in it a gold thread or two, and all is food for meditation This it should be noted is quite a different thing from romantic melancholy with its stormy protest and self-pity. Hawthorne's tragic insight led Paul Elmer More to compare him with Aeschylus A more exact comparison would have been Sophocles, whose interest was not the cosmic problem but man Be this as it may, Hawthorne in *The Scarlet Letter*, at least, rises to a modern equivalent of Greek tragedy. There is this difference, however: whereas the Greek tragedians achieve a bold, stern etching, Hawthorne makes a rich painting, filled with spots of color that are flowers or sunlight, which induces in us a deep hour of meditation.

III. In dealing with the artist and the processes of creation, Hawthorne showed balance indicative of his insight and sanity Like Coleridge, he did not believe that genius consisted in some oneness of intellect or emotion, but in a conjunction of these two powers The genius resulted, he wrote, when "a great heart burns as the household fire of a grand intellect."⁴³ Though his theory would seem to lead to a preoccupation with thought, he clearly stated his belief that a too exclusive use of fancy or intellect would run the risk, as it did in Shelley, of making the writer's page "a concrete arrangement of crystallizations, or even of icicles, as cold as they were brilliant"⁴⁴ His emphasis on the place of the heart as an avenue leading to truth in such allegories as "Earth's Holocaust," "The Hall of Fantasy," and "The Intelligence Office" shows that like Emerson and Alcott he approved Pascal's statement that "the heart has reasons which reason does not know" Hawthorne also respected the doctrine of inspiration, which was a favorite with the great Concordians He objected to the Houses of Parliament because it was clear the architect had not in Emerson's phrase "builded better than he knew." The "crowning glory," Hawthorne felt, could only be achieved when the man was conscious of a power "higher and wiser than himself, making him its instrument"⁴⁵

It is Hawthorne's doctrine of intellect, however, which leads us most deeply into his art. What he has to say of the place of thought in creation indicates for once and all the world of difference between him and a man like Poe, between him, indeed, and any of the clever men. Not a

⁴³ *Works*, IV, p. 90, "A Select Party"

⁴⁴ *Works*, V, p. 183, "P's Correspondence"

⁴⁵ *Works*, XIX, pp. 416-417, *Notes of Travel*, I

startling effect but a high and beautiful seriousness was the goal of art to Hawthorne "An innate perception and reflection of truth," he wrote "give the only sort of originality that does not finally grow intolerable"⁴⁶ To Hawthorne, the rudiments of a poetic and imaginative mind, as he noted in the case of Edward Redclyffe, were "a brooding habit taking outward things into itself and imbuing them with its essence until, after they had lain there awhile, they assumed a relation both to truth and to himself, and became mediums to affect other minds with the magnetism of his own"⁴⁷ That this was Hawthorne's own method of work seems probable when one remembers the night walks in Salem, the path worn by him in his contemplative daily stroll on the ridge above the Wayside, and the speed attributed to him in composition.

By contemplation, Hawthorne sought not merely truth, but as would be expected from his ideal, beauty. In *The House of the Seven Gables*, he concluded his introduction of Hepzibah with the thought that life is made up of marble and mud and that "What is called poetic insight is the gift of discerning in this sphere of strangely mingled elements, the beauty and the majesty compelled to assume a garb so sordid"⁴⁸ It has always been the mark of the true poet to see goodness and beauty where common eyes could not, but it is only rarely that life's underlying strata of beauty are the chief concern of the artist. Hawthorne's profound meditation on these problems suggested by such a program is evidenced in a passage written late in life:

Facts, as we really find them, whatever poetry they may involve, are covered with a stony excrescence of prose resembling the crust on a beautiful seashell, and they never show their most delicate and divinest colors until we shall have dissolved away their grosser actualities by steeping them long in a powerful menstrum of thought. And seeking to actualize them again, we do but renew the crust. If this were otherwise,—if the moral sublimity of a great fact depended in any degree on its garb of external circumstances, things which change and decay,—it could not itself be immortal and ubiquitous, and only a brief point of time and a little neighborhood would be spiritually nourished by its grandeur and beauty.⁴⁹

If Hawthorne was thus insistent on the need of contemplation, he did not believe that great art could be produced in an intellectual vacuum. Though truth and beauty were the aim, they should be vitally connected with the man and the man should serve his age. Drowne in "Drowne's Wooden Image" describes the creation of his masterpiece in this way:

⁴⁶ *Works*, xviii, p. 407, *The American Notebooks*.

⁴⁷ *Works*, xv, p. 124, *Dr. Grimshawe's Secret*.

⁴⁸ *Works*, vii, p. 56, *The House of the Seven Gables*.

⁴⁹ *Works*, xi, p. 196, *Our Old Home*.

"A well-spring of inward wisdom gushed within me as I wrought upon the oak with my whole strength, and soul, and faith"⁵⁰ To Hawthorne, art demanded nothing short of all a man's powers "cultivated to the utmost, and exerted with the same prodigality as if he were speaking for a great party or for the nation at large on the floor of the Capitol"⁵¹ The only way the artist could be known to posterity was by living truly and wisely for his own age, and if he showed distrust of his age, feared that it lacked the spiritual insight to receive his work worthily, he was deserving of distrust himself. The world was waiting to respond to the highest word which "the best child of time and immortality" could utter Failure to be heard was the fault not of the world but of the artist⁵² This did not mean, however, that the artist should pamper the public so that it in turn would pamper him The reward of all high performance was within itself.⁵³ "When the artist rose high enough to achieve the beautiful, the symbol by which he made it perceptible to mortal senses became of little value in his eyes while his spirit possessed itself in the enjoyment of the reality"⁵⁴

Such devotion to art in which the man was "insulated from the mass of human kind . . ." and " . . . had no aim—no pleasure—no sympathies—but what were ultimately connected with his art"⁵⁵ presupposed a thorough apprenticeship, both in learning the essentials of the work to be done and in developing the character necessary for any accomplishment. On this point Hawthorne was so insistent that he wrote a brief essay, "Hints to Young Ambition," the moral of which was in the motto,

The man in the moon
Came down too soon.⁵⁶

The chief enemies of worth-while achievement to Hawthorne seemed to be impatience and a love of fame. "Young men," he wrote, "seem to labor under the apprehension that the public cannot do without them, and that every year which they spend in preparatory discipline is so much time stolen from the community"⁵⁷ But the darkest in this dark picture is the fact that young men are eager for reputation without having done anything to deserve it,⁵⁸ and, trying all sorts of bypaths to "the temple of fame," finally "dwindle down into the most insignificant and contemptible of creatures"⁵⁹ Hawthorne saw only one way to achievement

⁵⁰ *Works*, v, pp 98-99, "Drowne's Wooden Image"

⁵¹ *Works*, v, p 245, "Passages from a Relinquished Work"

⁵² *Works*, v, p 188, "P's Correspondence"

⁵³ *Works*, v, p 326, "The Artist of the Beautiful"

⁵⁴ *Works*, v, p 330, "The Artist of the Beautiful"

⁵⁵ *Works*, I, p 241, "The Prophetic Pictures"

⁵⁶ *Works*, xvii, p 239, "Hints to Young Ambition"

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p 241

⁵⁸ *Works*, xvii, p 242, "Hints to Young Ambition"

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p 243

for the young man: "He must not only build up a character, but also give it time to consolidate and harden, before laying it open to the winds and storms of heaven"⁶⁰ It is to Hawthorne's credit that he not only gave such high counsels, but followed them himself in his much-misunderstood solitude in Salem, where he perfected his skill in short fiction. It was not so much the Puritan conscience as the artist conscience, it seems likely, that made Hawthorne in this period live an austere and solitary life

Self reliance to Hawthorne was absolutely essential in the artist. "Great poets," he wrote, "should have iron sinews"⁶¹ The passion for the beautiful and the consciousness of the power to create it look vain beside earthly might,⁶² and "it is requisite for the ideal artist to possess a force of character hardly compatible with its delicacy, he must keep his faith in himself while the incredulous world assails him with its utter disbelief, he must stand up against mankind and be his own sole disciple, both as respects his genius and the objects to which it is directed"⁶³ Written at the Old Manse, Concord, this passage suggests another reason beyond temperamental difference for Hawthorne's never having become a satellite in Emerson's broad heaven—indeed it suggests the probable reason for his never having joined any of the intellectual movements of his time. Hawthorne too thoroughly held Emerson's point of view to be a follower of Emerson, to be anything to anyone but Nathaniel Hawthorne. The artist, he felt, might learn something from the untutored reaction of the crowd,⁶⁴ but the only justification for another's interference in the process of creation was "the deepest and warmest sympathy that can co-exist between two perfectly independent perceptions" From such a relation, a friend might get "light enough upon the matter to throw some of it back from another point of view."⁶⁵ The attitude of the true artist was that of Drowne regarding rules: "Let others do what they may with marble and adopt what rules they choose. If I can produce my desired effect by painted wood, those rules are not for me, and I have a right to disregard them."⁶⁶

Though Hawthorne emphasized this independence of the poet to the point of believing that at his highest the artist needed no human intercourse,⁶⁷ and though he separated him from other men by his conviction that bodily work and thought were incompatible,⁶⁸ Hawthorne did not

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, pp 240-241.

⁶¹ *Works*, v, p 186, "P's Correspondence"

⁶² *Ibid*, p 298

⁶³ *Works*, v, pp 299-300, "The Artist of the Beautiful"

⁶⁴ *Works*, i, pp 226-227, "The Prophetic Pictures"

⁶⁵ See *Hawthorne as Poetry Critic: six unpublished Letters to Lewis Mansfield*, Harold Blodgett, in *American Literature*, p 180 (May, 1940)

⁶⁶ *Works*, v, p 99, "Drowne's Wooden Image"

⁶⁷ *Works*, vii, p 203, *The House of the Seven Gables*

⁶⁸ *Works*, viii, pp 91-92, *The Blithedale Romance*

believe that the artist should or could live in an ivory tower. Donatello's experience with the darker realities was applicable to all men:

It was perceptible that he had already had glimpses of strange and subtle matters in those dark caverns, into which all men must descend, if they would know anything beneath the surface and illusive pleasures of existence. And when they emerge though dazzled and blinded by the first glare of daylight, they take truer and sadder views of life forever afterwards.⁶⁹

Owen Warland's story Hawthorne meant to be typical of "the troubled life to those who strive to create the beautiful,"⁷⁰ and a troubled life it is as we watch Owen battle with the cold, hard, practical spirit of the world in Peter Hovenden and Robert Danforth and with his own emotional problems generated by his love for Anne and his disappointment. To Hawthorne the artist like all men must get wisdom largely at the price of suffering and be mellowed by the tempests. In "The Procession of Life," to be sure, he suggested that genius was "but a higher development of innate gifts common to all," and "perhaps . . . he whose genius appears deepest and truest excels his fellows in nothing save the knack of expression—he throws out occasionally a lucky hint of truths of which every human soul is profoundly, though unutterably, conscious."⁷¹ But a large humanity, rather than some spectacular cleverness seemed to him more often the essence of genius that spoke to the hearts of men. This is the moral of "The Great Stone Face" where the palm is awarded not to the professional poet, but to Ernest, the profound and sincere human being, modeled, it is said, on Emerson:

Ernest began to speak, giving to the people of what was in his heart and mind. His words had power, because they accorded with his thoughts, and his thoughts had reality and depth, because they harmonized with the life which he had always lived. It was not mere breath that this preacher uttered, they were the words of life, because a life of good deeds and holy love was melted into them. Pearls, pure and rich, had been dissolved into this precious draught. The poet, as he listened, felt that the being and character of Ernest were a nobler strain of poetry than he had ever written.⁷²

The emphasis on idealization in art did not lead Hawthorne to regard art as a realm independent of or superior to life. In "The New Adam and Eve," he warned the reader that art had become a second and stronger nature, a stepmother, "whose crafty tenderness has taught us to despise the bountiful and wholesome ministration of our true parent."⁷³ In "Earth's Holocaust," he could look on the burning of the great books without dismay and console a desperate bookseller in this manner:

⁶⁹ *Works*, x, pp. 70-71, *The Marble Faun*, II.

⁷⁰ *Works*, v, p. 313, "The Artist of the Beautiful."

⁷¹ *Works*, IV, pp. 295-296, "The Procession of Life."

⁷² *Works*, III, p. 60, "The Great Stone Face."

⁷³ *Works*, v, pp. 1-2, "The New Adam and Eve."

My dear sir is not Nature better than a book? Is not the human heart deeper than any system of philosophy? Is not life replete with more instruction than past observers have found it possible to write down in maxims? Be of good cheer The great book of Time is still spread wide open before us, and, if we read it aright, it will be to us a volume of eternal truth ⁷⁴

Art and the realm of the imagination were not final facts but were valuable in educating the soul. As Hawthorne wrote at the end of "The Hall of Fantasy,"

Let us be content, therefore, with merely an occasional visit, for the sake of spiritualizing the grossness of this actual life, and prefiguring to ourselves a state in which the idea shall be all in all ⁷⁵

In the light of his literary theory, Hawthorne appears a less somber individual and a more significant artist than is supposed in much contemporary critical thought. The view that he was a Puritan sermonizer by intent is certainly not borne out by the foregoing investigation, nor is it possible to see him as simply an allegorist. The truth seems to be that an admiration for allegory liberated him from the traditions of English fiction so that in place of a mirror of life he came to require in his writing patterns acceptable both to the senses and to the spirit. It should be noted, however, that his intent for the most part was not to make a dream world like that of *The Faerie Queene* or *The Orlando Furioso* but to idealize life in the manner of Greek tragedy, with which his tragic insight and fine restraint also link him. But just as it is a mistake to see Hawthorne as a moralizing Puritan or to be led by such pieces as "The Hall of Fantasy" to think of him as simply an allegorist, so it is also a mistake to regard him as completely a classicist. His doctrine of idealization suggests Aristotle, his insistence that character is the basis of art suggests Longinus; but the melancholy which pervades his work links him with the seventeenth century essayists. Indeed, in qualities, whatever his origins were, he may be regarded as the meeting ground of several tendencies in seventeenth century English literature: the melancholy tinged with beauty characteristic of Sir Thomas Browne, the love of nature found in the lyric poets and Izaak Walton, the severe and lofty classicism of Milton, and the allegoric attitude and art of John Bunyan. Hawthorne's dual mastery of form and content is unsurpassed in American literature. It is not expecting too much of the future to believe that he will be given his rightful place in the Hall of Fantasy as an Artist of the Beautiful.

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⁷⁴ *Works*, v, pp. 219-220, "Earth's Holocaust."

⁷⁵ *Works*, iv, p. 258, "The Hall of Fantasy."

XVIII

HOW VICTOR HUGO CREATED THE CHARACTERS OF *NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS*

MY purpose is to trace the evolution of the chief characters of *Notre-Dame de Paris*, with particular reference to the often neglected evidence of the author's notes and manuscript changes.¹ Fortunately, the *reliquat* for this novel is exceptionally copious, including two general scenarios, which have been dated tentatively 1828 and 1830,² several briefer outlines which apparently were intended as special scenarios for scenes or chapters, and approximately one hundred pages of fragments. It is thus evident from the outset that *Notre-Dame de Paris*, like *les Misérables*, was really the fruit of extensive preparation, even though the final version was completed under the lash in four and one-half months.³ In fact, contrary to a current school of opinion, the very "rapidité inconcevable" with which Victor Hugo occasionally wrote was apt to be the result, not the paradox, of a "longue élaboration."⁴

QUASIMODO Let us consider first Quasimodo, a character whose evolution is fairly typical of Victor Hugo's *longue élaboration*. A dramatic scene in *Notre-Dame de Paris*, involving both Claude Frollo and Quasimodo, goes back as far as *Bug-Jargal* (1825), as Edmond Biré pointed

¹ Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Victor Hugo, no 24 Cf the Imprimerie Nationale edition of *Notre-Dame de Paris*, Paris (1904), which will be referred to as *Notre-Dame*. On pp 432-436 of this edition is a very incomplete reproduction of Victor Hugo's *Notes Pour Notre-Dame de Paris*, consisting chiefly of materials not utilized in the novel

The manuscript changes in particular often serve as *points de repère*, revealing a basic and perhaps subconscious trend in the author's thought To illustrate In an interpolation in the chapter entitled *Paris à vol d'oiseau*, Victor Hugo is favorable to Voltaire, calling him a genius, praising *Candide*, etc (*Notre-Dame*, III, II, 106 Cf MS fo 93b) During the period 1840-50, Victor Hugo, suffering from a Napoleonic complex, professes horror for Voltaire. After the return from Guernsey, the apparently basic trend reasserts itself Voltaire, like Socrates and Virgil, now represents one of the three aspects of Hugo's own genius, and is rated higher than Napoleon Cf Pierre de Lacretelle, *Vie politique de Victor Hugo* (Paris, 1928), p 245

² The two scenarios are found on folios 400a and 400b of the manuscript, and were printed in *Notre-Dame*, pp 430-431

³ While *les Misérables* was not published until 1862, the note gathering for this novel was actually begun in 1823 Cf *les Misères*, ed Gustave Simon (Paris, 1927), p. 11.

For the rapidity with which Victor Hugo concluded *Notre-Dame de Paris*, see Paul and Victor Glachant, *Papiers d'autrefois* (Paris, 1899), p 10; and *Victor Hugo raconté par un témoin de sa vie*, J Hetzel, *édition définitive*, II, 306, 308.

⁴ For an attempt to deny Hugo's habitual "longue élaboration," see e.g. Robert C Glenn, *PMLA*, LV, 4, 1183. In partial refutation of his opinion, see especially note 69 of this article

out ⁵ Biré showed that the fate of Claude Frollo parallels in closest detail that of Habibrah, but neglected, however, to state that the really important source for Quasimodo is Bug-Jargal himself. The negro king, enamoured with the beautiful white girl Marie, suffers silently from unrequited love, just as the hunchback pines hopelessly for la Esmeralda. One of Quasimodo's rivals is his rescuer Claude Frollo. The white rival of Bug-Jargal, Captain d'Auverney, has saved the negro's life. Bug-Jargal, hidden in a thicket, sings plaintively, with a harmonious voice, a Spanish romance for Marie's benefit ⁶ Quasimodo, concealed behind a windbreak of a tower of Notre-Dame, sings, like a deaf man, "des vers sans rime":

Ne regarde pas la figure,
Jeune fille, regarde le coeur

During a violent dispute, the negro king presents to Captain d'Auverney's uncle an axe, saying: "Blanc, . . . si tu veux me frapper, prends au moins cette hache." The enraged uncle takes Bug-Jargal at his word, and is prevented from committing murder only through the intervention of his nephew, who snatches the axe from the black man's hands ⁷ Similarly, in the course of a quarrel, Quasimodo offers his cutlass to the furious Claude Frollo, with these words: "Monseigneur, . . . vous ferez après ce qu'il vous plaira, mais tuez-moi d'abord."⁸ The maddened archdeacon, taking Quasimodo at his word, would have slain him but for the timely intervention of la Esmeralda, who wrested the knife from the hunchback's hands.

In addition to his borrowings from *Bug-Jargal*, Victor Hugo seems to have drawn from *le Dernier jour d'un condamné* for his characterization of Quasimodo. It will be recalled that the vibration from the cathedral bells broke Quasimodo's ear drums.⁹ This explanation of the hunchback's deafness is apparently based on a chapter in *le Dernier jour d'un condamné*, where the condemned man relates how the big bell of Notre-Dame so stunned him as a child that his ears still rang ¹⁰ As *le Dernier*

⁵ *Notre-Dame*, XI, II, 419-421, cf. *Bug-Jargal*, Édition de l'Imprimerie Nationale (Paris, 1905), LIV, 520-523. See Edmond Biré, *Victor Hugo avant 1830* (Paris, 1883), pp. 391-393.

It is surprising to find an obviously inaccurate statement of the sources of *Bug-Jargal* from so excellent a scholar as Paul Berret, who writes "C'est un livre de collégien qui s'est inspiré de toute la littérature négrophile et sentimentale depuis *La Case de l'Oncle Tom* jusqu'à *L'Oroonoko* de M^{me} Aphara Behn"—Paul Berret, *Victor Hugo* (Paris, 1927), p. 329. As a matter of fact, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was first published in 1852, or 32 years after *Bug-Jargal* appeared in the *Conservateur littéraire*. And by what chronological scheme is Harriet Beecher Stowe's masterpiece listed before *Oroonoko*?

⁶ *Bug-Jargal*, VII, 392-393. Cf. *Notre-Dame*, IX, IV, 320. The love affair with Marie does not appear in the first draft of *Bug-Jargal* (1820).

⁷ *Bug-Jargal*, X, 400.

⁸ *Notre-Dame*, IX, VI, 326.

⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, III, 120.

¹⁰ *Le Dernier jour d'un condamné*, Édition de l'Imprimerie Nationale (Paris, 1905), XXXVI, 685.

jour d'un condamné is autobiographical to an exceptional degree,¹¹ Victor Hugo's account of the origins of the hunchback's deafness may well hark back to a personal childhood experience. Certainly, the *reliquat* of *Notre-Dame de Paris* is evidence that the great bell of the cathedral made an extraordinary impression upon the author. Fairly early in the notes is a page of fragmentary ideas, which reveals Victor Hugo reverting to the haunting thought of the *bourdon*, with a reiteration worthy of Poe:

Notre Dame	le bourdon
.	
se tordre comme une plume dans le feu	
.	
le bourdon est dans la	Souvenirs
tour, comme le joyau dans	Que font les autres?
le pommeau	bourdon de Notre Dame
.	
Rêves ¹²	

A few pages before this semi-scenario occurs another repetitious mention of the cathedral bells:

Quasimodo avait un clocher pour maison

 Le bruit de cloches d'une ville gothique

These sentences seem the expression of stray thoughts that return significantly to a single object, deeply graven in memory.

If Victor Hugo apparently goes back, through the medium of an earlier novel, to a childhood experience for his account of Quasimodo's deafness, his portrayal of the personal appearance of the hunchback also represents a lengthy evolution. Quasimodo is a cyclops, and has a single eye as once did the Polyphemus described in Hugo's translation of a fragment from the *Aeneid* published in the *Conservateur littéraire* in 1820.¹³

Let us now consider the selection of the name Quasimodo, which caused considerable hesitation. In fact, Victor Hugo lists nine "noms pour choisir celui du sonneur:"

Malenfant	Quatre-Vents	Mammès
Mardi-Gras	Quasimodo	Ovide
Babylas	Guerf	Ischirion ¹⁴

¹¹ Cf. for instance the episode of "l'andalouse de quatorze ans, Pepa," in *le Dernier jour d'un condamné*, xxxiii, 681-682, which was really the love affair of Victor Hugo and Adèle Foucher. See Raymond Eschoher, *la Vie Glorieuse de Victor Hugo* (Paris, 1928), pp. 35-37, and especially 40-42, and Gustave Simon, *l'Enfance de Victor Hugo* (Paris, 1904), pp. 77-80.

¹² MS fo. 414b.

¹³ Quand cette espèce de cyclope parut . . . —*Notre-Dame*, I, v, 37, Il ferma son oeil unique, . . . —*Ibid.*, vi, iv, 188. Cf. Edmond Biré, *op. cit.*, p. 88, and *Victor Hugo raconté*, I, 223-228.

¹⁴ MS fo. 410b, reproduced in *Notre-Dame*, p. 432.

Long after Victor Hugo had settled upon the name Quasimodo, Phoebus de Châteaupers continued to echo the author's early uncertainty, as when, in an interpolated passage,¹⁵ he told Fleur-de Lys: "Il a un plaisant nom, il s'appelle Quatre-Temps, Pâques-Fleuries, Mardi-Gras, je ne sais plus!"¹⁶ Phoebus's Mardi-Gras was also in Victor Hugo's original list of nine names, while his Quatre-Temps sounds considerably like Hugo's original Quatre-Vents. It is of course possible that Victor Hugo here characteristically resorted to a manuscript insertion to salvage at the last moment as many of the rejected names for Quasimodo as possible. Instances could be multiplied of the author's tendency to keep, in one form or another, everything he ever wrote, almost as if it were sacrosanct.¹⁷

LA ESMERALDA AND HER MOTHER GUDULE The following lines are found in the scenario of 1828:

La recluse

Le petit soulier Reconnaissance¹⁸

The influence of the Cinderella story, which is apparent here, becomes more extensive in the definitive edition of the novel. There the jealous fine lady, Damoiselle Fleur-de-Lys de Gondelaupers and her companions Diane de Christeuil, Amelotte de Montmichel, Colombe de Gaillefontaine, and la petite de Champchevrier¹⁹ have hateful rôles similar to those

¹⁵ MS fo 183b

¹⁶ *Notre-Dame*, VII, i, 203

¹⁷ "Mais Victor Hugo, qui ne laisse jamais rien perdre," —Paul and Victor Glachant, *Essai critique sur le théâtre de Victor Hugo* (Paris, 1902), p. 315

¹⁸ *Notre-Dame*, p. 431

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, VII, i, 197. Cf. p. 201. Chacune se sentit en quelque sorte blessée dans sa beauté

The name Fleur-de-Lys is mentioned twice in the *reliquat*. It first occurs on MS fo 435^v Damoiselle Fleur-de-lys Augier et veuve de Pierre de Grand'Roue. Again it appears in the midst of a long list of names. D^{11a} Fleur-de-lys Augier et veuve de Pierre de Grand'Roue (*Ibid.*, fo 439(3)). Ambroise de Gondelaupers is mentioned on MS fo 439(2), immediately after Ambroise de Châteaupers. Cf. Edmond Huguet, *Quelques sources de "Notre-Dame de Paris," RHL*, VIII (1901), 50, and note 1. According to Huguet, Ambroise and Pierre de Châteaupers are listed in the *Comptes de la Prévôté*, published in the third volume of Sauval's *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1724), pp. 488 and 598. —The series of articles by Edmond Huguet, entitled *Quelques sources de "Notre-Dame de Paris," RHL*, VIII (1901), 48–79, 425–455, and 622–649, as well as the sequel entitled *Notes sur les sources de "Notre-Dame de Paris," ibid.*, x (1903), 287–289, will be referred to as "Huguet."

Ambroise de Gondelaupers is transformed into Fleur-de-Lys de Gondelaupers, thus ridding a certain lady of her family name of Augier, as well as of the name of her late husband Pierre de Grand'Roue.

Ambroise de Gaillefontaine (*ibid.*) is changed to Colombe de Gaillefontaine, a lady in waiting of Fleur-de-Lys.

Jean de Champchevrier (*ibid.*) becomes another lady in waiting, nicknamed *la petite de Champchevrier*.

D^{11as} Amelotte de Christeuil (*ibid.*, fo 439(3)) and Diane de Fécamp de Montmichel (*ibid.*) exchange first names. In the novel we find Diane de Christeuil and Amelotte de Montmichel.

of the stepsisters of Cinderella. With characteristic slow evolution, Victor Hugo will return to and develop the same situation thirty-one years later in his description of the Thénardier household, in *les Misérables*, M^{me} Thénardier combining in a curious fashion the qualities of Cinderella's detestable stepmother with the romanticism of Emma Bovary.

In *Notre-Dame de Paris*, there is a fusion as well as a gradual modification of the Cinderella and the Preciosa plots. La Esmeralda, like Cervantes' Preciosa, is stolen and reared by gypsies.²⁰ Both girls grow up to be marvelous dancers. Preciosa is finally identified by a paper, concealed in a *cofrezico*, which reveals that her real name is doña Costança de Azeuedo y de Menesses, that her mother was doña Guiomar de Menesses, and her father don Fernando de Azeuedo. At the time that she was kidnapped, doña Costança wore a headress of small jewels, which was preserved in the box.²¹

Attached to la Esmeralda's slipper is a parchment containing a *carme* which adequately identifies her.²² Another clue, comparable to the tell-tale *brincos* worn by doña Costança, is the small amulet, adorned with green glass trinkets, worn by la Esmeralda even on the gallows.²³

The substitution of green glass trinkets for the *brincos* of Cervantes is perhaps explainable by the fact that Victor Hugo had long been interested in gypsies,²⁴ and had his own notions about the sort of ornaments that gypsy women liked to wear. In *Han d'Islande*, by a remarkable anticipation of Collin de Plancy, Victor Hugo has the executioner Nychol Orugix give a blue glass necklace to Bechlie, his old gypsy wife.²⁵ This valued present takes the place of an engagement ring, for the union of Nychol and Bechlie will expire in a month. To resume their marriage, according to gypsy law, the couple must break a jug. The number of fragments on the ground will determine how many years the renewed contract is to endure.²⁶ This Bohemian custom is the basis of the chapter in *Notre-Dame de Paris* entitled *la Cruche Cassée*.²⁷ Here the marriage

²⁰ Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Novelas Ejemplares*, ed. Rudolph Schevill and Adolfo Bonilla (Madrid, 1922), I, 31, etc. Cf. *Notre-Dame*, x, 1, 400, etc. See Huguet, x (1903), 287.

²¹ Cervantes, *op. cit.*, I, 118-119. ²² *Notre-Dame*, xi, 1, 401.

²³ Sous cette corde brillait une petite amulette, etc. — *Ibid.*, VIII, vi, 289. This sentence is a manuscript interpolation. Cf. MS fo. 261b.

²⁴ Cf. *Bug-Jargal*, XXI, 452 — *hé estudiado la ciencia de los gitanos*.

²⁵ *Han d'Islande*, Édition de l'Imprimerie Nationale (Paris, 1905), xli, 274.

²⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, *Note de l'édition originale*. Quand une bohémienne se mariait, elle se bornait, pour toute cérémonie, à briser un pot de terre devant l'homme dont elle voulait devenir la compagne, etc. Victor Hugo's note is quoted by J. A. S. Collin de Plancy in his *Dictionnaire Infernal* (Paris, 1825), I, 408, and is not found in the first edition (Paris, 1818) of the dictionary. As the 1825 edition of the *Dictionnaire Infernal* was an important source for *Notre-Dame de Paris*, it is perhaps significant that, for the treatment of *bohémiennesses*, the rôles were reversed, Hugo becoming the source, and Collin de Plancy the borrower.

²⁷ *Notre-Dame*, II, vi, 76.

ceremony of Gringoire and la Esmeralda resembles that of Nychol Orugix and Bechlie, and not that of Andres Caballero and Preciosa, as described by Cervantes.²⁸

Some other features of la Esmeralda's wedding are manuscript additions, which reveal Victor Hugo getting further and further away from the Preciosa story, because of his individual notions about gypsies. One such insertion pertains to a bizarre gypsy law by which a man condemned to hanging would be spared if any woman in the tribe was willing to marry him.²⁹ Another manuscript insertion relates to the dagger with which la Esmeralda threatens Gringoire in order to prevent the consummation of their marriage.³⁰ Here Victor Hugo is certainly not following Cervantes, but may have in mind the menacing gesture which Fenella (Zarah) makes before Edward Christian, in Scott's *Peveril of the Peak*.³¹

In general, Victor Hugo deviates from Cervantes by confusing gypsies with sorcerers and vampires, with much the same sort of inaccuracy regarding the underworld that he displays when he improperly associates the Empire of Galilée with the band of thieves infesting the Cour des Miracles.³² Thus, in the scenario of 1828, he seems readily to have transformed the gypsy dancer Preciosa into a reputed *magicienne*, who is regularly spoken of as *la sorcière*, and is tried for witchcraft, and not at all for the murder of a Phébus who does not appear until the scenario of

²⁸ Cervantes, *op cit*, I, 77, 78

²⁹ The MS insertion reads: Cette loi bohémienne, si bizarre qu'elle puisse sembler au lecteur, est aujourd'hui encore écrite tout au long dans la vieille législation anglaise. Voyez Burington's Observations — *Notre-Dame*, x, 1, 331. Cf. MS fo 304a.

According to F. M. Warren, *Selections from Victor Hugo* (New York, 1893), p. 198 "Burington's Observations" is "an error, for Barrington, Daines (1727-1800), who wrote 'Observations on the More Ancient Statutes,' etc., published in 1766." I have been unable to find the above-mentioned *meille législation anglaise* in the Dublin (1767) edition of Barrington's *Observations upon the Statutes*, etc. In fact, I am tempted to conclude that here, as elsewhere, Victor Hugo was guilty of quoting at second hand, in this case missing both the title of the book and the name of the author. Such a theory goes counter to the opinion of Paul Berret, who commends in Victor Hugo "tout d'abord la documentation livresque qui va droit aux véritables sources historiques, dédaigne les ouvrages de seconde main, et ne se fie qu'aux réels témoins," — Paul Berret, *op cit*, p. 338.

For a second hand quotation from Philippe de Comines, which is the more surprising because Victor Hugo was undoubtedly quite familiar with that chronicler, cf. Huguet, p. 431. For a second hand quotation from Montaigne, cf. *ibid*, p. 63.

³⁰ *Notre-Dame*, II, VII, 78. Cf. MS fos 66a and 66b.

³¹ See Huguet, x (1903), 287. Cf. the speech of Fenella to Edward Christian in *Peveril of the Peak* (New York, 1877), III, Chap. XLVII, 305. Fenella has also the following points in common with la Esmeralda. She is a "dancing fairy," and during her childhood was "trained amid the shifts, tricks, and feats of jugglers and mountebanks; . . ." (*Ibid*, III, Chap. XLVI, 306). Near the end of the novel, she is recognized by a parent, whom she had always regarded as an enemy, Christian thus playing a rôle superficially similar to that of *la recluse* (*Ibid*, III, Chap. XLIX, 356).

³² Cf. Huguet, p. 639.

1830³³ In the novel, while la Esmeralda is arrested on a charge of stabbing Phoebus, she is actually convicted under a fifth century law against *stryges*, or night vampires, which Victor Hugo found recorded in Collin de Plancy's *Dictionnaire Infernal*:

—Monsieur le président, répondit l'avocat, la défenderesse a confessé le crime, je n'ai plus qu'un mot à dire à messieurs Voici un texte de la loi salique "Si une stryge a mangé un homme, et qu'elle en soit convaincue, elle paiera une amende de huit mille deniers, qui font deux cents sous d'or"³⁴

For *la recluse*, as for Jacques Charmolue, gypsies are sometimes definitely *stryges*, sometimes sorcerers in general. *La recluse* cries: "Ah! les mères égyptiennes, vous avez mangé mon enfant!"³⁵ When she discovers that her baby has been stolen by gypsies, she clamors for "Des sergents pour brûler les sorcières!"³⁶ Jacques Charmolue demands of la Esmeralda: "Jeune fille bohème, vous avouez votre participation aux agapes, sabbats et maléfices de l'enfer, avec les larves, les masques et les stryges?"³⁷ He finds it logical that a *jeune fille bohème* should possess the power, given only to sorcerers, to see in the clouds the ram sent by Beelzebub to assemble the *sabbat*.³⁸

It is probably significant that in the scenario of 1828 la Esmeralda, quite unlike Preciosa, has a goat. In fact, the talented Djali is doubtless introduced for the deliberate purpose of making more plausible la Esmeralda's conviction as a sorceress. In the *reliquat* there is a second hand quotation from Delancré's *Tableau de l'inconstance des démons* which shows that Victor Hugo was well aware of the connection existing in the mediæval popular mind between sorcerers and goats:

Les sorciers dit Delancré en montant sur un balai répètent plusieurs fois: *Emen-hétan! Emen-hétan!* ce qui veut dire, ici et là! ici et là! Les sorcières de France vont au sabbat sans balai ni graisse ni monture, seulement avec quelques paroles magiques. Celles d'Italie ont toujours un bouc qui les attend à leur porte. Toutes sont tenues de sortir par la cheminée.³⁹

The supposed relation between goats and black art is emphasized in the novel. The duc d'Égypte, repeating the words of Delancré, tells how Italian sorceresses always have a he-goat awaiting them at their door.⁴⁰

³³ *Notre-Dame*, pp 428, and 430-431

³⁴ *Ibid*, VIII, III, 266 Cf Huguet, p 643, and also MS fo 431(3) "Si une Stryge a mangé un homme, et qu'elle en soit convaincue, elle paiera une amende de huit mille deniers qui font deux cents sous d'or." Article de la loi salique (Ve siècle)

³⁵ *Notre-Dame*, XI, I, 400

³⁶ *Ibid*, VI, III, 177

³⁷ *Ibid*, VIII, III, 264.

³⁸ *Ibid* Cf Huguet, p 643 On MS fo 431(3) we read Le diable pour rassembler le sabbat fait paraître dans les nuées un mouton qui n'est vu que des sorciers

³⁹ MS fo 432

⁴⁰ *Notre-Dame*, X, III, 340 The first part of the passage cited indirectly from Delancré is put into the mouth of Claude Frolo —*Ibid*, VII, IV, 223. Cf Huguet, p 640.

The tie linking he-goats and gypsies seems to the gossips even more firmly established when, after the disappearance of Paquette's baby, the kidnapers leave behind them, in addition to some ribbons belonging to the child, and some drops of blood, the telltale dung of a he-goat!⁴¹

Victor Hugo deviates from Cervantes in his description of la Esmeralda's mother even more than in his accounts of gypsies and their bewitched goats. *La recluse*, as finally conceived, is no fine lady, like Preciosa's mother, but a former *fille de joie*. Thus the secret of her evolution is Victor Hugo's romantic tendency to idealize prostitutes, and he even names her for Saint Gudule. In the *reliquat* is found the following separate note: Ste Gudule.⁴² On another folio occurs:

Sous la gothique église de Sainte Gudule à Bruxelles est un Saint-Michel (patron de Bruxelles de 17 pieds de haut qui tourne sur lui-même comme la Giralda de Séville et foule aux pieds un dragon mis là en 1445).⁴³

The glorification of *la recluse* is complete when she is made the personification of mother love.⁴⁴ Thirty-one years later, Victor Hugo will idealize another prostitute mother, Fantine, who dies with a halo over her head, mourned by the saintly Soeur Simplice.⁴⁵

Most of the notes in the *reliquat* pertaining to *la recluse* are in quasi-scenario form.⁴⁶ This fact alone would indicate the lateness of the final evolution of Gudule's character, even if the outline, by a reference to an aurora borealis, were not obviously written not earlier than January 8, 1831. I quote from the *reliquat*:

en lui enfonçant ses ongles dans le cou⁴⁷
 une mère tigresse n'y regarde pas de si près
 ses vilains cheveux gris.
 l'enfer sua
 le voudrais bien savoir si dans l'enfer c'est pire
 Nuit du 7 au 8 janvier, 1831, aurore boréale magnifique.
 du premier mot on fait une enseigne.
 —Aye pitié! Grâce! Grâce!⁴⁸
 —Rends-moi ma fille.⁴⁹

⁴¹ *Notre-Dame*, VI, III, 177. For another example of the alleged connection between he-goats and witchcraft, cf *ibid.*, VIII, I, 256. . mais le bouc! cela sent le samedi

⁴² MS fo 422

⁴³ *Ibid.*, fo 433

⁴⁴ Cf *Notre-Dame*, VI, III, 173.

⁴⁵ Cf *les Misérables*, Édition de l'Imprimerie Nationale (Paris, 1908), Book VIII, I, 300

⁴⁶ MS fo 405b

⁴⁷ Cf *Notre-Dame*, XI, I, 399. La jeune fille se sentit saisir brusquement au coude. Elle regarda. C'était un bras décharné qui sortait d'une lucarne dans le mur et qui la tenait comme une main de fer.

⁴⁸ Cf *ibid.*, p. 401 —ayez pitié! Vous avez de la pitié, j'en suis sûre

⁴⁹ Rends-moi mon enfant —*Ibid.*

—As-tu vu un soulier comme cela ⁵⁰
 —J'étais une fille publique⁵¹
 —Oh! tout ce que j'ai aimé⁵²
 encore si c'était moi je ne
 dirais pas Mais elle, une enfant
 de seize ans. Laissez lui le temps
 de voir le soleil ⁵³

PHOEBUS DE CHÂTEAUPERS. Phoebus de Châteaupers seems to have been added as an afterthought in the scenario of 1828, viz: "L'archidiacre et Gringoire *Et Phêbus*."⁵⁴ Edmond Huguet has pointed out that the name of Châteaupers belonged historically both to the "noble homme Ambroise de Chasteaupers, Seigneur de Gressy en France," and to "M^{re} Pierre de Chasteaupers Prestre, Chanoine de Paris."⁵⁵ In the *reliquat* "Ambroise de Chateaupers, seigneur de Gressy" is listed among the "seigneurs,"⁵⁶ while no mention is made of Pierre.

Victor Hugo never hesitated to alter first names,⁵⁷ and Ambroise readily became Phoebus, nominally in honor of François-Phoebus, who bore the title of *comte de Foix* from 1473 to 1483 ⁵⁸ As the pedantic Gringoire remarked to Claude Frollo: "Phoebus! un nom de curiosité! Il y a aussi Phoebus, comte de Foix "⁵⁹

Nevertheless, it was Phoebus the sun god, rather than Phoebus, scion of the noble house of Foix, that particularly interested Victor Hugo On an earlier occasion Claude Frollo asked: "*Phoebus!* . . . pourquoi *Phoebus*?" Gringoire replied: "Je ne sais, . . . C'est peut-être un nom doué de quelque vertu magique et secrète. . . ."⁶⁰ He went on to explain that the gypsy Esmeralda loved Phoebus because she was a Zoroastrian sun idolatress: "Ces bohèmes sont un peu guèbres et adorent le soleil. De là Phoebus."⁶¹ Moreover, la Esmeralda herself told Phoebus: "Vous vous

⁵⁰ Voilà son soulier, tout ce qui m'en reste Sais-tu où est le pareil?—*Ibid*

⁵¹ J'étais une fille de joie —*Ibid*, p 401, also p 412

⁵² This exclamation is put into the mouth of Quasimodo, and placed at the end of *Notre-Dame*, xi, ii, 421

⁵³ Encore si c'était moi, je ne dirais pas, mais elle, une enfant de seize ans, laissez-lui le temps de voir le soleil —*Ibid*, pp 412-413 ⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p 430

⁵⁵ Huguet, p 50 and note 1 ⁵⁶ MS fo 439(2)

⁵⁷ See note 19, and also Huguet, p 51, and note 5

⁵⁸ Cf the following note in MS fo 403a Phoebus, comte de Foix (1483)

⁵⁹ *Notre-Dame*, x, i, 330

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, vii, iii, 213-214. Victor Hugo had also a predilection for metaphors about the sun, which were frequently introduced into the text as afterthoughts See, e g L'attention publique, comme le soleil . . —*Ibid*, i, v, 34 Cf MS fo 31^a C'est le soleil couchant que nous prenons pour l'aurore —*Notre-Dame*, v, ii, 149 Cf. MS fo 134^a. The same contrast is elaborated in *Ruy Blas*, (Paris, 1905), p. 335. ⁶¹ *Ibid*, p 214

appelez Phoebus, c'est un beau nom. J'aime votre nom . . ."⁶²

It might be remarked parenthetically that Victor Hugo's enthusiasm for the Zoroastrian god of light led him somewhat incongruously to make even Claude Frollo a fire and sun worshiper, despite the priest's deadly hatred for Phoebus de Châteaupers. In one of two pages on Eastern religions forming part of the *reliquat* we find: "Suivant Ferdosi, auteur persan, Houshan second roi de la dynastie *parsh dedienne* ordonne d'adorer le soleil comme le *nour-e-khadah* ou la lumière de Dieu"⁶³ Claude Frollo, who appears to have read Ferdosi, tells his brother Jehan: "Oui, Manou le dit, et Zoroastre l'enseignait, le soleil naît du feu, la lune du soleil Le feu est l'âme du grand tout"⁶⁴ And on another occasion sun worshipping Frollo exclaims excitedly: "L'or, c'est le soleil, faire de l'or, c'est être Dieu."⁶⁵

We have seen that in the scenario of 1828, Phoebus de Châteaupers was hardly more than a name. In the 1830 scenario, however, he becomes an important character, and a serious rival of Claude Frollo. The priest plans to have him assassinated at Isabeau la Thierrye's house⁶⁶ Through an error, Claude's brother Jehan is killed instead of the intended victim⁶⁷

Perhaps this fratricidal variant of the Œdipus plot might have been allowed to remain, but for the fact that in the final revision of the novel Victor Hugo made numerous changes, emphasizing the repressed emotion of Claude Frollo. In line with this tendency, the priest was finally made a tormented eyewitness of the rendezvous of Phoebus and la Esmeralda at the house kept by "la Falourdel," who was "la vilotière du Pont Saint-Michel,"⁶⁸ and replaced Isabeau la Thierrye. Seething with jealousy, Frollo does not entrust the assassination of Phoebus to a bungling third party, but stabs his rival personally.

As usual, nevertheless, Victor Hugo did not waste his materials,⁶⁹ and

⁶² *Ibid*, VII, VIII, 247 According to Edmond Biré (*op cit*, p 293) the character of Phoebus is modeled upon the elegantly attired Lieutenant d'Ahlefeld, in *Han d'Islande*

⁶³ MS fo 432^v(3)

⁶⁴ *Notre-Dame*, VII, IV, 221

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, V, I, 138

⁶⁶ Isabeau la Thierrye is listed among the "canaille" in MS fo 439(4) Cf also Huguet, p 54

⁶⁷ *Notre-Dame*, p 430 For this fratricidal variant of the Œdipus plot, Victor Hugo had already shown a predilection In *Han d'Islande*, Musdoemon, whose real name is Turiaf Orugix, is sentenced to be hanged The executioner turns out to be his brother, Nychol Orugix

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, VII, VII, 241 Cf the long interpolation emphasizing Frollo's repression, MS fo 227a

⁶⁹ See note 17.

The *reliquat* of *Notre-Dame de Paris* contains a number of fragments which were passed over temporarily, only to be used in other works For instance, Isaac de Laffemas, listed on fo. 452a, appears as M. de Laffemas in *Marion Delorme* The same might be said for "Le Cardinal de Richelieu dans sa litière" (Fo 424^v) "Charles I^{er} roi d'Espagne, Charles V

the temporarily abandoned tale of fratricide was promptly compensated for by two stories of filicide. In *le Roi s'amuse* (1832), the jester Triboulet, attempting to kill Francis I, unwittingly becomes the slayer of his own daughter instead,⁷⁰ while Lucrece Borgia (1833) unintentionally causes the death of her son Gennaro, while plotting to kill his companions.

GRINGOIRE. In the 1828 scenario, Pierre Gringoire obviously bears no resemblance to the real Gringore. He is simply Victor Hugo's favorite hero—the man who, out of a sense of duty, sacrifices his life for another. Apparently mindful of an obligation to la Esmeralda contracted at the Cour des Miracles, Gringoire repays his debt by entering the iron cage of the condemned *sorcière*, exchanging clothes with her, and going to the gallows in her stead, along with her goat.⁷¹

In the novel, the character of Gringoire is radically altered after such models as (A) the author's own Spiagudry, of *Han d'Islande*,⁷² (B) Andres Caballero, of Cervantes' *novela* entitled *la Gitanilla*; and (C) to a small extent, the historical Gringore. Let us consider these influences in order.

(A) To conform to the ridiculously pusillanimous and fatuously pedantic pattern of Spiagudry, the brave, self-sacrificing Gringoire of the 1828 scenario becomes by 1830 an object of derision.⁷³ In the novel, Gringoire's heroism disappears entirely, and his pusillanimity is rendered more absurd by a veneer of pedantry. He resorts to a scholastic pun, as if hoping by this ostentation of knowledge to cover up his lack of manhood. He boasts: "Notre mariage était un vrai *forismaritagium*. Je suis resté dehors."⁷⁴ As in the scenario of 1828, Gringoire talks about saving la Esmeralda by exchanging clothes with her and taking her place on the gallows, but this time he is not in earnest.⁷⁵ He prefers to rescue his gypsy

empereur," mentioned on fo 452a, becomes an important character in *Hernani*. "Les Gannes," referred to on fo 432^v(4), become the famous "Djinns" of *les Orientales*. Matalobos, whose name is recorded among the "canaille" on fo 439(4), is a famous bandit in *Ruy Blas* (Cf., however, Gustave Simon, *l'Enfance de Victor Hugo cit*, p. 67).

⁷⁰ *Notre-Dame*, p. 428.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, p. 431. On MS fo 416a we find the following isolated sentence: *je ne peux cependant les sauver tous deux*. Apparently this is an afterthought, which may explain the parenthesis in the scenario: "*Je ne peux cependant vous sauver toutes deux*."

⁷² See Edmond Biré, *op. cit*, pp. 292–293.

⁷³ *Notre-Dame*, p. 430. Cf. *ibid*, x, 1, 332.

⁷⁴ Here Huguet objects: "Dans cette scène, Gringoire appelle son mariage 'un vrai *forismaritagium*.' Il n'y a rien de commun entre l'idée que veut exprimer Gringoire et le sens habituel de ce mot."—Huguet, p. 69, note 1. Possibly Huguet has missed the point of Gringoire's joke. Certainly Hugo was familiar with at least one of the three usual meanings of *forismaritagium*. In MS fo 402b, we read: *foris maritagium, mariage fait avec ceux du dehors (étrangers au fief)*. For this meaning, see Achille Luchaire, *Manuel des institutions françaises* (Paris, 1892), p. 301.

⁷⁵ *Notre-Dame*, x, i, 334.

wife by turning her over to his rival, the lascivious Claude Frollo.⁷⁶

The transformation of Gringoire from a hero to a philosophical poltroon was a slow starting process. It was scarcely begun in 1830, and caused the author difficulties up to the very final stages of the novel. In fact, a large part of Gringoire's pedantic remarks and aphorisms would be missing, but for last minute changes introduced into the manuscript. Among such late interpolations may be listed the following expressions: (a) *Il padelt*, ce qui veut dire en turc: Dieu est mon espérance,⁷⁷ n'épouse pas toujours qui fiance,⁷⁸ as well as (c) much of Gringoire's philosophizing about death.

(a) In quasi-scenario form, Victor Hugo had already jotted down *Il padelt*, ce qui veut dire en syriaque. Dieu est mon esperance,⁷⁹ the words *il padelt* having been the motto of Jean de Montagu, founder of the monastery of Marcoussis.⁸⁰ The late manuscript addition is made so cleverly that *il padelt* suggests a pedantry that cloaks cowardice, rather than the lofty sentiments ordinarily associated with a nobleman's coat of arms.⁸¹

(b) Like *il padelt*, "N'épouse pas toujours qui fiance" was set down in quasi-scenario form on MS. fo 412b. This aphorism, when interpolated, became a well fitted part of Gringoire's pompous reflections on the none too serious scheme to save la Esmeralda.⁸²

(c) Let us not be unduly impressed by Gringoire's protestations of indifference to death.⁸³ He philosophizes about the hereafter merely to display his erudition, or perhaps more exactly, he has the function of a waste basket into which Victor Hugo can dump at the last moment all the surplus citations from Pierre Mathieu's *Histoire de Louys XI* which would not fit elsewhere in the novel.⁸⁴ An example is the following note, based on a reading of Pierre Mathieu, and made by Victor Hugo before reaching the final stages of *Notre-Dame de Paris*.

Tourne la tête de tous côtés tu verras des milliers de villes, pourquoi non des

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, x, 1, 335 Cf *ibid.*, xi, 1, 398

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, x, 1, 331 ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, x, 1, 333 ⁷⁹ MS fo 412b

⁸⁰ Cf Huguet, p 70, who refers to Du Breul, p 960. The passage in question, however, is not found on this page of the Paris (1612) edition of Du Breul. Victor Hugo says that the wife of Jean de Montagu presented "Jacqueline," one of the cathedral bells, to Notre-Dame — *Notre-Dame*, xv, iii, 122. This passage is a MS insertion. Cf MS fo 109a.

⁸¹ MS fo 304a ⁸² *Notre-Dame*, x, 1, 333 Cf MS fo 305b

⁸³ *Ibid.*, x, i, 334.

⁸⁴ Cf Huguet, p 70, who quotes Pierre Mathieu, p 442. I have access only to the translation by Edward Grimeston, London (1614), where this passage is found in Book x, p 105.

hommes? Vois Megare devant toi, Cydne à dos, Pyrée à droite, Corynthe à gauche Qu'est-ce que tout cela? ruine, mépris, solitude, horreur

(Mathieu) (*sic*)

On demanda à Cercidas Megalopolitain s'il mourrait volontiers pourquoi non, répondit-il? Car après ma mort, je verrai les grands hommes Pythagoras entre les philosophes, Hecataeus entre les historiens, Homère entre les poètes, Olympe entre les musiciens ⁸⁵

This paragraph, added with little alteration to the manuscript of the novel, becomes part of a declamation by Gringoire, in the tone of Hamlet's soliloquy ⁸⁶ The purely theatrical nature of this interpolation is shown by the sequel: "—Être pendu! C'est trop absurde. . ."⁸⁷

It might be added that the fate of the trained goat Djali parallels somewhat that of Gringoire. In the 1828 scenario, Djali goes to the gallows, along with the poet, to save la Esmeralda In the final version, the proposed hanging of Djali, like that of Gringoire, becomes merely a matter for philosophizing and jesting ⁸⁸ Thus, while sparing the goat's life, Victor Hugo is able nevertheless to retain in his novel a choice morsel which he could not bear to leave out altogether: a reference to the legal execution of Gillet-Soulart and his sow, of which an account is found in Sauval's edition of the *Comptes de la Prévôté*.⁸⁹

The story of Gringoire the rescuing hero, nearly lost in the definitive edition of *Notre-Dame de Paris*, is revived more than forty years later in *Quatrevingt-treize*, where Gauvain saves the condemned marquis de Lantenac by exchanging clothes with him.⁹⁰ Fourteen years earlier. Charles Dickens had used a similar scene in *A Tale of Two Cities*, where Sydney Carton changes clothes with the condemned Charles Darnay.⁹¹ Victor Hugo was only slightly acquainted with Dickens, but admired him greatly ⁹² So far as the rescue scene is concerned, however, it is of course obvious that Victor Hugo did not need to borrow from Dickens, but had only to follow his regular practice of salvaging his old notes and scenarios as much as possible.

⁸⁵ MS fo 410a ⁸⁶ *Notre-Dame*, x, 1, 334 Cf MS fo 306a

⁸⁷ *Notre-Dame*, loc cit ⁸⁸ *Ibid*, x, 1, 335

⁸⁹ Sauval, *op cit*, III, 387 Cf Huguet, p 642, and *Notre-Dame*, VIII, 1, 258 The passage relating to the "procès de sorcellerie intenté à un animal" is a MS addition (MS fo 233b), as is also a later reference to the goat Quand elle disparut, on entendit un bêlement plaintif C'était la petite chèvre qui pleurait —*Notre-Dame*, VIII, 1, 260 Cf MS fo 234a

⁹⁰ *Quatrevingt-treize*, Édition de l'Imprimerie Nationale (Paris, 1924), VII, 1, 325

⁹¹ *A Tale of Two Cities* (London and New York, 1914), Chap XIII, p 277

⁹² M^{me} Cécile Daubray, literary executrix of Victor Hugo, who kindly investigated the matter at my request, reports that nothing in Victor Hugo's correspondence indicates that he was influenced by Dickens See John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens* (London and New York, 1899), I, 520-521

(B) Let us now consider the extent to which Gringoire was modeled upon Andres Caballero.⁹³ Victor Hugo may possibly have been familiar with Cervantes' *novela* as early as 1828. In accordance with gypsy law, Andres Caballero becomes the husband of the beautiful Preciosa.⁹⁴ In the scenario of 1828, la Esmeralda is not clearly a gypsy, but at any rate is a "sorcière" with the bohemian background of the Cour des Miracles. We can only conjecture that Gringoire was married to her.⁹⁵

The evidence of the influence of Cervantes becomes more definite in the novel. It is now a certainty that Gringoire marries a *bohémienne* called la Esmeralda who, like Preciosa, is the best dancer *en todo el gitansmo*.⁹⁶ If Andres is faced with a delay of two years before his marriage is consummated,⁹⁷ Gringoire has to wait forever.⁹⁸ To be sure, Andres does not compare with Gringoire as a *littérateur*, in spite of a taste for music and poetry. His weakness in belles-lettres is compensated for, nevertheless, by the poetic talents of another admirer of Preciosa, the sonnet-writer Clemente.

Sometimes the revised Gringoire is modeled simultaneously on Andres Caballero and on Spiagudry. This fusion is worked out in a curious fashion, Cervantes being followed more for externals, and, strangely, *Han d'Islande* more for psychological analysis. The result is that, even in almost identical situations, the characters of Andres Caballero and Pierre Gringoire are really far apart.

What a difference, for instance, between Andres Caballero as he joins the gypsies, and Pierre Gringoire as he associates himself with the *truands*! Even in his new walk of life, Andres remains a "caballero," who appears all the nobler and prouder because he has been defeated by Love!⁹⁹ Gringoire, on the other hand, cuts a sorry figure when he "consents" to become a *truand*, in the craven hope of thus escaping the noose.¹⁰⁰ And always true to form he mumbles Latin quotations unintelligible to the thugs about him to distract attention from his spinelessness.¹⁰¹ Even when Andres takes crime lessons to prove that he is a gypsy

⁹³ Cervantes, *op cit*, I. Cf. Huguet, x (1903), 287.

⁹⁴ Cervantes, *op cit*, I, 77, 78.

⁹⁵ *Notre-Dame*, p. 431.

⁹⁶ Cervantes, *op cit*, I, 31.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 81.

⁹⁸ *Notre-Dame*, VII, II, 212.

⁹⁹ Cervantes, *op cit*, I, 86. Note also the speech of Claude Frollo: "Oh! quelle désertion de toute vertu! quel abandon désespéré de moi-même! Docteur, je bafoue la science, gentil-homme, je déchire mon nom, prêtre, je fais du missel un oreiller de luxe, je crache au visage de mon Dieu! tout cela pour toi, enchanteresse!"—*Notre-Dame*, XI, I, 397-398. This manuscript insertion (MS fo. 363a) is apparently a late imitation of Cervantes: "¡O poderosa fuerza deste que llaman dulce dios de la amargura, Caballero es Andres, y desde ayer ha hecho tal mudança, que engañó a sus criados y sus amigos, defraudó las esperanças que sus padres en el tenían, y se vino a postrarse a los pies de vna muchacha," etc.—Cervantes, *op cit*, I, 86.

¹⁰⁰ *Notre-Dame*, II, VI, 71.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

at heart, he keeps his gentlemanly dignity, "correspondiendo a su buena sangre"¹⁰² He remains so fundamentally honest that he actually buys and pays for articles which he pretends to have stolen.¹⁰³ Poor Gringoire, as a crime apprentice learning to rob the *mannequin*, talks about being a "truand dans l'âme,"¹⁰⁴ but only arouses the "rire diabolique" of the subjects of the ruffian *roi de Thunes*¹⁰⁵

(C) We come now to the slight connection between the historical Gringore and the Gringoire of the novel—a connection not visible, as has been noted, in the scenario of 1828 The revised Gringoire is authentic to the extent that he is the author of a profitable *mystère*,¹⁰⁶ and collaborates with the carpenter Jehan Marchand, who constructed the scaffolding of the play¹⁰⁷ To be sure, the real Gringore was a child seven or eight years of age in 1482, but Victor Hugo solves this difficulty by a simple chronological alteration, changing the date of payment for Gringore's *mystère* and for Marchand's scaffolding from 1502 to 1483¹⁰⁸

CLAUDE FROLLO. Claude Frollo's repressed emotion appears more dangerous at each stage of the evolution of his character. "La tentation de l'archidiacre," a line in the scenario of 1828, shows the priest already struggling against his love for la Esmeralda¹⁰⁹ According to the scenario of 1830, which goes a step further, Frollo's inner torment leads him to plot the murder of his rival Phébus, as we have seen¹¹⁰ In the novel, the detailed examination of Frollo's symptoms almost suggests the clinical memoranda of the literary disciples of Charcot.¹¹¹

Reference was made in the discussion of Phoebus de Châteaupers to the numerous passages added to the novel for the purpose of emphasizing the concealed sufferings of Claude Frollo In one such insertion, the author relates how the archdeacon wept with jealous rage at the thought that when la Esmeralda was on her way to the scaffold, profane bystanders had reveled at the sight of her body, imperfectly covered by a loosely tied chemise¹¹² Another interpolation is a catalogue of symptoms worthy

¹⁰² Cervantes, *op cit*, I, 87

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, I, 88

¹⁰⁴ *Notre-Dame*, II, VI, 70 Victor Hugo's description of the *mannequin* was taken from Sauval, however Cf Huguet, p 636

¹⁰⁵ *Notre-Dame*, II, VI, 74

¹⁰⁶ Gringoire boasts to la Esmeralda "Et puis, mon mystère me rapportera beaucoup d'argent monnayé, si l'on me le paye"—*Ibid*, II, VII, 84

¹⁰⁷ MS fo 443 See *Notre-Dame*, XI, II, 422, where substantially the same item is dated 1483 Sauval, *op cit*, III, 533, gives the date as 1502 Cf also Huguet, pp 622–623, note 2

Cf also *Notre-Dame*, I, II, 16, for Gringoire's association with Marchand In relating his life story, Gringoire explains that he once worked as a carpenter's apprentice, but was not strong enough—*Ibid*, II, VII, 83 This statement is a MS insertion—Cf MS fo 70b

¹⁰⁸ Cf Huguet, p 68, note 1

¹⁰⁹ *Notre-Dame*, p 430

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, X, I, 331

¹¹² *Ibid*, IX, I, 298 Cf note 68, and MS fo 270a See also the long insertion, *Notre-Dame*, XI, I, 397–398 Si vous saviez combien je vous aime! En se tournant subitement vers l'égyptienne, etc Cf. MS fo 363a

of a hospital haunting novelist of the naturalist school—pounding arteries, teeth that nervously gnaw hands, cold perspiration running unchecked down the forehead.¹¹³

After his repressed emotion, perhaps the most notable characteristic of Claude Frollo is his interest in black art, of which no mention is made in the scenarios of 1828 and 1830. In the novel, however, Victor Hugo makes belated use of his own *Han d'Islande*, where he had portrayed the reputed sorcerer Spiagudry, seated before a table covered with old books and dry bones, who became thus almost as much a model for Claude Frollo as for Pierre Gringoire.¹¹⁴ Victor Hugo was also greatly impressed by Rembrandt's etching of Doctor Faustus (c. 1651)¹¹⁵ It is entirely possible that Victor Hugo's enthusiasm for this etching was heightened by a description of Sir Geoffrey Hudson, in Scott's *Peveril of the Peak*, a novel concededly read by Victor Hugo in preparation for *Notre-Dame de Paris*.¹¹⁶ According to Scott, Sir Geoffrey was a sort of Faust who "would have tempted Rembrandt to exhibit him on a canvas."¹¹⁷

On the whole, the character of Claude Frollo is symmetrical, in spite of late changes. For instance, the exaggerated protests which he makes against sorcery, to divert attention from his lately acquired weakness for black magic, are in harmony with the more basic false modesty which causes him to deny entrance to the cloister of Notre-Dame to all females.¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, Claude Frollo, like his sixteen year old brother Jehan, occasionally falls heir to the pedantic remarks that overflow from the character of Gringoire. Thus the archdeacon unctuously tells his brother: "*Qui non laborat non manducet*."¹¹⁹ Not to be outdone, Jehan Frollo wails back in the language of Æschylus: "*οτοτοτοτοτοι*."¹²⁰ For Claude Frollo, such scholasticism is never more than a veneer, thinly covering a consuming passion, while of course Jehan is at heart no *écolier limousin*, but a *gamin*. A precursor of Gavroche, Jehan dies with a popular song on his lips that has no trace of pedantry.¹²¹

LOUIS XI. So far as Louis XI is concerned, the scenario of 1828 is in general accord with the novel, except that the king resides at Plessis-lez-

¹¹³ *Notre-Dame*, VIII, IV, 277 Cf MS fo 251b

¹¹⁴ *Han d'Islande*, VI, 44 Cf *ibid*, I, 19, VIII, 58, XII, 103, XV, 120

¹¹⁵ *Notre-Dame*, VII, IV, 219-220

¹¹⁶ For the influence of *Peveril of the Peak* on Victor Hugo, see note 31

¹¹⁷ *Peveril of the Peak*, II (Chap xxxv), 89

¹¹⁸ *Notre-Dame*, IV, V, 130 Cf Huguet, p 61, who cites Du Breul, p. 42

¹¹⁹ *Notre-Dame*, VII, IV, 227 According to Victor Hugo's notes, this was the motto of Philippe de Comines Cf MS fo. 428^v ¹²⁰ *Notre-Dame*, *loc cit* Cf MS fo 427

¹²¹ On MS fo 433^v, this is called a "chanson de 1479." Cf. the song of the mortally wounded Gavroche, *les Misérables*, Édition de l'Imprimerie Nationale (Paris, 1909), Part v, I, xv, 54. Another popular song sung by Jehan Frollo is

Tours, not at the Bastille¹²² From the first, it was obviously Victor Hugo's intention to make Louis XI the central figure of a climactic scene:

Olivier le Daim et L XI Grande scène¹²³

This line is eventually expanded into the longest chapter in the novel¹²⁴ In preparing this chapter, Victor Hugo not only took elaborate notes on Louis XI and Olivier le Daim, but also made special outlines, one of which reads as follows:

Copp.
L'heure du peuple n'est pas venue
L XI
Et quand viendra cette heure, maître?
C
Vous l'entendrez sonner.
L XI
A quelle horloge, s'il vous plaît
C (il monte à une fenêtre)

Écoutez—Vous voyez ce beffroi, ces canons, ces bourgeois, ces soldats, quand ce beffroi bourdonnera, quand les canons gronderont, quand ce donjon croulera à grand bruit, quand bourgeois et soldats hurleront et s'entretueront, c'est l'heure qui sonnera.¹²⁵

The above scenario is taken over almost textually in the novel.¹²⁶ Another outline reads:

le retrait	l'homme pendu
les cinq personnages	le medecin
le rapport	le barbier
la cage	Avis à Tristan ¹²⁷

Of these items, *la cage* is probably intended as a repetition of *les fillettes du roi* listed on fo. 411a:

Après
Ensuite
Et puis
les bains sont de l'équipage de l'amour et de la volupté
les fillettes du roi¹²⁸

Quand les rats mangeront les cats,
Le seigneur sera seigneur d'Arras, etc.,—*Notre-Dame*, vii, vii. 240 Cf. MS fo 433v, where *cats* is spelled *cas*, and Huguot, p 65 ¹²² *Notre-Dame*, p 430, cf p 427.

¹²³ *Ibid*, p 430. ¹²⁴ *Ibid*, x, v, 361–385

¹²⁵ MS fo 406 In the *reliquat*, Victor Hugo cites for the life of Louis XI *La Chronique scandaleuse* (Jean de Troyes, xxi, 478) Les Mémoires de Comines —L'histoire de Louis XI par P Mathieu *Rerum gallicanorum Commentarii* (ab anno 1461 ad annum 1480) L XI, par Duclos —MS fo 448 ¹²⁶ *Notre-Dame*, x, v, 381–382 ¹²⁷ MS fo. 412b.

¹²⁸ *Notre Dame*, x, v, 367. C'était une de ces fameuses cages à prisonniers d'état qu'on

In the *reliquat* (fo 410a) is found this note—"Louis XI prenait le titre d'abbé chanoine de Tours (comme tous les Rois de France)"—which was the basis for the chapter entitled *Abbas beati Martini*¹²⁹ Victor Hugo drew his information from Saint-Martin de Tours, whom he quotes directly on fo 444:

Abbas Beati Martini, scilicet Rex Franciae est cononicus de consuetudine et habet parvam prebendam quam habet sanctus Venantius et debet sedere in sede Thesaurii¹³⁰

OLIVIER LE DAIM For the details concerning Olivier le Daim found in the chapter entitled *Le retrait où dit ses heures Monsieur Lous de France*, Victor Hugo took copious notes, particularly from the *Comptes de la Prévôté*¹³¹ For the biography of Olivier, the *reliquat* has three paragraphs which are expanded in the novel, and put into the mouth of Louis XI¹³² The first of these paragraphs, in particular, reveals Olivier as a leader of the "fifth column" of the crafty King of France.

The principal items of the expense account of Louis XI, borrowed by Victor Hugo from Pierre Mathieu and the *Comptes de la Prévôté*, are also found in the *reliquat*.¹³³ This material is rearranged and dramatized in the novel, and put into the mouth of Olivier le Daim¹³⁴

A perusal of the *reliquat* leads to the conclusion that the author's creative moods depended on a state of mental relaxation, in which his mind wandered without logical control, often absurdly The word *Rêves*¹³⁵ which the author introduces in the midst of his reflections on the *bourdon* is symptomatic of his mental processes Characteristic is the following outline, which has the inconsequentiality of a dream:

omelettes chaudes
le duc d'Égypte
Jehan Frolo
cette republique
source d'une iliade de malheurs
Tripes
Anaxagoras disait qu'il était au monde pour admirer le soleil¹³⁶

appelait les fillettes du roi By a curious slip, Victor Hugo here defines *les fillettes du roi* as "cages," when as a matter of fact they were heavy chains In the *reliquat*, the meaning of the expression is given correctly Cages de fer où les prisonniers étaient attachés avec d'énormes chaînes appelées *les fillettes du roi* (MS fo 412b) Cf the *Mémoires de Philippe de Commines*, ed B de Mandrot (Paris, 1901), II, 78, and Huguet, p 428, note 1, who mentions the erroneous use of the term in the novel, and, as elsewhere, makes no mention of the *reliquat*¹²⁹ *Notre-Dame*, v, 1, 133-141

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, v, 1, 141 Cf Huguet, p 425, note 2

¹³¹ Cf Huguet, p 435, and notes 1, 2 and 3 ¹³² MS fo 430v

¹³³ MS fos 446 and 446(2) Cf Huguet, pp 425-434

¹³⁴ *Notre-Dame*, x, v, 365

¹³⁵ MS fo 414b.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, fo 411a

Unfettered by sense of time or place, the author drifts easily from a consideration of *Femmes jaunes*, a subject to which he will return in *Ruy Blas*,¹³⁷ and passes to such a question as: "Avez-vous prié Dieu ce soir, Desdémone?" On the same page are the following unrelated remarks, revealing little except that he was still thinking of Shakespeare:

Il y a des hommes malheureux Christophe Colomb ne peut attacher son nom à sa découverte, Guillotin ne peut détacher le sien de son invention

Tous deux, eût dit Falstaff, avaient trouvé des moyens d'aller dans l'autre monde.

A little later, becoming more frivolous, Victor Hugo composed the following doggerel:

Quand Adam mangeait les pommes
où étaient les gentilshommes?¹³⁸

Such habitual mental excursions made really rapid composition impossible, except in the final stages of a work. For instance, with typical inconsequentiality, Victor Hugo passed in review the reigns of at least four earlier French kings, before deciding to treat in his novel the epoch of Louis XI. On fo. 402b, he took elaborate notes, based on Du Breul, about Parlement under Philippe le Bel in 1302. On the same page are references to two other French kings:

Charles V ordonne que les chanoines de la Sainte Chapelle portent des aumusses grises, . . . tandis que le reste du clergé a des aumusses noires. . . .

Statue du traître Jean le Clerc, qui avait livré Paris aux Bourguignons sous Charles VI, au coin des rues de la Harpe et de Bussy, au bout du pont St Michel

Another mention of Charles VI occurs on fo. 410b: " . . . Sous Charles VI les hommes allaient en croupe comme les femmes "

It was, however, Philippe V who caused Victor Hugo the greatest hesitation. We find, on fo. 416a· Philippe-le-long. Earlier, on fo. 412f:

Ph le long Son regard était morne et fou

C'était en 1319, sous le règne de Philippe V, le plus long des rois de France

Victor Hugo even managed to save the last line, by putting it into the mouth of Gringoire.¹³⁹

Victor Hugo was fascinated by the Greek prefix ANA, which he repeats:

Écrit sur les revers d'une page de dictionnaire grec ANA ANA ANA p 83¹⁴⁰

Could there be any connection between ANA and the oft-repeated 'AN'ΑΓΚΗ?¹⁴¹ Such a development would seem logical only to the mind

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, fo. 413a Cf *Ruy Blas*, iv, ii, line 1581

¹³⁸ MS fo. 416a.

¹³⁹ *Notre-Dame*, xi, i, 394

¹⁴⁰ MS fo. 454

¹⁴¹ *Notre-Dame*, iii, and vii, iv, 223, as well as the preface to *les Travailleurs de la Mer*,

of a dreamer who is often content to look lingeringly at images in an open grate fire. The gropings of just such a mind are revealed in the *reliquat* of *Notre-Dame de Paris*.

In conclusion: This article is addressed especially to latter-day sceptics who doubt the validity of virtually all literary sources. As an example, I have taken the old-fashioned investigation of the sources of *Notre-Dame de Paris* by Edmond Huguet, who apparently had no access to the *reliquat*, and trusted simply to literary parallels, a method viewed with alarm by the more sophisticated higher critics. Yet a comparison with Victor Hugo's own notes confirms Huguet's results in the minutest details, except perhaps for slight errors regarding *forismaritagium*, and *les fillettes du roi*.

This article therefore has relatively little new to offer in the way of minutiae. On the other hand, it is hoped that some light has been shed on the various stages of the evolution of the principal characters. This evolution represented, contrary to certain modern theories, a characteristic *longue élaboration*, generally preceded by a spell of musing, in which sometimes memories of the author's school days, or even of his early childhood, were recalled. Not infrequently, the final result was a *fusion* of literary influences that have heretofore been analyzed only singly and separately. The progress of such transformations can frequently be verified not only by the author's notes, but especially by the manuscript changes, which are here studied for the first time.

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etc. For a different theory, see Auguste Viatte, "Notes sur les sources de Victor Hugo," *RHL*, xxxix (1932), 443. Cf. also Albert Schinz, review of Denis Saurat, *la Religion de Victor Hugo*, *ibid.*, p. 599.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

I. *Language study in war time*: "Among American needs rendered more acute by the emergency situation is that for high degrees of language proficiencies not only in the languages of Western Europe generally taught in universities and colleges but in the languages of the Orient not so generally taught. This weakness in American preparedness both for war and for peace has already become serious in the combat services, in the civil agencies, in international relations, and in science. It will rapidly become worse and it is not a weakness which can be cured on a moment's notice.

The American Council of Learned Societies, therefore, records the belief that among the most important contributions which the universities can make to the prosecution of the war and the planning of the peace are the intensification of the teaching of all languages likely to be useful in the emergency, the stimulation of the scientific implementation of the study of those languages, and in particular the development of the language powers of those who study languages not alone for their own sake but for their use as instruments in all fields of science, scholarship, and international relations in war and peace.

The Council holds itself ready to participate with the universities and colleges in all programs of activity designed to accomplish these aims."—Resolution adopted by the American Council of Learned Societies, at its annual meeting, in Philadelphia, January 31, 1942.

II. *Annual meetings in war time*: "Because of the considerable agitation to abandon the annual meetings of learned societies for the duration of the war, the following motion was approved by the Conference: that it is the sense of this Conference that, unless the United States Government requests otherwise, the Societies should continue their activities and annual meetings throughout the war"—Extract from the minutes of the Eighteenth Annual Conference of the Constituent Societies (of the American Council of Learned Societies), Philadelphia, January 30, 1942.

III. *The MLA 1942 Annual Meeting*: The schedule usually printed here is deferred till after the meeting of the Executive Council on March 28 and 29. Although nothing has yet arisen to necessitate a change from the plans announced, or a major change in the usual arrangements, what can be stated at present must be regarded as wholly tentative.

1. The Regulations face cover page 3 of the Supplement.
2. The *Circular* and *Program* will be issued about November 1 and December 1.
3. The Local Committee at Washington, D. C., is being formed.

Its chairman is Dean Henry Grattan Doyle, of George Washington University.

4 The Willard-Washington hotels will be headquarters, with adjunct hotels. They have renewed their guarantee of ample accommodations at uniform, reasonable rates

5. The registration fee will be twenty-five cents

6 The official sessions are from 2:00 P.M., Tuesday, December 29, to 5:30 P.M., Thursday, December 31.

7. The provisional arrangement of sessions follows:

Tuesday morning—Provisional Discussion Groups

Tuesday afternoon—English Section I and concurrent Groups

Tuesday evening—Presidential Address and reception

Wednesday morning—Romance Section and concurrent Groups

Wednesday afternoon—Business session, followed by Groups

Wednesday evening—Banquet

Thursday morning—English Section II and concurrent Groups

Thursday afternoon—Germanic Section and concurrent Groups

For this year English VII and General Topics VIII will exchange places on the program.

IV *American Dialect Society* The Secretary-Treasurer (Allen Walker Read, *Illinois Institute of Technology*) thus announces the new plans of the Society:

"The central interest of the American Dialect Society is the collecting of localisms and regional speech for an exhaustive *Dialect Dictionary of the United States*, and the enthusiasm recently shown by many members ensures genuine progress in the work. The executive committee has voted to establish a set of research committees to further the varied interests of the members. These are (1) Regional speech and localisms, (2) Place-names, (3) Linguistic geography, (4) Usage, including speech-levels, purism, and standards of acceptable English, (5) Non-English dialects, (6) New words, and (7) Semantics. Anyone who has interests in these fields is urged to become a member of the Society.

The dues for 1942 are only one dollar. Members will receive various mimeographed materials. They may be assured that they are cooperating in the Society's work at a crucial time, when a revitalizing of its activities bids fair to take place."

PERCY W. LONG, *Secretary*

PMLA

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EMOTIONS AND ATTITUDES IN CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES' *EREC ET ENIDE* AND HARTMANN VON AUE'S *ÊREC DER WUNDERAERE*

COMPARISONS between Chrétien de Troyes' *Erec et Enide*, composed about 1160,¹ and Hartmann von Aue's *Êrec der Wunderaere*, written soon after 1190,² began in 1862 with Karl Bartsch's article,³ a few years after both romances had been made easily accessible in I. Bekker's edition of Chrétien's *Erec* (1856)⁴ and Moritz Haupt's edition of Hartmann's *Erec* (1839).⁵ Bartsch's pioneer work consists, however, mainly in paralleling the texts to show the more or less similar sequence of events.

Of later comparisons only a few outstanding works can be mentioned here: the sympathetic biography of the German poet by the Frenchman Felix Piquet⁶, Gustav Ehrismann's chapters on Hartmann and Hartmann's *Erec* in his invaluable *Geschichte*,⁷ into which Hartmann is fitted objectively and historically, Herbert Drube's dissertation,⁸ in praise and defense of both poets, where Hartmann's *Wollen* as well as his *Können* is stressed. Differences in the aims of the two poets ("das völlig veränderte Ethos") are set forth by Hans Naumann⁹ and frequent compari-

¹ According to Gustave Cohen, *Chrétien de Troyes et son Œuvre* (1931), p. 157, between 1160 and 1164, according to Wendelin Foerster, *Einleitung, Erec und Enide* (1934), p. x, about 1150.

² Cf. Gustav Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (1927, II, II, 1), p. 161.

³ *Über Christian's von Troyes und Hartmann's von Aue Erec und Enide*, Germania, VII (1862), pp. 141-185. ⁴ *ZfdA*, x, MS. Cängé 26, Reg. 74498.

⁵ From the *Ambraser Handschrift*, an edition in which Lachmann also took part.

⁶ *Étude sur Hartmann d'Aue* (Paris, 1898). ⁷ *Op. cit.*

⁸ *Hartmann und Chrétien* (Münster, 1931), *Forschungen zur deutschen Sprache und Dichtung*, herausgegeben von J. Schwietering, Hft. 2.

⁹ *Hartmann von Aue, Einführung, Erec/Iwein* (1933), p. 14.

sons are made by H. Sparnaay in his biography, *Hartmann von Aue*,¹⁰ which also brings an interesting, provocative re-orientation and re-evaluation of Hartmann's *Erec*.¹¹

The question of sources, which puzzled Bartsch in 1862, remains baffling today. The very fact that so much mystery and doubt have surrounded the problem of Hartmann's indebtedness to his sources has hampered the work of comparison between the two romances. Though wariness still is necessary, it would seem possible to single out an element that runs consistently through Chrétien's *Erec* and see what corresponds to this element in Hartmann's version. The red thread of *joie*, and intertwined with it, *enor*, is to be chosen. This would seem permissible, regardless of the conflicting hypotheses concerning the nature of the ultimate sources of the two romances, regardless also of the vexed question whether Chrétien's *Erec* was merely one of several sources of Hartmann's *Erec*,¹² or the sole source.¹³ The "grundsatzliche Verschiedenheit"¹⁴ can be demonstrated.

Joie de vivre seems to be the normal basic emotion in Chrétien de Troyes' *Erec*. Scherer¹⁵ long ago called Chrétien "ein rechter Vertreter der gallischen Heiterkeit," adding: "das sind Menschen [im *Erec*], die das Leben geniessen und sich freuen." To the importance of *joie*, both in word and motif, Professor Leo Spitzer has called attention in his unpublished lectures on *Erec*. The phenomenon, however, has apparently not been investigated, nor, what is more important, compared consistently with its equivalent in Hartmann.

¹⁰ *Hartmann von Aue, Studien zu einer Biographie*, Bd. 1, II (Halle, [Saale], 1933, 1938).

¹¹ A summary of the work done in comparing OF and MGH literature is given by W. Kellermann in his exhaustive studies *Wege und Ziele der neuen Chrestien de Troyes-Forschung*, GRM (1935); *Altdeutsche und altfranzösische Literatur*, GRM (1938).

¹² Summaries of the arguments regarding sources are given by W. Gaede, *Die Bearbeitungen von Chrestiens Erec und die Mabinogionfrage* (Berlin, 1913), R. Zenker "Weiteres zur Mabinogionfrage," *ZfSph* XLV (1919), 50 ff., 57; *ZfSph* XLVIII (1926), p. 2 ff.; Drube (*op. cit.*, p. 9 ff.), Hans Naumann (*Zu Hartmanns Erec. ZfPh*, XLVII (1918), p. 361).

¹³ Cf. Wendelin Foerster, "(Der grosse) Erec," *Christian von Troyes Samtliche Werke* (1890), Bd. 3, p. xvii, The differences between Hartmann and Chrétien are "ausschliesslich der bewussten Absicht Hartmanns zuzuschreiben." They betoken his "Eigenart." Naumann (*Einführung*, pp. 12-13) holds substantially the same view, as does Drube (*op. cit.*, p. 103), who rejects Zenker's parallels as "zufällig und unbedeutend."

¹⁴ Cf. Ehrismann, *Geschichte*, II, II, 1, p. 163 "So wird die Frage nach der Selbstständigkeit H's nicht für alle Teile mit voller Sicherheit zu lösen sein. Aber der Gesamteindruck lässt doch die grundsätzliche Verschiedenheit zwischen H's und Chr's künstlerischer Auffassung und Begabung erkennen."

¹⁵ W. Scherer, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* (3. Auflage, 1885), p. 162. On the whole, Scherer's vivid comparisons between the German and the French texts still hold true, though it would seem unfair to assert "auch Hartmann ist ein blosser Uebersetzer wie Veldeke."

All five senses contribute to the element of joyousness in Chrétien's *Erec*; musical instruments vie with one another, singing breaks out; there is delight in the banquet, in bright colors, in sweet odors, in frankly sensuous connubial pleasures. Chrétien's text shows passages studded with the words *joie*, *he*, *conjoir*,¹⁶ and even contains the characteristic compound *antreconjoir* (6594).¹⁷ Sorrow appears sometimes, as at farewells, like a violent spring freshet, but evaporates quickly. Enide's *duel*, however, can also be strong, deep, and warm (in spite of naïvely theatrical effects); yet, once the special cause for sorrow is removed, the basic *joie de vivre* atmosphere is immediately restored.

Joy, in Chrétien, often partakes of the nature of spontaneous combustion. Nevertheless, it frequently interacts with pride. Joy is called forth commensurately by the amount of honor (*enor*) shown. Pride and honor seek conversely to express themselves in pomp, lavishness, generosity, joy-giving. Pride reveals itself in various degrees, legitimate pride often amounting to arrogance before it transgresses lawful boundaries and becomes uncourtly *orguel*. Boasting is as a rule (though not always) legitimate. Erec when appearing as challenger for the sparrow-hawk states explicitly: "Del desresnier tres bien me vant" (831). Again, after the battle with Guivrez, the dwarf king *se vante* and Erec *se revante* (3880). But Erec hastens at another time to protest against being guilty of *orguel* (5861). The actual *orguel* of the courtly world, equivalent to the *superbia* of the church, is always punishable (cf. Yders and his dwarf, also Keus and again the two giants)¹⁸ The *orguel* (the presumptuousness of *la parole*) of which Enide bitterly accuses herself demands, according to her own feeling, atonement. "Chrétien's Menschen sind immer bemüht, ihre Ehre ins hellste Licht zu rücken," as Drube says. The statement that they are "stolz bis zur Arroganz mit fast eitlem Selbstbewusstsein ihrer Macht, Schönheit und Würde"¹⁹ is also true, but applies in *Erec* first and foremost to Chrétien's delightful caricatures, the strutting Galoain and the Count Oringles and to the openly censured Keus and Yders, only secondarily to Erec and not at all to Enide.

When one compares this *joie* and *enor* in Chrétien's *Erec* with the *froude* and *êre* of the parallel passages in Hartmann's *Erec*, one finds in

¹⁶ Cf. E. R. Curtius, "Zur Interpretation des Alexiusliedes," *ZfPh*, LVI (1936), 126, in reference to the tradition behind the repetition of a word, "ausmalend-wiederholende Amplifikation." Cf. also H. Hempel, *Französischer und deutscher Stil im hofischen Epos*, *GRM*, XXIII (1935), 9, "Stichwortwiederholung" of *joie* in *Yvain*.

¹⁷ Wendelin Foerster's *Kristian von Troyes Erec und Enide*, dritte Auflage, 1934 (No. 13, *Romanische Bibliothek*) is the French text referred to in this article; *Hartmann von Aue*, herausgegeben von Fedor Bech, *Êrec der wunderaer*, vierte Auflage (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1934), the German text.

¹⁸ Cf. Piquet, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

¹⁹ Cf. Drube, p. 99 ff.

general only weaker manifestations of the same emotions²⁰ Also the expressions of *duel* in Chrétien, particularly Enide's grief (because of her husband's *recreantise*, her remorse over her own *orguel*, her pain at losing Erec's companionship and love) become in Hartmann dutiful schematized suffering. To be sure, the joy and sorrow present in the French version undergo at times in Hartmann a *Verinnerlichung*, a change which has been noted by various authors This is apparent for example in the *Innigkeit* of sorrow in Enide's first parting with her parents²¹ Unfortunately such instances of spontaneous feeling in Hartmann often disappear in waves of rationalizing, didacticism, theology, rhetoric, *lust* (in Hartmann's own MHG meaning²²

More peculiar, however, is the complete metamorphosis which frequently has taken place Joie has turned into *leit* (*Schmerz*), *enor* into *scham* or *schande* *Ehre* may be "der ethische Grundton"²³ in Hartmann's *Erec*, but it is, as Ehrismann also points out, an *Ehre* obtainable only through *Arbeit* (here *Arbeit* may be taken in its MHG meaning, *Muhsal*), which necessarily involves suffering. The greatest honor won by Hartmann's hero, however, derives from his capacity for *erbarmde* (9943-50) Characteristic also in Hartmann is the axiom that *êre* is obtained generally through *scham* (5668 ff.) Not only are Hartmann's characters introverts; they are victims of their consciousness of inferiority. What one may call the dominant emotions in Chrétien's world become "recessive" or submissive in Hartmann's. To be sure, Hans Naumann²⁴ and Karl Korn²⁵ have pointed to the frequency of the *Freude*-theme in Hartmann's *Erec* and it is true that a notable amount of *froude* is present, both in word and motif There are even a few passages (cf Hartmann 1375-86 with Chrétien 1304-19) where Hartmann shows a greater range of vocabulary than Chrétien. Moreover, Hartmann's *saelde*, *saelic* (972, 3495, 3597, 6250, 8520, 9906, not yet equivalent to NHG *Seligkeit*, *selig*), inferring an elevated joy from without,²⁶ is a deeper sentiment than Chrétien's active, expansive *joue*, but also a less spontaneous one. In Hartmann, too, joy over friendship is more conspicuous than in Chrétien. But the specific

²⁰ Cf Drube, p 99, for the toning down of pride

²¹ Similarly, *Innigkeit* of joy is noticeable at times in the Erec-Guivrez friendship

²² Cf Ehrismann's words (*Geschichte*, II, ii, 1 p 164) "reflektierende, aufklarende Ausschweifungen (die sog psychologische Vertiefung)"

²³ Ehrismann, "Ritterliches Tugendsystem," *ZfdA*, LVI (1919), 197.

²⁴ *Einführung*, *Hartmann von Aue*, *Erec/Iwein*, p 20.

²⁵ *Studien über Freude und Tränen bei mittelhochdeutschen Dichtern*, *Von Deutscher Poeterey*, Bd 12 (Leipzig, 1932), pp 95 ff.

²⁶ Cf. Naumann's interpretation: "hofische Gnade" (*Einführung*, p 19)

forms of *froude* to which Korn particularly calls attention²⁷ are already present in Chrétien and in richer, more dynamic manifestation

Erec's convalescence offers a brief example of the modification and reversal that occurs in the joy-theme. In Chrétien, gaiety evidently constitutes one of the primary requisites for good nursing (5113-15). In Hartmann, the king's sisters tend Erec out of the kindness of their hearts, and it is due to this cardinal virtue that they are *frô und . . . gemes* (7212-13). Enide's delight over her husband's recovery, culminating in sensuous conubial joy ("Or fu acolee et beiseie/ . . . Or ot sa joie et son delit,/Que nu a nu sont an un lit . . ." 5245-56), is completely lacking in Hartmann. The same theme recurring in a description of the intricate ivory workmanship of the saddle (Dido received Aeneas "a grant joie an son lit . . ." 5340), is softened and chastened (Dido received Aeneas "in ir gnâde," 7556). Leave-taking from Penefrec, which means home-going to Erec and Enide, brings, in Chrétien, new joy. Enide is *jovanz et lee* (5299). Joyously she mounts the new piebald palfrey. Joy expresses itself indirectly in the graceful, almost dance-like formality of the final farewell (5606-11). The clear element of rejoicing inherent in this episode is almost completely submerged in Hartmann by intolerably long-winded motivations and descriptions. Enide's pleasure in the horse is interrupted by an account of the violent grief of the original owner²⁸ at having his horse stolen (7394-7424). Emphasis is laid, not on Erec's happiness and temporary relaxation, to which by now he has earned a full right, but on his longing to be away, a longing that becomes exaggerated and amounts almost to physical suffering: "als er in einem walde/waere âne obdach,/eine ân allen gemach,/da den unfalschen degen/beide wint unde regen/vil sêre muote . . . die vierzehn naht, daz ist wâr,/dûhten in als manec jâr," (7244-60).

The treatment of the old vavassor illustrates the shift from pride to shame in the later version. In his inordinate, albeit touchingly naive pride in his daughter, Chrétien's well-nigh destitute vavassor boasts that

²⁷ *Op cit*, p. 95 ff. a) "Tatsächlich ist die Freude der Gesamtheit der Artusritterschaft prinzipiell unzerstörbar." b) "Mitfreude an den glücklichen Einzelschicksalen der Artushelden." c) "Der hofische Mensch freut sich an Werten, die nicht zur Daseinsnotdurft gehören, an der Welt des ästhetisch Schönen, an Dichtung und Musik (*Erec* 2151), am sportlichen Spiel (*Erec* 2155), am Tanz (*Erec* 8063 . . .)." Negatively Korn describes this *froude*. "Aber diese Freude ist nicht die naive, problemlose homerische Daseins-fülle und -uppigkeit. Unter der glänzenden Oberfläche strahlender Freude liegen tragische Abgründe verborgen." How much *leit* not only lies half hidden, but actually breaks out and extinguishes *froude*, becomes evident when one compares the two texts.

²⁸ Sparnaay, *op cit*, I, p. 98 suggests for this passage a variant source. Cf. also Zenker, *ZfS*, XLVIII (1926), 3 ff.

there is no baron in the country who would not gladly take her to wife, but that he is reserving her for *greignor enor*—"for is her beauty to be matched anywhere? Her accomplishments exceed her beauty. God never made anyone so wise . . ." (533-546). Chrétien's vavassor as host demands that Enide curry the guest's horse (so too in Hartmann), but, in conformity with the *enor* of the house, that she also remain the grand lady, observe the social amenities, lead their guest by the hand to the repast. This vavassor graciously accepts for his ragged daughter the hand of a mighty king's son: "ma bele fille vos present" (676). Hartmann offers, instead of the overweening boast concerning Enide's merits,²⁹ merely: "ir geburt was âne schande" (438). Not only is the Germanic understatement³⁰ in contrast to Chrétien's vaunting conspicuous but even more so the use of the word *schande*. The poverty of Coralus, Hartmann's vavassor, is kept secret from the world for agonizing shame (413-426): "dem wirt was diu arbeit/die er von grôzer armuot leit/dâ wider sueze als ein mete/dâ enegen und im diu schame tete." So keenly does Coralus feel the sting of poverty that he believes the strange knight, Erec, is jeering (531) or joking (545) when he offers to marry Enide. Hartmann's Coralus actually becomes choked with tears of mortification (524-545). Erec himself upon entering the ruined castle is pained by a feeling that he may be disturbing the old vavassor (292). He turns *schamrot* at being obliged to ask for a lodging (302), blushes again at the humiliation of his host (559). There are reciprocal waves of *scham*.³¹

In both these passages Hartmann is undoubtedly underscoring morals:

²⁹ To the elumination of the father's boastfulness Bartsch (*op cit* p. 181), called attention

³⁰ *âne schande* is probably Hartmann's characteristically lowered version of *non ignobilis*. Cf. Alfred Hubner, "Die 'mhd Ironie' oder die Litotes im Altdeutschen," *Palaestra*, CLXXI, 14 "Die Litotes oder mhd Ironie ist eine gemeingermanische, im mdh. auffallend stark hervortretende Stileigentümlichkeit"

³¹ In contrast to these two extremes (*enor* in Chrétien and *scham* in Hartmann) the corresponding passage in the *Erex Saga*, edited by Gustaf Cederschild (Copenhagen, 1880), pp 5 ff., reveals natural dignity. Siress is laid here on the love-theme, the power of the sudden, unknown emotion, which causes the maiden to marvel in sweet bewilderment at herself, to forget to take over the care of the guest's horse. In the Scandinavian version the old *husbondi* himself, seeing all, unnoticed leads the horse away. When the stranger asks for Evida's hand, the *husbondi* lets the decision rest with his daughter "ef þat er hennar vili" and again "ok nú segi hón sin vilja" (Neither Chrétien nor Hartmann allows Enide any voice in the matter.) The Old Norse *husbondi* offers a frank explanation of his poverty with no trace of humility, "Recessiveness" is apparent here only in the ON litotes (a trait even more characteristic for the sagas than for Hartmann's MHG; cf. also Lee M. Hollander, "Litotes in Old Norse," *PMLA*, LIII (1938), 2-3: "Enn þess vaentir mik, at af viti og kvennligum listum hafi min dóttir eigi síðr enn vaenlík" In the Welsh *Mabinogion*, which is here mainly interested in the impressions of decayed wealth and the story behind the old knight's poverty, both extremes are also lacking

zuht, mæze,³² *diemuot*³³—to some extent in contrast to Chrétien's aesthetic aims. But the issue is not clear-cut. Chrétien at times also champions morals and refinement in the matter of sensuousness.³⁴ Furthermore, "aesthetic" must be taken in its primitive as well as its applied sense. Hartmann was introducing into his "Ritterspiegel" the new ideals of chivalry, *caritas*, *misericordia*.³⁵ The spirit of the *chanson de geste*³⁶ was being repudiated, and it is possible that the new ethos may account for the presence of a considerable part of the *leit* in the MHG text. Hartmann feels that he must thoroughly demonstrate the capacity of the ideal knight for *erbarmde*. There is, however, over and above this at times an actual *Schwelgen im Schmerz*. The acute sufferings of Chrétien's Enide at the hands of Count Oringles corresponds in Hartmann to a rationalized courting of blows (Chrétien 4842–52, Hartmann 6551–85). Again, the violent grief of the French Enide over the apparently lifeless body of her husband corresponds in the MHG version to long-drawn-out sorrow, a veritable *Buhlen* with Death (Chrétien 4608–4739, Hartmann 5738–6300). This is more than long-suffering humility. Characteristic is also the expression "wan daz sî ze liebe ir leit/in ir herzen verkêrte" (3450–51), though Hartmann expressly states "als sî ir diemuot lêrte" (3452). Hartmann intends, first and foremost, to excite pity, teach humility, only both he and his heroine yield incidentally to the strange, almost Baroque pleasures of suffering. Hartmann's affinity for *leit* (and *scham*) is as great as Chrétien's for *joie* (and *enor*) and this predilection in Hartmann appears consistently throughout the whole romance, both in the passages that differ in content from Chrétien and in those that cannot conceivably derive from any other source.

Undoubtedly, personal and national³⁷ characteristics as well as the international-chronological³⁸ factor must be invoked to explain the differ-

³² This is the MHG version of the Aristotelian mean between extremes Cf also Ehrismann, "Ritterliches Tugendsystem," *Zfda*, lvi (1919), 151; Ehrismann, *Geschichte*, II, i, 1, p. 164, Hans Naumann, *Hofische Kultur* (1929), p. 4, H. Hempel, "Französischer und deutscher Stil," *GRM* (1935), pp. 6, 70.

³³ Cf J. Schwietering, *Die Demutsformel mittelhochdeutscher Dichter, Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, n F*, Bd. xvii, 3 (1931), pp. 35, 55, for the manifestation of *Demut* in general, and in particular in reference to the expression *tumber kneht*.

³⁴ Cf Cohen, *op cit* pp. 33 ff., 129, 132.

³⁵ See Julius Schwietering, "Der Wandel des Heldenideals in der epischen Dichtung des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Zfda*, lxxv (1927).

³⁶ Cf Foerster, *Kristian von Troyes, Wörterbuch zu seinen sämtlichen Werken* (1914), p. 55 "Kristians Erec steht den chansons de geste noch sehr nah."

³⁷ Cf Hempel, *Französischer und deutscher Stil*, p. 8 ff.; Scherer, *Geschichte* p. 162.

³⁸ Cf W. Kellermann, *Altdeutsche und altfranzösische Literatur*, *GRM* 26 (1938), p. 8 "Jener Zustand relativer Einheit . . . aber verschiedene Tonungen . . ."

ences between the two romances.³⁹ In what follows we shall attempt to point out in episode after episode how the emotions of joy and pride in Chrétien become transformed by Hartmann's ethical,⁴⁰ religious and pedagogical conceptions

Since Hartmann's parallel to the joyous opening scene in Chrétien's *Erec* has been lost, it is necessary to begin with the encounter between the queen's party and the dwarf. Here various degrees of pride are evidenced in Chrétien. The unknown knight Yders, through his dwarf, is guilty of *orguel* (243). *Enor* justifies the proud bearing of the maid and of Erec. Wounded pride stirs the queen, even more Erec at the lashing by the dwarf. At the same time Erec hastens to assert that he is blameless (239), the *honte* that he experiences evidently is merely external. In contrast to this, Hartmann's Erec suffers agonies of shame (105-27), though he actually receives milder physical chastisement than Chrétien's. The word *schaem* or *schande* occurs five times (105, 109, 111, 115, 121) as against one example of *honte*. In the settlement of the quarrel, we find *buoze* (1004, 1221, 1245, 1278) and *ruwe* (1224, 1227), expressions of self-debasement and humiliation that characterize Hartmann's defeated knight Yders.

In the ruined castle, in Chrétien, a chorus of rejoicing breaks out when Erec, the king's son, asks for Enide's hand. Erec's victory over Yders affords legitimate occasion for a heightened outburst of joy, evidenced in vocabulary (within 71 lines, 1247-1318, the words *joie*, *lee* occur 10 times) and in hyperbole (1248). Honor and pride are stressed here almost as strongly as joy, both in word and motif: (a) the count seeks the *grant enor* (1265) of Erec's company, (b) Erec gallantly emphasizes the *grant enor* that the old vavassor has conferred on him by giving him his daughter (1271-75, 1323), (c) Erec boasts of the castles that he will donate his father-in-law in return, (d) Enide is thrilled by her conquest of *enor et joie et seignorage* (1311), (e) Erec's pride probably dictates his refusal of clothes for Enide and his decree that she be dressed only by the queen and in the queen's garments, his pride in Enide's beauty may also motivate this decree⁴¹; (f) strong clan pride, at first deeply wounded by the prospect of Enide's departure in ragged garments, demands the acceptance of the valuable palfry (1359 ff.) In the parallel passage in Hartmann, rejoicing is far less pronounced and hyperbole is hardly present. The insist-

³⁹ Cf. Naumann, *Einführung*, p. 14. " . . . die Nation, die Generation, und das Individuum" as contributory factors

⁴⁰ Schwietering (*Der Wandel*, p. 140) has pointed to *erbarmde* as the ethical factor in the transformation of the *joie de la cort* episode, adding "Es liesse sich im Einzelnen zeigen, wie Hartmann von diesem ethischen Aspekten aus umgestaltend in seine Vorlage eingriff"

⁴¹ Cf. W. Meyer-Lubke, "Crestien von Troyes Erec und Enide," *ZfSPr.*, XLIV (1917).

ent reiteration of the word *joie*, reminding one of the pealing of bells,⁴² corresponds to the limited use of more varied, graduated words (*froude*, *wunne*, *saeleclîche*); extensive joy becomes restricted, but also intensive, pride and honor pale. Erec's almost arrogant treatment (in Chrétien) of the proffers of hospitality from the count (1284 ff.) has no direct counterpart. Erec's boastful promises of superb gifts (e.g. of the castle of Roadan, dating from the days of Adam) almost disappear. On the other hand, elements of modesty and humility are introduced. The vavassor bows down to Erec's feet in acknowledgment of the gifts—undoubtedly a matter of etiquette for the punctilious Hartmann. While Chrétien's Enide does her utmost openly to manifest her joy (1513–18), Hartmann's heroine shamefacedly (*bluclîch*, 1319) rests the head of her combat-weary knight in her lap. *Bluclîch* is her attitude to Erec on the ride away from home to Arthur's castle (1487). Chrétien's Enide, on the same occasion, returns Erec's sensuously longing glances with equal frankness (1498). Hartmann also states explicitly that his heroine rejoices over the outcome of the joust primarily for the sake of "ir lieben man" (1383), secondarily on account of the honor accruing to herself.

Grief at parting is, to be sure, more violent in Chrétien, amounting to a veritable deluge of tears, eight times within seventeen lines (1460–77) the word *plorer* occurs versus only two instances in Hartmann (*weinende*, *trachen*, 1455–79). It is significant, however, that in Chrétien only the parents weep, while in Hartmann, Enide also weeps bitterly (and dutifully, 1455–59). The effect of the flood of tears in Chrétien is furthermore offset by Enide's manifest joy over the sparrow-hawk (symbolising honor) and by the spirit of rejoicing of the whole company, both traits lacking in Hartmann.

The arrival of the couple at Arthur's court gives rise to a paean of joy. The queen experiences *grant joie* (1535), the whole court is full of joy (1536), all *conjoient* with Erec and his *pucele*. In one short passage the word *joie* (or *leesce*) occurs six times (2039–71). In order to increase the rejoicing over the wedding, Arthur commands that one hundred vassals be prepared and magnificently equipped for knighthood. All merriment seems to be centered at Arthur's court (2035–38), acrobats, jugglers, story-tellers, singers, whistlers, musical instruments (harp, rote, fiddle, flute, shawn) are gathered from far and near. Maidens dance, vie with one another in making merry. No doors or wickets are closed. The joy of feasting is climaxed in "la joie et le delit qui fu an la chanbre et el lit" (2071 ff.)

In the parallel passage in Hartmann the passionate *joie de vivre* is lack-

⁴² Cf. H. Hempel, "Französischer und deutscher Stil im hofischen Epos," *GRM*, xxiii (1935), 9.

ing. The corresponding words for joy (*frô, froude, froelîchen*) are reduced in number. Rejoicing at the wedding is hampered by inhibitions or pedantic etiquette. Hartmann is overzealous in proving the gentility of his guests (2127–32, 2140). Negatives becloud the effect of jollity: “dâ erschien kein armuot” (2127), “sus wart dâ trûren bedaht” (2144); “dâ wart nieman geschant” (2189). The description of brawls among the minstrels and the *swache diet* (2185) that did not take place is here so vivid (2165–90) that one forgets the pure joy which Hartmann set out to describe. In Chrétien, the elation felt on Enide’s arrival at court is given positive, concrete form by magnificent gifts, wherein the pride of the giver is inescapable, e.g. in the queen’s words on tendering to Enide one of her lavish presents: “cest bliaut, / Qui plus de çant mars d’arjant vaut / . . . Une autre foiz vos donrai plus ” (1635–40). *Enor* redounds both to giver and recipient. The magnificent presents dispatched by Erec to Enide’s parents bring *grant jove et grant enor* (1900). Hartmann characteristically excuses himself for his modest description of Enide’s beauty and garments with the statement that he is a *tumber kneht* (1602).⁴³ The presents sent old Coralus are reduced in quality and quantity: the five pack animals, loaded with gold, silver and furs in Chrétien (1853 ff.) become two in Hartmann (1805 ff.) with a correspondingly decreased expression of pleasure, “dô wart der edel man ergetzet” (1830). The charming, blushing bashfulness of Chrétien’s Enide on finding herself the center of attention at the dazzling court (1751–58) not only reappears in Hartmann, but is exploited and extended. Bashfulness becomes shame over poverty-stricken clothing. Poverty, personified, covers its head for shame and flees its lodging (“Nu bedaht diu frouwe Armuot / von grôzer schame daz houbet / von ir hûse si flôch,” 1578–83).

While Chrétien presents the tournament celebrating the wedding briefly in flashing color, clashing sound and proud feats of valor (2135–2293), Hartmann lengthens the episode almost four times (2247–2824), mainly by the inclusion of a broad ethical and philosophical foundation, demonstrating the humility, the consciousness of inferiority in Erec, the ideal knight. On the eve of the tournament Hartmann’s Erec flees the throng of thoughtlessly joyous knights (2377 ff.). He is diffident, even fearful of the outcome of the contest; “er vorhte den langen itewîz [= dauernde Schande]” (2257). He is diffident about accepting too much from Arthur, lest he be considered grasping (2270–71), again he evades Arthur’s liberality “als sîner schame tohte” (2274). He accepts only what is compatible with his station (2275–83). Erec’s humility is further evidenced in his trust in God (vs. the French Erec’s trust in himself). He also attends mass before the tournament (2488–2500), an episode lacking in Chrétien.

⁴³ Cf. Schwietering, *Die Demutsformel mittelhochdeutscher Dichter*, pp. 37, 55.

The home coming to Carnant affords Chrétien a new and natural occasion for spontaneous, demonstrative rejoicing (2329–2405). Hartmann shows considerably less exuberance (2877–2922). Outward symbols of joy—music, mint-strewn, rush-strewn-streets, carolling bells—all the visual, aural and olfactory signs are lacking in Hartmann. The word *froude* (or a synonym) occurs five times in Hartmann versus the eleven times of Chrétien's *joie*, *delit*, etc.

Though Hartmann tends to exploit the element of sorrow present in Chrétien, the scene portraying Enide's grief over Erec's uxoriousness and the break between husband and wife offers an outstanding exception. Hartmann cuts this pivotal scene surprisingly short (Chrétien 2463–2610, Hartmann 2998–3059).⁴⁴ Demonstrative sorrow is weakened, tears in Chrétien are reduced to sighs in Hartmann; furthermore, words for sorrow (*plorer*, *duel*, *pesance*) occur eighteen times in Chrétien, compared with eight in Hartmann. In addition, the deep sorrow of Chrétien's Enide is more convincing than that of Hartmann's heroine. Hartmann's Enide, on the other hand, experiences more shame than Chrétien's Enide at the disgrace of being blamed universally for Erec's uxoriousness (Chrétien 2558–60, Hartmann 2995–97, 3000–05, 3030–31). In Hartmann not only the court, but the whole country suffers from this *schande*. A heavy pall of disgrace lies over all, "sin hof wart aller frouden bar / unde stuont nâch schanden: / in dorfte ûz fremden landen / durch froude niemen suochen" (2988–91), compared with Chrétien, "si conpeignon duel an avoient" (2443). The consciousness of *schande* even vents itself in curses in Hartmann, three times repeated (2992, 3022, 3031).

The catastrophe is brought to sudden crystallization through Enide's confession. A doubt seems to arise in Erec's mind as to the depth of his wife's love.⁴⁵ *La parole*, wrenched from Enide in her sorrow, spoken in reality in a selfless attempt to save her husband from being slandered as *recreant*, constitutes her crime. Her own *orguel*, her presumption in uttering the word, at once confronts her (2606). Her *orguel* haunts her during her lone vigil beside her sleeping lord (3109–17). Again after Erec's deathly swoon she blames herself for being *outrageuse et fole*. Chrétien's Enide, however, never lapses into humility. She accepts her punishment frankly and freely. Not until after Erec's swoon does it occur to Hartmann's Enide to accuse herself of *hochmuot*, and then only temporarily. Hartmann never allows his heroine to depart from *diemuot*.

⁴⁴ For an explanation see Ehrismann, *Geschichte*, II, ii, 1, p. 166.

⁴⁵ Cf. E. Hoepffner, "Matière et sens dans le roman d'Erec et Enide," *AR*, xviii (1934). A summary of explanations offered by various critics concerning the much-discussed turning-point in the work is also offered here and by S. Hofer in "Die Problemstellung im *Erec*," *ZfPh*, XLVIII (1928). Professor Leo Spitzer, on the other hand, has stressed (in recent lectures on *Erec*) the importance of *la parole*, the spoken word, in medieval thought.

Wounded pride in the two Erecs shows characteristic variations. The French Erec dons openly and with elaborate care a magnificent coat of arms, and Chrétien's King Lac who, in spite of his anguish at losing his son is concerned mainly for the honor of the house, begs Erec *por richesce et por seignorie* (2708) to take with him a company of knights, gold and silver and whatever else befits a nobleman. Enide follows Erec's lead heroically in observing pride and honor, conceals her own grief and does her utmost to show happiness (2680-84). Hartmann's Erec, evidently under the weight of *schande* and *scham*, arms stealthily and hastily (3063-69) and resorts to subterfuges in order to slip away, "er wolde rîten ûz kurzwillen" (3060-61).

The successive adventures upon which Erec embarks in order to test Enide and vindicate himself, again show the element of pride relatively stronger in Chrétien, consciousness of disgrace, *schande*, stronger in Hartmann. The first remark of Count Galoan on hearing of the gallant bearing of the newly arrived knight (Erec) is characteristic: "Je pans et croi / Que il n'est pas plus biaux de moi."⁴⁶ Vainglory prompts him to arm for battle only with a shield and lance and to ride far in advance of his retainers. *Orguel*, however, he censures indirectly and naively when he taunts Enide with this sin in his attempt to seduce her. Hartmann's count, on the other hand, shows no vanity. He is inherently an upright, laudable man (*biderbe unde guot*, 3687), who falls a victim to *frou Minne* (3717). Instead of vainglory as cause for the ultimate downfall of the count, Hartmann posits sloth: because he rose too late and was hurried, his troops were not armed (4107). Evidently Hartmann with his didactic, rationalizing tendency wishes to score a double hit: to portray the dire results of the count's yielding to *frou Minne* and to censure sloth. The motif, the early bird catches the worm ("verloren daz schoenste wîp durch mînen gemach," 4088-89), vies clumsily with the main ethical conception of *truuwe*. Not only is pride in varying degrees lacking in this episode in Hartmann, but *schande* and *scham* appear independently: (a) Enide concocts a lengthy tale of *schaden unde schanden* in order to escape Count Galoan (3842-94), (b) the count is sure that *schande* will overtake him for his sloth, (c) he challenges and accuses Erec, because of Enide's tale, "daz ir in disen landen / nâch unser aller schanden / fuert ein edel, sîeze wîp" (4173-75); (d) Erec answers, "nu schamet iuch" (4202), (e) Erec prays to God to help him escape the country "âne schande", (f) the surviving retainers of the count dare not noise the news abroad of the defeat for fear of *schande* (4248).

Radical differences in the exhibition of pride in the two texts are notice-

⁴⁶ Cf., however, Sparnaay, I, p. 85.

able in the Guivrez adventure (Chrétien 3663–3930, Hartmann 4272–4628). Pride amounts in the French version to arrogance, though according to Chrétien's standards *orguel* is not reached and merely exuberant *jore de vivre* is manifested. Tempestuously, without warning, the bantam-rooster knight, Guivrez, sallies forth on his great steed to attack Erec. Even when forced to surrender, Guivrez boasts of his riches and power: he is king of the land, there is no baron far or near that does not do his bidding, no neighbor, however *orgueilleus*, that does not fear him. Erec consciously and rightfully vaunts his own power in return: "Je me revant" (3880). No king or emperor, excepting Arthur, possesses such rich cities or strong castles as his father Lac. Perhaps Guivrez' pride is especially striking—and amusing—due to the inverse proportion of this pride to its container. In Hartmann,⁴⁷ all is toned down to *mâze*. Nor could a real Hartmannian knight ever forget his manners in lust for battle. Hartmann's Guivrez duly launches the joust with a "willekomen, herre" (4325). In return, Erec addresses the unknown dwarf-knight, "ritter biderbe unde guot" (4349). After the battle there is no boasting on either side. Instead, there is almost humility. In surrendering, Hartmann's Guivrez merely does honor to his adversary by saying that never before has he recognized an overlord. More significantly, Guivrez repudiates pride of family. Personal valor and worth count, regardless of parentage. "sus ist ez mir unmaere / wer dîn vater waere: / sô edelet dich dîn tugent sô . . ." (4455 ff.). Erec, on his side, mindful of *erbarmde*, is all sympathy. He presupposes that Guivrez will feel *scham* on being asked to disclose his identity (4469) and so proceeds gently. In both versions, each bandages the other's wounds, but in Hartmann each also laments the other's discomfort. Again in the second encounter, after Erec and Guivrez have recognized each other, the French Erec accepts briefly and with dignity Guivrez' apologies. "De cest forfet quites soiez / Quant vos ne me conoissuez" (5091–92). The MHG hero with exaggerated politeness, also prompted by his innate urge to console others, takes upon himself the whole blame for the encounter and goes into lengthy self-accusations (7009–22): "swelch man toerliche tuot / wirt es im gelônet . . . / ich tumber man / . . . von tumpheit muot gewan / . . . mîn buoze wart ze kleine / . . . ich solde baz ze buoze stân . . ."

Joy of battle, flaming in the French Guivrez at the first encounter and also evident in the French Erec, is practically lacking in Hartmann. Combat for Hartmann's Guivrez seems a sober occupation, and for Erec even this first encounter with the dwarf-king is a necessary evil, which he does his best to evade (4347–64), which he fears (4406–07) and in which he

⁴⁷ Zenker posits here his *y* source, "Weiteres zur Mabinogionfrage," *ZffSpr*, XLV (1919),

seeks to save himself through *list*, i.e. the skilful use of his shield (4408–11). However, there is joy from another source in the Guivrez episode of Hartmann, joy over newly won friendship. To be sure, Chrétien's Guivrez states: "Onques de rien tel joie n'oi / Con j'ai de vostre conoissance" (3892–93) and each adversary kisses and embraces the other. (In Hartmann they merely clasp hands, 4493.) But Hartmann's Erec cements the new friendship by accepting Guivrez' proffer of hospitality, and all in Guivrez' castle rejoice, heartily welcoming the guests. The one occurrence of the word *joie* corresponds to ten instances of *frô* or *froude*. Again at the reunion of Erec and Guivrez the joy of friendship is more stressed by Hartmann than by Chrétien (Hartmann 6991–7029, Chrétien 5063–92).

In the next adventure, Erec's encounter with Keus, the theme in both texts is: pride comes before a fall. Chrétien, however, characteristically accents the pride, exaggerating it into *orguel*, whereas Hartmann stresses the fall, the *schande* and the *scham*. Blusteringly, Chrétien's Keus advances upon Erec, seizes his reins, commands him to come to Arthur. He shows himself akin to Yders' uncouth dwarf, is therefore branded as *orgueilleus et estout*, ignominiously defeated and quickly dispatched. Hartmann's Keiîn⁴⁸ is similarly guilty of braggadocio: "ich weiz wol . . . / daz ich frum bin" (4693–94), but his defeat is more emphasized. He lies like a sack under his horse. Repeatedly the word *schande* or its equivalent is heard: "mich hât ûf solhe schande / hie brâht mîn zageheit" (4763–63, see also 4741, 4752, 4767, 4787, 4798, 4804–05). In fact, Keiîn's disgrace seems so unbearable to him that he varnishes the account of his *schemelîches maere* (4839) on returning to court, turns his *schande* into a joke, and so escapes derision. Chrétien's Keus, on the other hand, goes straight to the king's tent and tells him the whole truth (4076–77).

In the Cadoc adventure, various degrees of pride are also noticeable, but again with characteristic modifications in Hartmann. The two giants in Chrétien are definitely guilty of *orguel* in their blustering retorts to Erec. Pride comes to the fore in Erec's treatment of Cadoc after the rescue. He refuses haughtily to divulge his name (which would seem to be due to more than Chrétien's wonted love of mystification), though he lays no light weight on his own importance. In Hartmann the crude braggadocio of the giants is more in conformity with their brute strength and low station; they taunt Erec with "klaffen" (5476). Erec assumes that these giants are capable of shame: "So mohtent ir rûch immer schamen" (5468) (compare this with the French Erec's stern accusation of *viltance*). Throughout the preliminaries to the fight Chrétien's Erec quickly drops civility, whereas Hartmann's Erec is, as usual, politeness itself (5435–

⁴⁸ Zenker, "Weiteres zur Mabinogionfrage," *ZffSpr*, XLVIII (1926), 19, here posits a *y* source, a different Keu tradition, which deals more kindly with the seneschal. The *schem* and the *schande*, however, are undoubtedly the contribution of Hartmann, the moralist.

44, 5456-74). Toward Cadoc, Hartmann's hero shows no trace of pride, instead only tactful sympathy. He not only reveals his name, but even goes so far in his effort to comfort his enemy, as to admit⁴⁹ and possibly invent for himself frequent defeats, defeats more ignominious than Cadoc's (5673). Manliness and knighthood are, in fact, not often to be attained without *scham* (5671).

The element of *leit* in the Cadoc adventure is increased in Hartmann, not only through the greater intensity of *leit* as such, but through the injection of *leit* into *froude*. Chrétien's forlorn damsel tears her clothing, her face, her hair (4333-35) Hartmann's tears herself until her body and clothing are covered with blood (5319-25), and the violence of her sorrow almost prevents her from speaking. Hartmann calls upon the whole world to have pity on her. Words indicating sorrow occur more frequently in the MHG text (sixteen times in Hartmann vs. eight in Chrétien) and are more varied (*jammerlîchen grimme, wuefen, erbarmelîchen rufen, bekumbert, klage, riurwige hende, swaere, smerzen, weinen, suft*). Even when Cadoc is rescued, the damsel's joy over regaining her knight is mixed with sorrow.⁵⁰ The rejoicing of Hartmann's Cadoc is likewise restrained. Hartmann feels rightly that Cadoc's sufferings are too crucial and recent—in both versions Cadoc's flesh hangs in shreds—to permit such a sudden outburst of joy over the rescue as that of Chrétien's knight at the sight of the disemboweling of the giant

In the next adventure pride again oversteps all bounds in the person of Oringles, Count of Limors. Self-conceit causes this character within a few moments after he has first seen Enide, grieving beside the apparently lifeless body of her husband, to offer himself crudely as a substitute (4700-04). To be sure, medieval custom and law might excuse him to some extent.⁵¹ He constantly stresses, however, the great honor which Enide would derive from their union, an honor tangibly expressed by riches (4795, 4803). He tactlessly and frequently reminds her of her poverty: "Sovaingne vos de quel poverte / Vos est granz richesce aoverte" (4799-4800, cf. 4801-4811). Enide's passive resistance necessarily amounts to an insult to this brow-beating arrogance.

⁴⁹ Cf. Sparnaay, I, 102, in reference to parallels with Wolfram's *Parzival* "Orilus ist von ihm [Erec] vor Prurin (134, 12) besiegt worden, hat ihn aber später vor Karnant (134, 15/17) aus dem Sattel gehoben. Den Kampf vor Prurin erwähnt auch der Erec (2575 ff.), von Erecs Niederlage weiss er nichts, vielleicht jedoch weil Chrétien es vermied über die Schmach seines Helden zu berichten." The attitude both of Hartmann and of Chrétien would seem to be characteristic here.

⁵⁰ Cf. Karl Korn, *Studien über "Freude und Trüben" bei mittelhochdeutschen Dichtern, Von deutscher Poeterey*, Bd. 12 (Leipzig, 1932), pp. 16-17, concerning the "kontrastierenden Affekte," the "Freud-Leid-Fühlen," already in "frühhofische Zeit."

⁵¹ Cf. Gustave Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 148. Cf. also Sidney Painter, *French Chivalry* (Baltimore, 1940), pp. 101 ff.

Chrétien here regales us with an extravaganza, a bully who takes for granted that he is irresistible by virtue of *enor et richesce*, a bully whose forceful wooing also was intended to demonstrate Enide's faithfulness. Similarly, naive vanity in his own physical charms makes of Galoain a extravagant figure. Hartmann in his charity to all—also in his adherence to *mâze*—presents us instead with two mediocrities, two *Briedermanner* (3687–95). Both sin, not through obnoxious qualities, but through the working of an outside power, *frou Minne* (3717–20, 6339). In Chrétien, furthermore the arrogant tactlessness of Oringles' wooing forms an amusing contrast to the considerate framing of Erec's request for Enide's hand, Erec had stressed the *enor* that the destitute old vavassor was conferring on him. These rich variations, high-lights of honor and pride in Chrétien, disappear in Hartmann.

Besides, Chrétien's Oringles is only an unconscious tool of God, sent to save Enide from self-destruction (4672–74, 4680). Hartmann's is a conscious emissary of the Deity, a fact which tends to exclude mere vanity (6122, 6129, 6250–51). He is also more considerate of his retainers and calls for their advice before taking any step (Chrétien 4750–59, Hartmann 6186–6210). He exhibits only moderate self-evaluation ("si ist mir gnuoc wol geboren," (6201), and he seeks to comfort Enide "sô man den friunt nâch leide sol" (6214): "If you could restore him to life by weeping, we would all help you lament" (6235–38, cf. Chrétien 4796–98). He is also more patient in his efforts to win her over by kindness, e.g. by tempting her to eat (6358–78). Hartmann's Oringles is, in fact, all that a twelfth-century knight might be expected to be under similar circumstances—up to the point when *frou Minne* and the protracted, apparently senseless obstinacy of Enide (exaggerated by Hartmann) drive him to distraction. Not until then does he indulge in humiliating reminders to Enide of her poverty. From this time on, Hartmann's Oringles exceeds Chrétien's in arrogance. Chrétien's tirade, *poverté-richesce* (4792–4813), is extended to three times its length (6446–6505, becoming a lengthy exercise in scholastic dialectics). Hartmann's count also turns boorish, calls Enide "ubel hut" (6523), strikes her until she bleeds (Hartmann 6522, 6578 vs. Chrétien 4826, 4842). Undoubtedly Hartmann, another "Frauenlob," is here seeking to exalt his heroine's sufferings as he does elsewhere.

Erec's conduct toward Enide after the marital rift shows similar divergencies. The difference in the initial reaction of wounded pride has already been mentioned. Chrétien's Erec, concealing from the court the insult he has received, dons a full panoply of pride. Hartmann's Erec, on the contrary, seeks to hide himself and sneak away. During the long series of trials that follow, Erec's rebukes to Enide (in Chrétien) reveal

the aggressive resentment of wounded pride. By her warnings she has again shown her lack of confidence in his valor. Compare "Or me prisiez vos mout petit" (2850) after the first warning and "vos gueires ne me prisiez" (3001) after the second warning with the tirade of Hartmann's Erec against Enide for her disobedience and the contrariness of women in general (3237-3275, 3403-3411). Even after Enide has saved her husband's life, wounded pride is apparently still rankling "Po me prisiez, / Ma parole mout despisiez" (3563), whereas "po me prisiez" is lacking in the parallel lines in Hartmann (4121-31). After Enide's faithful love has been demonstrated by her conduct toward Count Galoan, pride continues in Chrétien to function externally, playfully. With his tongue in his cheek Erec menaces Enide the next morning (Chrétien 3518-3522, cf. also 3486-78). At Guivrez' approach he seems to enjoy watching her agony of fear for him and of him (3715-3764). Outwardly Erec is still all pride, inwardly now all tender love (3765-69), a contrast which is entirely lacking in Hartmann along with the sly humor of the whole scene.⁵²

The difference in the attitude of the two Erecs is striking in the scenes of reconciliation between husband and wife. Chrétien's Erec pardons Enide: "Et se vos rien m'avez mesdite, / Jel vos pardoint tot et claim quite / Del forfet et de la parole" (4929-31). In Hartmann the tables are turned: Erec begs pardon of Enide for all the sufferings and trials that he has inflicted upon her (6794-98). On the other hand, Erec's words to Enide before the reconciliation are actually more harsh in Hartmann; they become brutal. Again, as in the case of the Count of Limors, Hartmann probably wishes to emphasize Enide's sufferings. While Chrétien's Erec confines himself for example to "I hate you for it" (3004), Hartmann's Erec goes so far as to say that he would take Enide's life, if any honor were to be gained by slaying a woman (3408-11). Later the MHG "on pain of death" (4125, 4131) corresponds to the OF "chastise" (3566).

Enide's sufferings show similar divergencies in the two romances. The poignant sorrow of Chrétien's Enide over the *recreantise* of her husband, her keen remorse over her own *orgueil*, have been mentioned above. Chrétien's Enide grieves over the turn of fortune's wheel (2782-86, 2589-91), but even more over losing the love and companionship of her husband (2597-99, 2787-90). Left in Hartmann's Enide, however, tends to cower or sink into humility. Enide becomes a Griselda, a *sancta humilitas*. Sometimes her sufferings turn into a *Schwelgen im Schmerz* or it strays off

⁵² It is possible, however, according to the opinion of Hermann Paul, "Zum Erec," *PBB*, III (1876), p. 195, that this passage is fragmentary in Hartmann. But a hint of this tone of sly mischievousness under a cloak of offended pride is already present in the French text in Erec's conduct at the approach of the three robbers ("Erec le vit et sanblant fist / Qu'ancor garde ne s'an preist" and this is lacking in Hartmann).

into well-ordered metaphysical speculations⁵³ Hartmann's Enide, in happy days, is more *blinlich*. She is also less active, less resourceful physically, "plus douce," as Piquet says. At the chance meeting with Guivrez, when Erec is felled, Chrétien's Enide rushes forward, seizes the reins of the unknown assailant of her husband, curses him roundly and commands him to desist from attacking a wounded man, an action that calls forth praise from the assailant. Hartmann's Enide throws herself in sorrow over the body of her husband, protesting gently and politely with a "neinâ ritter guot" (6945).

The variations in Enide's suffering may be illustrated by her response to the trials to which Erec in the two romances submits both her and himself. In the very first adventure (the sudden encounter with the three highwaymen) Chrétien's Enide quickly makes up her mind not to be cowardly, but to act, to warn her husband (2840-43). The French heroine shows self-reliance, "Deus" is merely a formula.⁵⁴ After the horses are turned over to her, it is to be presumed that she does her work as a groom efficiently and not without satisfaction, since she herself feels that punishment for *orguel* is only just. Her all-night vigil, tending the horses (3088-3102), an incident found only in Chrétien, seems to be a kind of free-born, self-inflicted punishment.⁵⁵ Here the submissive, timid character of Hartmann's Enide, as compared with Chrétien's is noticeable. When faced with the dilemma, Hartmann's Enide places her trust in God since "woman's heart is too weak" (3165); she fears that she will be "orphaned" (3136-38); she resorts to dialectics which bring her to a realization of the worthlessness of her own life as compared with that of her liege lord (3166-72). Even when she summons up courage to warn Erec, she looks at him *vorhtlichen*. She accepts and suffers in womanly fashion, i.e. meekly the humiliating hardships of being *kneht*: "vil wîplichen si dô leit/dise ungelernet arbeit" (3279-80). Hartmann in his commiseration forgets that this was not an "ungelernet" hardship.

Again in the second adventure, both Enides suffer fear and dismay, both feel that a warning will probably bring death, both analyze the situation. Chrétien's Enide, however, resolves to face the worst out of a feeling of warm love: "If my lord were dead, there would be no comfort for me; I should be dead myself" (2971-73). Hartmann's Enide lapses into metaphysics, fears not only losing her own life, but her eternal soul if she is remiss in observing *triuwe* to Erec (3366-69). Humility is clearly present

⁵³ Cf. Felix Piquet, *op cit*, p. 213, "non erat hic locus." The reader is also reminded of the lengthy theological arguments that pour freely from the lips of the untutored twelve-year old peasant girl in *Der arme Heinrich*.

⁵⁴ Cf. Piquet, p. 321.

⁵⁵ Walther Kolz, "Erec und Enides Läuterungsfahrt," *GRM*, XVIII (1930), 302, calls this "die erste wortlose Liebestat."

in her consciousness of her previous poverty (3361). Again, as in the first adventure, she invokes the aid of God. She speaks *mit vorhten* (3378) to Erec, while in Chrétien she calls *doucement* (2983). The note of humility and suffering becomes even stronger after the new horses are acquired. The difficulty with which Chrétien's Enide manages the eight horses—mentioned in only one line (3078)—becomes a touching hardship for Hartmann's Enide, described in over thirty lines. She "suffers this with gentle heart" (3446–47). Her humility,⁵⁶ however, teaches her to turn suffering into pleasure—the first indication of *Schwelgen im Schmerz*. Enide's sufferings are further exploited and hallowed by the circumstance that *frou Saelde* and God's chivalry (*gotes hovescheit*, 3460) surround her, and that under her influence even the horses become gentle.

That sorrow and suffering which come in fullest measure after Erec's death-like swoon on the heath are also experienced by the two Enides in quite divergent fashions. In Hartmann this element of *leit* is expanded to four times its length in the OF version (Chrétien 4605–4739, Hartmann 5738–6176) and the vocabulary indicating sorrow is more powerful. The physical expressions of sorrow, however, are more vehement and spectacular in Chrétien: Enide swoons twice between outbursts of grief while alone beside Erec, and several times later on the ride to the castle of Limors (4736). The voice of Hartmann's Enide "goes completely to pieces" for grief, but she does not faint—on this occasion. (She does, however, faint later, at a less opportune time when her husband is about to encounter the redoubtable Red Knight.) The various stages of mental affliction, on the other hand, have been vastly expanded in Hartmann.⁵⁷ Of importance in this connection is the intensification and metamorphosis of grief. Enide's *Buhlen* with Death (the masculine *Tod* vs. the feminine *Mort* facilitating the expansion of the idea already present in Chrétien), the *carpe diem* exhortation to Death, Enide's pointing the sword toward her breast "nach todes gelusten" (6112)—all showing morbid *Schwelgen im Schmerz*. Theology also adds its weight to sorrow; Enide sinks into black despair in the realization that she not only has betrayed Erec (as in Chrétien), but that she has "verlorn beide sêle unde lîp (5940). Finally, grief is (briefly) *vervinnerlicht* by the injection of Enide's anguished farewell to her parents (5972 ff.). The whole effect of *leit* is multiplied by the re-echoing in the forest, the reverberation even occurring twice (5749–51, 6080–81).

At the castle of Limors, the tears of Hartmann's Enide fall so heavily

⁵⁶ Cf. Drube, p. 100.

⁵⁷ Cf. A. E. Schonbach, *Ueber Hartmann von Aue* (Graz, 1894), pp. 428 ff., on this passage. Altogether Schonbach offers a valuable analysis of Hartmann's *Erec*, particularly of the religious element.

that they wet the table where she sits (6436-38, this detail is lacking in Chrétien) At the same time, the element of reflection, MHG *list*, intrudes again. Enide calculates that by provoking the count (6569), she will induce him to beat her to death; she proceeds to taunt him, screaming and throwing herself forward to receive more blows, taking a morbid delight in the pain This bastard joy-sorrow, comparable to the religious extacy of martyrdom, is completely lacking in Chrétien, where Enide screams impulsively and spontaneously, thus retaining her dignity—and our respect.

During the central portion of both romances Enide's sorrow is an ever recurring, isolated note. With Erec's awakening from his swoon Enide's joy becomes merged with the common joy But that joy paramount in Chrétien, becomes at times in Hartmann even more strongly and strangely blended with *leit* than before the marital rift Pride and shame here intertwine inextricably with joy and sorrow.

Though the terms *joye*, *lie* are lacking, the reconciliation between husband and wife during the ride away from Limors produces one of the most poignantly joyous scenes in Chrétien's whole romance The words "ma douce soeur" express all, the new level of love, the mutual confidence that follows upon mutually shared trials, and after all the dark hardships the moon sheds its mellow light upon the lovers Hartmann's Erec, on the other hand, in fleeing from Limors is perturbed by thoughts of the *schaden* and *schande* (6740) that may befall him, and Enide explains, *alles weinende* (6769), what happened while he lay unconscious.⁵⁸ The moon is absent Hartmann apologizes on Erec's behalf for the fact that Enide must ride on the same horse as her husband (6733). Not until all is motivated and all rules of etiquette are observed (6703-06), can joy come into its own, and then of course this element is weakened

In Chrétien, the complete reconciliation of husband and wife leads, after Erec's recovery at Penefrec, to the delights of physical reunion ("nu a nu . . . delit . . ."), a theme re-echoed in the Aeneas-Dido motif of the saddle. The absence of this incident in the parallel passage in Hartmann may be construed as proof of Hartmann's innate delicacy, or it might indicate the poet's desire to avoid the danger of a repetition of Erec's *verhegen* before all the trials are over The problem of *Keuschheit* in Hartmann's *Erec* must, however, be regarded as a whole

Various authors⁵⁹ have considered Hartmann's *Erec* more chaste than

⁵⁸ This "plus" (Erec's inquiries and Enide's explanation) in Hartmann is construed by Zenker, "Weiteres zur Mabinogionfrage," *ZfS*, XLVIII (1926), 28, as corresponding to a lacuna in Chrétien But is Chrétien much given to explanation? The *schande* and *weinen*, at all events, are probably Hartmann's

⁵⁹ Cf e.g. Ehrismann, *Geschichte*, II, II, 1, p. 166; Piquet, p. 205

Chrétien's Certainly, except in one sole instance (1860–70), evidently taken over from the French text, his Enide is more "bluclich, einer megde gelich" (1319–20), but also more passive, less enterprising in an emergency Hartmann's Enide is, from the beginning, a kind of theological ideal, the embodiment of humility and a person who, in time of danger, is motivated by the thought of the salvation of her own soul rather than personal love for her husband Etiquette restricts her further "If no one had seen, it is not improbable that there would have been an exchange of caresses" (1850–53) Chrétien's Enide, on the other hand, is as capable of passion as Erec, a quality mentioned and demonstrated repeatedly in the text The sensuous joys of the bed are treated with no less frankness than other delights (cf. Enide's promise⁶⁰ to Count Galoan, Chrétien 3398–99 vs Hartmann 3891–94), although, according to Cohen,⁶¹ with considerably more refinement than by Chrétien's immediate predecessors.

However, an evolution is discernible in the quality of love in Chrétien's romance, not only a purification,⁶² but an enrichment The maiden Enide, suddenly elected and lifted from poverty to exalted station by the young king's son is concerned at the conquest of the sparrow-hawk chiefly with the new *enor et seignorage* (1311)—a plausible human reaction⁶³ But Enide's love is soon kindled and becomes ever deeper: with the marital rift, she experiences sorrow at losing her husband's companionship and remorse at her own presumptuousness; with each new danger her fear for his person and her bravery on his behalf increase until in the last adventure at Brandigan she becomes so heroic as to inspire expressions in Erec of firm and beautiful love Hartmann rises neither to the hot passion nor the valiancy of tested love found in Chrétien (cf Chrétien 5827–63 with Hartmann 8816–72) He was probably both unwilling and unable to present the first, willing, but not capable of achieving the second⁶⁴ Unfortunately, the very lack in general of burning, self-forgetful love in Hartmann causes the reader to wonder how there could ever have been any real problem of uxoriousness in the MHG version

In Hartmann, it is the pangs of desire that are stressed rather than the joyous fulfillment of love The passage applying to both lovers ("dô einz daz ander an sach,/sô was in beiden niht baz / dann einem habech, der im

⁶⁰ This unabashed offer of Chrétien's Enide, which refers to herself, must, however, be weighed against the fictitious tale of Hartmann's Enide, which debases her husband's character, accuses him of rape (and ignoble birth)

⁶¹ *Op cit*, pp 33 ff, 132

⁶² Cf Kolz, *op cit*

⁶³ Kolz points to the fact that the whole matter was, to begin with, a convenient deal

⁶⁴ Cf. A Witte (on H. Drube's *Hartmann und Chrétien*), *Anzeiger* pp 119–124, *ZfdA*, LVIII (1931), on the question of *wollen* and *können* in Hartmann.

sîn maz / von geschichten ze ougen bringet, / so in der hunger twinget . . .," 1860-70), paralleling one in Chrétien (2081-86), but lacking its context of universal sensuous joy, becomes merely an expression of crude animal desire, summed up in the unminced words: "jane wirde ich nimmer frô / ichn gelige dir bî / zwô naht oder dri" (1872-74) Desire in Hartmann, however, may sublimate itself (as if the poet, suddenly aghast at his own daring, returned to *zuht*), and it then takes on a naive, touching quality: "alsô dâ ein sunder kint / sich nâch sîner muoter sent . ." (1878-85) Enide may even appear as an angel to her lover—the reference to the hawk notwithstanding. But the pain of desire in its crudest form is again apparent in Count Oringles, who feels that he cannot live without possessing Enide (6337-40) and yearns for a "vîl guote naht mit ir" (6355) (cf. Chrétien's courtly: "isnelment vuel ceste dame recevoir," 4752)

At times, indeed the theme of sensuous love would seem to be of even greater importance in Hartmann than in Chrétien. In the OF version sensuous love is given free rein in the wedding night at Arthur's court, as well as at Carnant and at Penefrec and to a degree that Hartmann never could condone. Yet Hartmann's version of the *verliegen* is actually more extended than Chrétien's: not only are the long nights and mornings utilized by the lovers, but they arise merely to go to mass and breakfast, and afterwards return in haste to their bed until it is time for dinner (2930-52). However, here the motif of *schande* evidently is to be emphasized. At Penefrec all reference to sensuous love is lacking in Hartmann, but the theme reappears at Brandigan, and only in the MHG version. Chrétien's Enide spends this fatal night before the final dread joust in anguish over the danger confronting her husband. Hartmann's pair "hâten guote zîte / dâ si ensament lâgen / und guoter minne phlâgen / unz in erschein der morgen" (8613-17), this in spite of the fact that Hartmann's Brandigan is made oppressive by the presence of the eighty mourners. If Hartmann feared *verliegen* at Penefrec, why did he not do so at Brandigan? The supreme test was still ahead. The reader may perhaps guess at the probable reason for not eliminating, but postponing this scene.

Sublimated forms of sensuous joy are decidedly more in evidence in Hartmann than in Chrétien. A mere hint in the invocation to Death of Hartmann's Enide is expanded into *Schwelgen* and *Buhlen*, as already mentioned. The whole idea of the fierce sword-play between Erec and the Red Knight is expressed as *herzminne*: "sî minten sunder bette: / . . . sî sich kusten / durch die schilte ze den brusten . . ." (9105-16) and is found only in Hartmann, not in Chrétien.

In summing up the problem of *Keuschheit* in Hartmann's *Erec*, one

must say that sensuous joy, as practically all other forms of joy, on the whole, appears curtailed and toned down, but that at times and at unexpected moments the opposite of chastity is in evidence.

The radical difference between Chrétien's *Erec* and Hartmann's can nowhere be seen so clearly as in the *joie de la cort* episode. At the very first mention of the words *joie de la cort* there is in Chrétien an immediate glad re-echoing of the word *joie*. It occurs four times within ten lines (5465-75), versus a single instance in the parallel MHG passage which is five times as long (8000-55). Furthermore, Erec's exclamation, "in joy there can be only good" (5466) here sums up his whole credo. The initial re-echoing becomes a re-iterated treble of joy (14 times within 200 lines, 5465-5669) against the semi-concealed warning bass of sorrow (*dolanz, enun, le cuer irie, me poist, desepere*). Enor shares the treble with *joie* (*enor et pris*, 5623), beckoning onward. The notes of sorrow are strong and dramatic, as usual in Chrétien (e.g. the sympathetic villagers "sweat with anguish," (5534), but joy has the last say. The mysterious *joie* is epitomized for Erec by the bird-song, the *Waldweben*, on the magic island (5770), which seems to call ⁶⁵

Deeper sorrow and commiseration seem to express themselves in Hartmann's Evrains (8389 ff.) than in Chrétien's (5607) through the combination of silence and words, compared with words alone in Chrétien "der kunic ein wile des gesweic; / das houbet im ze tale seic / . . . in riuwen / daz beswarte sinen sin . . . / ze jungest . . . / . . . sprach" ⁶⁶ And even Enide adds her weight of *leit*, as Erec goes forth to meet the redoubtable Red Knight. She loses all control of herself, becomes deadly pale and swoons, so that her husband must stop and revive her. Chrétien's Enide conceals her anguish, showing Erec a smiling face in order to encourage him onward to the supreme test (5829-30). It is furthermore characteristic that Hartmann's Erec is inspired by this touching, weakening sorrow even as Chrétien's is spurred on by strong, heroic grief.

Moreover, the motif of *leit* in the MHG text is greatly intensified by the presence at Brandigan of eighty widows⁶⁷ (8226-8358), all mourning, all wearing black. Sorrow is piled upon sorrow; to the individual old grief of each is added the sympathetic fresh sorrow of each at the probable

⁶⁵ Cf. E. Philpot, "Un episode d'Erec et Enide," *Romania*, xxv (1896), 289 ff.

⁶⁶ Cf. H. Hempel, "Franzosischer und deutscher Stil im hofischen Epos," *GRM*, xxiii (1935), 193.

⁶⁷ Sparnaay (I, p. 100) calls attention here to lines 8200, 8240, in which Hartmann refers to his source, his *meister*. Zenker, *Weiteres zur Mabinogionfrage*, *ZfSpr*, XLVIII (1926), p. 57 ff., lists parallels in other works (numbers of fair mourners) and posits his *y* source. It is quite possible that Hartmann is here deliberately following some one else, not inventing, but is his choice, in the first place, not significant? And is it, in the second place, not highly probable that the treatment, the exploitation of the theme, belongs to Hartmann?

fate of Erec and Enide ("sahens den elenden man / mit jâmervarwen ougen an / und klaget den sinen genaemen lip . . .," 8342-45) and in return, the sympathetic grief of Erec at the unhappy lot of the mourners and at the fact that their presence in Brandigan has left so many lands "frouden laere" (8304).

Divergent emotions impel the two Erecs to enter Brandigan. Hartmann's Erec is urged on (a) by a feeling of propriety, "wie zaeme uns daz, . . . / daz wir sus riten dan?" (7911-12), (b) by his own fear of eventual *scham* in case he did not face the peril (7987), (c) by his trust in God (8042-44); (d) by consciousness that his own life is not of extreme importance in the world (8045-46). For Chrétien's Erec the lure of adventure is increased in direct proportion to its danger (5430-32, 5644-46). He reacts immediately, positively, to the call that lies in the name *la joie de la cort*. The same divergent emotions, dominant in the one person, submissive in the other, impel the two Erecs to carry on even after they have been warned by King Evrauns of mortal danger. Hartmann's Erec emphasizes the high renown of his opponent and his own inferiority (8542-48). He feels that if he falls, he will be "schiere verklaget" (8571). Hartmann's Erec and Enide go to mass, entreat God earnestly to save Erec's life, an incident completely lacking in Chrétien. Directly before the joust Hartmann's hero rests his confidence in God: "God is as he always was, how often he has saved him to whom he would show mercy. If he will, I shall surely be saved" (8855-58). Chrétien's Erec merely reveals confidence in himself. Extreme cautiousness shows itself (in Hartmann) in the amusing little detail describing the abstemiousness of Erec's breakfasting: "into a hen he bit three times, this seemed sufficient to him" (8648-49). He does drink, but this is to St. John to gain protection against poisoning (8650-51).

After victory has been achieved and the horn sounded, joy is in Chrétien, as usual, demonstrative, active: "Nus n'i cesse ne ne repose / De joie feire et de chanter" (6168-69). It has moreover a cumulative, widening, infectious effect on. (1) Enide, (2) Guivrez, (3) the king, (4) the court, (5) the whole people.⁶⁸ It manifests itself in singing, even competitive singing, "Et chantoient par contançon / Tuit de la joie une chançon" (6185-86). It inspires the ladies to compose a Lay to Joy (7187-88). Erec is finally "surfeited with joy" (6190). There is a constant reverberation of the word *joie* in the text (6147-91). In Hartmann no immediate, spontaneous joyous reaction occurs. It takes Hartmann's people some time to convince themselves that *joie de la cort* really has befallen them. King Ivreins, mindful of his manners, leads Enide by the hand. A lower

⁶⁸ Cf. H. Hempel, "Französischer und deutscher Stil in höfischen Epos," *GRM*, xxiii (1935), 8, for "Entfaltung."

pitch of musical inspiration is indicated (9652-59). The people *ruofen* mainly (though there is, to some extent, *fröm wicgesang*), as compared with Chrétien's who *chantoient*. There is a slightly solemn note mixed in with the joy, both in the references to the dark past and in the wording of the felicitations (9668-77) "Hie was die wunne manecvalt" (9678), but joy does not overflow as in the OF text. This restrained passage (9621-78) constitutes the high tide of rejoicing in the *joie de la cort* episode in Hartmann, whereas the parallel passage in Chrétien marks merely the first of three waves of joy (6162-6191, 6327-6363, 6363-6410).

In both versions of the *joie de la cort* episode the Red Knight's damsel introduces a note of sorrow. In both, grief changes to joy when the maid discovers that Enide is her cousin. But the transition to joy is more rationalized and laborious in Hartmann. Chrétien's maiden reverts spontaneously to joy—the poet's natural element. The sum of joy is furthermore increased in Chrétien by Enide's account to her cousin of how joy and honor came into her life through Erec, her trials and sufferings are characteristically overlooked. In her recapitulation of the past, the same technique of expanding, radiating joy-waves is used as at the blowing of the horn. "My mother felt great joy, all who knew it were happy, our relatives as far as they stretch" (6296-98). In chronicling this outburst of joy, Hartmann merely says "manec wehselmaere / sagten si dô beide / von liebe und ouch von leide" (9706-08). It is noticeable, incidentally, that *leit* is given as much importance as *lieb*. It would seem, in Chrétien, to be the desire of each individual to contribute to and heighten the common rejoicing. "Por la joie croistre et monter" (6330), a lady slips away to tell the barons of the unexpected happiness of Mabinoграins' damsel. Not only is this a case of *joie feire* but of *joie refeire*. There is mutual kissing and embracing. In Hartmann, no wide-spread rejoicing over the new-found happiness of the damsel takes place.

In the case of the festival celebrating Erec's victory, a marked difference is again apparent between Hartmann and Chrétien. The space allotted by each to actual jollity is noticeably dissimilar (Chrétien 6363-6410, Hartmann 9753-77). In Chrétien all the barons from far and near flock to the court as soon as they hear the good tidings. Honors are poured upon Erec. There is saluting and bowing, a spontaneous welling of joy (6380-81). All known instruments resound. "rotes, harpes, vieles, giges, sautier et sinfonies et trestotes les armonies" (6382-84). For three days the festival lasts. Such crowds gather at the farewell that half a day would be consumed in bidding farewell to each (6392). Compared with this concentrated, throbbing rejoicing, Hartmann's four weeks' festival exhibits but faint traces of spontaneous joyousness. The guests who could be "brought, asked and forced to come" are assembled (9768). Chrétien's

medley of musical instruments is completely lacking. Instead, the negative side—the fact that sorrow has been removed—is stressed (9772–77) Chrétien's insistent reiteration of words denoting joy has been toned down.

The greatest difference between the two versions, however, lies in the overwhelming load of sorrow that exists only in Hartmann. The heads of the vanquished are removed from the poles and duly buried with clerical rites. Even after this, the presence of the eighty mourning ladies continues to cast a heavy, constant gloom. The sole, daily office of these women is to grieve and lament (9804–05). "As the hare spurns the feeding-ground when hunted, so the fair mourners flee all connection with joy" (9806–10). Paradoxically, manifestations of sorrow monopolize the interest in this *joie de la cort* episode. Erec may take part externally in the festival, but his heart is never free from sorrow (9781). His eyes fill with tears. It is only against his will that he and Enide ever leave the mourners at any time (9817). Erec "helps them be sorrowful" (9815). He is the "barmherziger Held," as Drube points out.

Undoubtedly Hartmann has created or adopted⁶⁹ the eighty fair mourners for various well considered reasons: his rationalizing thoroughness produces this formidable number which, in turn, furnishes graphic proof of Erec's outstanding valor. Erec is here called "der wunderaere" (9307) for the first time, since he has overcome the conqueror of at least eighty other knights. *Erbarmde*, always present in Hartmann, embraces greater numbers than ever before. *Triuwe*, one of Hartmann's cardinal virtues, becomes automatically multiplied by eighty. Primarily, however, the *leit*-theme has here run away with Hartmann, as the *joie*-theme so often does with Chrétien. The sympathetic rejoicing of Chrétien's court with the maid at her escape from sorrow is transformed and magnified gigantically into sympathetic sorrowing with the eighty figures, introduced mainly for this purpose. *Leit* blots out all signs of joy in the landscape as Erec—heading the cavalcade of the eighty sorrowing women all dressed in black, all riding horses caparisoned in black—returns to Arthur's court. In contrast to this, Chrétien's Erec and Guivrez "a joie lor voie tindrent" (6413).

At Arthur's court the return of Chrétien's Erec affords an ever welcome occasion for a new outburst of rejoicing. There is donning of magnificent clothes (6456), happy bustling in preparation of the banquet (6445–48). In exuberant joy the king kisses Erec, Guivrez and Enide. The queen like a bird flutters for joy about Erec and Enide (6466–69). Again it is the urge and duty of each and all to demonstrate joy (6470). The

⁶⁹ "Created or adopted," depending upon whether one adheres to Foerster's or Zenker's hypothesis.

return of Hartmann's Erec, on the other hand, is completely dominated by the presence of the eighty mourners. The main thought of the king (as well as of Erec) is to console these women in their grief, his greatest pleasure, to contemplate their uniform sorrow, the result of their faithfulness ('geliche klage, geliche riuwe, gelicher staete, gelicher triuwe . . .', 9933-41). By bringing to court this eighty-headed contingent of beautiful, sorrowing women, representing *triuwe*, Erec now achieves supreme and abiding honor, "dû solt von schulden immer sin / gepriset unde ge-êret: / wan dû hâst wol gemêret / unsers hoves wunne" (9944-47). The king's words form a benediction, answered by an amen by the court. To be sure, the sorrow of the women is later turned into joy (9952-60), but the actual sight of proved, sorrowing *triuwe* would seem to be the primary source of Arthur's elation, the anticipation of changing this sorrow into joy merely the secondary.

How much the *duel*-theme is slurred and *joie* stressed by Chrétien is apparent again on the occasion of King Lac's death. As the king is the fountain-head in the realm where it is the office of each individual to contribute to the common joy, so, conversely, it behoves a king (Erec) to conceal his own sorrow (6524-27). Grief over his father's death is shown only indirectly through paid masses and vigils in churches, through lavish gifts to clergy and charity.

Erec's coronation provides the final orgy of rejoicing in Chrétien. There is the joy of anticipation felt by Enide's parents who "chevauchierent chascun jor a grant joie" (6581); the joy of Erec and Enide on seeing them. The reciprocal nature of this joy is summed up in the significant compound verb *antreconjoir* (6594). Enide's joy is revealed again when she sees her parents seated in high state (6632-36), her pleasure adding to her beauty. As a well-brought-up maiden she also manifests this happiness as much as possible and still "the joy is greater than she could show." The whole court rejoices as a unit (6657-59). At the coronation celebration in the cathedral Queen Enide's parents weep for joy. All are served at the resplendent banquet "a grant joie et a grant planté" (6945). The whole festival ends with a fanfare of *joie de vivre*, "un hymne de gloire et de pompe mondaine."⁷⁰

This exuberant joy is, in the case of the main figures, dependent in part on the *enor* received. *Enor*, however, redounds also to the one who is able to display pomp. To honor the hero, Arthur assembles the entire number of his subsidiary kings, counts and barons. Also Erec's vassals come "por lui servir et enor feire." "La grant joie et la grant hautesce, la seignorie et la richesce" (6657) seem inseparable. *Enor* is indicated humorously in the reception accorded Enide and the queen; "so many barons run to

⁷⁰ Piquet, *op cit*, p. 229.

escort the two ladies that they could easily destroy an army" (6820-22) *Enor* also excludes any villain from the throng

Chrétien's Erec wins a crown studded with blindingly resplendent carbuncles as a reward for his valor. Hartmann's hero gains "aller êren krone," a spiritual crown, whereas the tangible crown of succession, which he later acquires in his homeland, is barely mentioned (10063-64). The rejoicing over Erec's succession is, in Hartmann, separated in time from the news of his father's death, the event is also celebrated at home and with due propriety, due piety for the memory of the father (10065-66). Instead of immediately and completely obliterating all feeling of grief, rejoicing rather reconciles grief: "ouch wart dehein frumer vater nie / mit sinem sune baz ersat" (10068-69)

In harmony with the *Furstenspiegel*, into which Hartmann's romance develops, but also in conformity with the natural qualities of the hero, Erec shows humility regarding the great honors won by him: "for these he thanks God as only the wise do" (10084-87), in contrast to the self-reliance of him "who is deluded by the belief that his is the skill and the merit" (10088-95)—in all probability a direct rejection of Chrétien's attitude. Since the worldly successes won by Erec are the result of the fact that God has honored him, so, by virtue of reciprocity, Erec turns his whole life to God. As a result of this interaction, Erec's honor lasts until his death. After the worldly crown, Erec and his wife are granted eternal life, a reward which is "goldes ubergulde" (10132). This metaphysical note may again indicate a direct challenge to Chrétien's final fanfare of *joue de vivre*. It may also be merely a general theological form of expression. Characteristic is the last line of the romance proper, "nâch disem ellende," this place of banishment.

Whatever his sources may have been, Hartmann gives us in Erec a consistently moulded character. Ehrismann sees in him "eine Entwicklung": "vom Jungling zum Manne, vom abenteuernden Ritter zum guten Herrscher und Friedenskonig, 10083-10106, von der *tumphet* (7012 f.) zur *wisheit* (10084) . . . Gott die Ehre . . ."⁷¹ Hartmann's hero does indeed develop in *erbarmde*, the grandiose pity with the eighty fair mourners at the height of his career forms a magnified counter part to his *guete* in the punishment of the dwarf at the beginning of the romance.⁷² There is also an awakening of social conscience, *das verhegen* results in neglect of one's duties to one's fellow beings, it is a sin which must be atoned.⁷³

⁷¹ Ehrismann, *Geschichte*, II, ii, 1, p. 170.

⁷² The insult to an innocent maid deserves at least the loss of the culprit's hand. Erec, *der guete*, however, will merely teach a lesson, threatens, then lets the dwarf off with a severe beating (1037-76). Both incidents showing degrees of pity are lacking in Chrétien.

⁷³ Cf. Sparnaay, II, p. 71.

The development, however, is not that of a "guter Mensch in seinem dunklen Drange." There is no growth from "Dumpfheit zu Klarheit," as in a Parzival or a Simplicissimus. Hartmann's Erec is, at the outset, in possession of a philosophical formula *List*,⁷⁴ a word used with striking frequency by Hartmann, is mixed with *guete*, *tumpheit*, *truuwe*. The night before the first tournament sees the young man, who is conscious that he is not "volkomen, noch an siner manheit vernomen" (2387-89), in his tent apart from the joyous throng, weighed down with the importance of this first test⁷⁵ and wrestling with the problem how best to achieve a renown befitting his name. Erec is retiring and unassuming with regard to his fellow-knights (2385-86). His careful modesty before King Arthur has been mentioned above (as also the schematized nature of his development at the height of his career). Hartmann in his didacticism is eager in assuring us that his paragon is endowed, even at the outset, with the virtues *zuht* and *diemuot*. Due to this lack of organic growth Sparnaay asserts that Erec, unlike Iwein, goes through no development.⁷⁶ Chrétien's Erec appears to be a finished character from the beginning, a king's son, proud, self-reliant, joy-giving. But the development emphasized in Hartmann, the awakening of social conscience, is already inherent in Chrétien and is evident without benefit of sermon.

The world of Chrétien's *Erec* is a lofty stratum of *richesce et seignorie*, concerned with the present. It is not much interested in God, nor God in it. Class barriers are rigid, the count, Enide's uncle, wields his whip against villeins that press too closely, no villein is allowed to enter the cathedral for the coronation ceremony. By comparison, Hartmann's world reveals the contours of a vast cone, or a pyramid,⁷⁷ with beeches (7083-89), linden-tree (6007-29) and "heath" at the base, the *himelvogt* (10104) at the apex. Ever-recurring references to the Hereafter point upward. It is significant that Chrétien ends his romance abruptly in the joyous Now,⁷⁸ while Hartmann's gaze is lost in the heights. The conical

⁷⁴ MHG *der list*, meaning generally skill, shrewdness, often, however, approaching NHG *die list*, e.g., 3841, 3877, 3906, 3939, 4409, 4997, 5009, 5027, 5158, 5167, 5239 etc. Even God acts toward Enide *mit gnaedelichem liste*. Both Erecs are endowed with the classical polarity *sapientia-fortitudo*, cf. E. R. Curtius, "Zur Literaturästhetik des Mittelalters," II, *ZfFrPh* LVIII (1938), p. 225, but Hartmann stresses the *sapientia*, Chrétien the *fortitudo*.

⁷⁵ Hartmann disregards here Erec's first encounter with Yders, which would have afforded a logical occasion for feelings of diffidence. He also disregards Erec's status as happy bridegroom. ⁷⁶ Sparnaay, II, pp. 70, 71.

⁷⁷ Cf. Hans Naumann, *Hofische Kultur* (Halle [Saale], 1929), p. 51.

⁷⁸ Cf., however, Foerster, (*Der kleine Erec* (1934), note to line 6951. "Der Schluss ist sehr abgebrochen und schlecht überliefert . . . vielleicht ist der alte echte Schluss verloren gegangen." In (*Der grosse Erec*, 1890, p. 334. "6943-Schluss sind inhaltlich recht schwach . . . Doch ist der Schluss durch HP (E), die nie interpolieren, recht gut gestützt." Sparnaay, I, 111 agrees with Foerster's opinion as set forth in *Der kleine Erec*, believes that Chrétien's original ending is probably lost and suggests a peaceful ending in Erec's own

or pyramidal structure is perhaps most noticeable in Enide's lament on the heath (5737-6081). The echoing forest, the linden-tree, the fruit-tree, the hungry wild animals, the sheep and swine of the peasants, Enide herself, all indicate various steps in the universe. God, at the apex, still within hearing, is arraigned, but orders all in his own wisdom.

At times, there seems to be a set order for each degree, suggested in plain fashion for a court romance by the metaphor of the linden (to which Enide likens herself, 6007-29), moved from the poor soil of the wayside to the orchard because of its beauty, the linden yields no better fruit, though fertilized and cultivated ("michel graben unde mist/ mac man dar an verliesen," 6028-29). At other times, this world is in flux, the fixed order is completely upset by the ultimate fate of Enide herself (this factor, to be sure, is the same in both romances). An upward movement is also apparent in Guivrez' recognition of inherent, striving nobility, regardless of birth (4455-58). The very lack of Erec's own fame and the sudden chance to achieve renown spur him on and upward (8519-74).

With Hartmann we seem, at times, to be in a Gothic world, compared with Chrétien's Romanesque structure.⁷⁹ All living things show in varying degrees kinship to God.⁸⁰ *Erbarmde*, *caritas*, "one of the chief characteristics of the new Gothic spirit,"⁸¹ links the members of this world. On the other hand, through the emphasis placed on *zuht*, conscious self-discipline, Hartmann's Erec reveals an early stage of the poet's ideal hero, realized in Iwein, an ideal that Sparnaay⁸² interprets as the first instance of German *Klassik*. The emotions in the Hartmannian world in *Erec*, whether this be *gotisch* or *klassisch*, would seem at all events to be "recessive." *Erbarmde* leads often, as we have seen, to a strange *Schwelgen im Schmerz*. Furthermore, each individual in exaggerated humility is aware to a painful degree of his own lack of importance in the whole cosmic scheme. Chrétien, the born artist, gives us lavishly, proudly, even boastfully of the wealth of his young worldly wisdom and his *joie de vivre*. Hartmann, imbued with theology, seeks laboriously, rationally to show us that the self-effacing virtues and emotions, *caritas*, *humilitas*, *zuht*, *leit* and *scham*, lead to the Life Eternal.

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country. In contrast to these endings, the Norse *Erex Saga*, with its genealogical details leads us forward across the solid earth" þau gátu tvá sonu . . . urðu þeir báðir konungar . . . ok tóku ríki eptir föður sinn," *Erex Saga*, Gustaf Cederschild (Copenhagen 1880), p. 43.

⁷⁹ Cf. J. Schwietering, "Der Wandel des Heldenideals in der epischen Dichtung des 12. Jahrhunderts," *ZfdA*, LXXIV (1927), 142 ff.

⁸⁰ Cf. Gunther Muller, *Gradualismus*, *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, (1924), pp. 681 ff. Cf. Naumann, *Hofische Kultur*, p. 51.

⁸¹ Cf. Drube, *op cit*, p. 92.

⁸² Sparnaay, II, p. 105. Sparnaay, however, states definitely (II, 67) that Hartmann is at times in *Erec* (e.g. in the lament on the heath) far from this ideal.

THE PREPOSITION A<AB AND ITS USE IN
LA DIVINA COMMEDIA

SCHOLARS are now fairly well agreed that the Latin preposition *ab*, far from dying out, has remained extremely active in France and that the French *à*, when denoting separation, origin, causation, manner, means, agent, and accompaniment, is its direct descendant.¹ And yet the theory still persists that in Italy this same preposition disappeared completely in the eighth century after the emergence of *da* and that the Italian *a*, regardless of its meaning, always corresponds to Latin *ad*. E. Richter believed that the use of *a* in stereotyped phrases like *a destra*, *a malizia*, *a causa*, *a bello studio*, etc., was borrowed from French or Provençal and that modal *a* (*stare a testa china*) and instrumental *a* (*pregare a mani giunte*) descended from Latin *ad*.² As Muller says nothing about *a*, I take it that he, too, sees in it only a representative of *ad*.³ Likewise Graur, after stating that *apud* and *ab* have not survived in Italian, declares that it is *a*<*ad* which, besides denoting locality, introduces the instrument and agent.⁴

Graur, who contributes little to the arguments presented by Richter and Muller, analyzes incorrectly many of the examples he quotes. In discussing the French and Italian agents, for instance, he bases a distinction between the two on what he considers the normal position of the Italian prepositional phrase.

Le mot introduit par *à* est placé en italien presque toujours immédiatement après le verbe *faire*, ou du moins il est placé de telle façon que son rapport avec le verbe *faire* est nettement senti "fare ai Veneziani credere," dit l'italien, tandis qu'en français on aurait "faire croire aux Venitiens."

And from this he concludes that "en italien l'agent introduit par *a* est senti comme un datif . . . ce qui n'est pas toujours le cas pour le français."⁵ Now every student of Italian knows that, although the word order given so much importance by Graur is occasionally found, it is much more common to place the agent after the infinitive, so that the Italian construction corresponds exactly to the French. Here are a few examples chosen at random from the *Principe*: "non vi lasciarono prendere reputazione a' potenti forestieri," "uomo che si lasciassi governare alla

¹ A. Guillemin, *La Préposition "De" dans la littérature latine et en particulier dans la poésie latine de Lucrèce à Ausone* Thèse, Dijon (Chalon-sur-Saône E. Bertrand, 1921)

² E. Richter, *Ab im Romanischen* (Halle a. S. M. Niemeyer, 1904), pp. 25-26

³ H. F. Muller, *A Chronology of Vulgar Latin* (Halle (Saale) M. Niemeyer, 1929), p. 56.

⁴ A. Graur, *Ab, ad, apud et cum en Latin de Gaule* (Paris: Champion, 1932), pp. 20-25

⁵ A. Graur, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

madre," "le quali nature io dico di sopra essere necessarie imitare a uno principe," and "ma lasciarsi governare alla sorte." As final proof that the agent does not change its nature according to its position and that the *a* introducing it is not a sign of the dative, we may cite another passage from the *Principe*: "Et ad un cenno ordinato fece *da*' sua soldati uccidere tutti li senatori," in which *da* plays exactly the same rôle as *a*.⁶

Owing to the insistence of philologists that in Italy Latin *ab* disappeared completely and that Italian *a* stands for *ad* only, commentators of early texts, though taking pains to explain that *appo* comes from *apud* and *ab antico* is a Latinism, whenever they annotate an *a* which does not correspond to *ad*, merely confess, and only reluctantly, that "qui *a* vale *da*" or "per" or "con."⁷ Commentaries in English likewise content themselves with exact or approximate translations, without further clarification.⁸ It is not unusual even for the most reputable scholars to misconstrue sentences in which *a* occurs. Vandelli, for example, in his revision of Scartazzini's commentary on the *Divine Comedy*, states that in the verses: "parlami, e sodisfammi *a*' miei disiri" and "E io li sodisfeci al suo dimando," "c'è il dativo e della cosa e della persona,"⁹ whereas to me it seems that in each case, besides the dative of the person, we also have the ablative of specification: "speak to me, and satisfy me in regard to my desires," and "And I satisfied him in regard to his request."

All the more voluminous Italian dictionaries list the manifold meanings of the preposition *a*, illustrating them by quotations from the classics. Indeed its connotations are so varied that Giovanni Gherardini dedicated fifty-nine double-columned pages to its treatment.¹⁰ Since Gherardini is still adduced as an authority by present-day commentators,¹¹ I shall cite but three of his countless erroneous interpretations, in order to give an idea of the mental nebulosity which has arisen from the misunderstanding of the source and nature of this preposition.

The Accademia della Crusca had stated in its dictionary¹² that *a* is often found in the place of *dopo* or *per*, and had quoted as proof a tercet from the *Divina Commedia* (*Purg.* III, 79-81):

Come le pecorelle escon del chiuso
a una, a due, a tre, e l'altre stanno
timidette atterrando l'occhio e'l muso.

⁶ *Il Principe*, a cura di G. Lisio (Firenze: Sansoni, 1921), pp. 25, 113, 114, 137, and 57.

⁷ Cf. Vandelli's revision of Scartazzini's *Divina commedia* (Milano: Hoepli, 1929), pp. 62, 68, 148, etc.

⁸ Cf. Grandgent's revised edition of the *Divine Comedy* (Heath, 1933), pp. 89 and 632.

⁹ *Inf.*, x, 6 and 126.

¹⁰ G. Gherardini, *Voci e maniere di dire italiane, additate a' futuri vocabolaristi* (Milano: G. B. Bianchi, 1838-40).

¹¹ Cf. *Novelle Scelte dal Decamerone*, per cura di Raffaello Fornaciari (Firenze: Sansoni 1930), p. 10, note 1.

¹² *Vocabolario della Crusca* (Verona: Ramanzini, 1804-06).

Gherardini in whose mind Italian *a* always stood for Latin *ad*, failing to recognize *a una*, *a due*, *a tre* as expressions of manner, thought to elucidate the passage thus "In questo es la particella *a* serve . . . a far comprendere il passare o il salire via via da un numero ad un altro, incominciando dal zero all'uno, e quindi al due, e va' discorrendo"¹³

Later on he chided La Crusca for quoting a sentence from Boccaccio. "Stamane, anzi che io qui venissi, io trovai con la donna mia in casa una femmina a stretto consiglio," to show that *a* could at one and the same time correspond to Latin *ad* or *in*. And yet in his own paraphrase: "trovai con la mia donna una femmina, occupata o intenta l'una a dare e l'altra a prendere stretto consiglio,"¹⁴ he not only misconstrued the rôle of *a* but gave an erroneous connotation to *consiglio*, which here means not advice but conference or conversation.

In discussing the ablative of means, which in Italian is often introduced by *a* instead of *con*, even Gherardini lost confidence in the thesis that *a* comes only from *ad*. After quoting from Dante (*Inf* ix, 49-51)

Con l'unghie si fendea ciascuna il petto,
battïensi a palme, e gridavan sì alto,
ch'ï' mi strinsi al poeta per sospetto

and paraphrasing "battïensi a palme" by "si batteano ricorrendo o appigliandosi a le palme," he realized that such an explanation is inadmissible. He confessed his bewilderment as follows:

Ben mi rincresce che forse questi vocaboli *ricorrendo e appigliandosi* non sono qui bene applicati, ma sia colpa del mio intelletto, o pure insufficienza del nostro idioma, io da me non veggio parole da poter meglio spiegare il mio intendimento assai tuttavia sarà per me, se il lettore mi avrà compreso.¹⁵

Such confusion in the understanding of the syntactical nature of the preposition *a* is still universal among commentators of the older Italian texts, and has given rise to rather rash statements on the part of Italian stylists and grammarians. Enrico Sicardi, for instance, accuses Dante of denaturing prepositions:

o scorcia violentemente le preposizioni, sì da farle parere altre, come *Inf* i, 42: "Di quella fera alla gaietta pelle" per "dalla gaietta pelle," o in *Purg* viii, 106: Sentendo fender l'aere alle verdi ali" per "dalle verdi ali."¹⁶

His opinion that in these and other verses Dante used *a* instead of *da* because of an aversion to dentals is not convincing, certainly not for *Inf* i, 42. A careful analysis of all such passages will reveal that the poet employed *a* in lieu of *da* for metrical reasons, since the former preposition could combine with a preceding or a following vowel, or even with both,

¹³ G. Gherardini, *op. cit.*, i, 37.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

¹⁶ E. Sicardi, *Lingua italiana in Dante* (Roma: Optima, 1928), pp. 53 and 63.

into one syllable, whereas *da* could not. Even more recently Dante was taken to task by Trabalza and Allodoli for using *a* instead of *con* to characterize: "La lonza alla pelle dipinta,"¹⁷ and although Mario Pei calls attention to this fact, he makes no attempt to elucidate the construction¹⁸

The same confusion reigns among students of modern Italian style. Fornaciari sees in the phrase: "domando ad alcuno qualche cosa," an $ad < ad$, serving the same function as the Latin dative, and warns the reader that phrases like "due ova al burro," "caffè alla panna," "bistecca alla gratella," and "andare o correre al trotto o al galoppo" are Gallicisms to be avoided.¹⁹ Richter discovered an ethical dative in "sfuggire al pericolo" and a Latin *ad* of location in "conoscere alla voce,"²⁰ whereas it should be evident that in the first case we have an $a < ab$ to denote separation, and in the second an $a < ab$ to indicate the source of cognition. As for Graur, he merely follows the traditional explanation in calling the *a* which introduces the instrument and agent a borrowing from French or Provençal.²¹

In late years, with the advent of a rabid Italian nationalism, the question has come up as to what to do with idioms supposedly imported from France. It has been suggested, for example, that, in the place of "spaghetti al pomodoro" and "bistecca alla gratella" or "ai ferri," Italians should say "spaghetti col pomodoro" and "bistecca sulla gratella" or "sui ferri" and even "bistecca cotta sui ferri." And, although Zingarelli accepts "al burro," "all'olio," "al vino," etc., Panzini denounces them as Gallicisms.²²

From the foregoing discussion it is apparent that neither the sources nor the connotations of the Italian preposition *a* have been completely understood. This state of affairs necessitates a reexamination of the whole problem, for only then will it be possible to clarify many passages in the *Divina commedia* which are still considered obscure

I

All things, whether animate or inanimate, taken literally or figuratively, are either active or inactive. If inactive, they may be said to be in a neutral, stationary, or static condition; if active, they may either possess mere tendencies or latent powers, or they may simply undergo internal change or growth, or they may have actual motion in themselves or produce it in others. These notions of activity or inactivity, regardless

¹⁷ Trabalza e Allodoli, *Grammatica degli Italiani* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1935), p. 76

¹⁸ *Romanic Review*, October, 1939, pp. 315-321.

¹⁹ Fornaciari, *Sintassi italiana dell'uso moderno* (Firenze Sansoni, 1881), pp. 271 and 346.

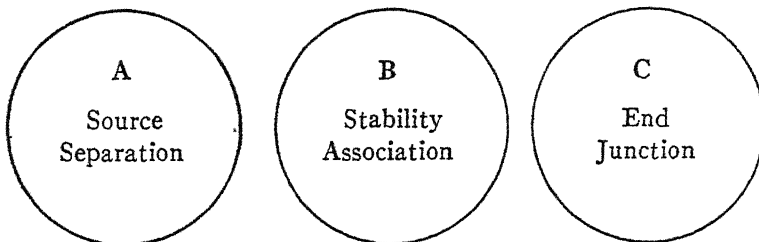
²⁰ E. Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

²¹ A. Graur, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-39.

²² *Lingua Nostra*, Anno II, pp. 15-18.

of whether they are considered from the point of view of space, of time, or of the mind, are expressed by verbs or verbal adjectives alone. However, if their application is particularized by nouns or pronouns, case endings or prepositions must be resorted to, in order to show the exact relationship between the verbs or verbal adjectives and the nouns or pronouns. Thus, in the sentence, "Antonio va a Roma," *va* denotes motion in space, *Roma* limits the application of the notion of the verb, and the relationship between the two is specified by the preposition *a*. Similarly, in "Antonio parte da Napoli," the relationship is expressed by *da*. In the first case *Roma* denotes the end of spatial motion, while in the second *Napoli* denotes the beginning. In "Antonio va da Napoli a Roma," the distance is delimited exactly both as to its beginning and its end. The same prepositions serve for similar functions in expressions of time, as in "Dalla nascita alla morte amò sempre Iddio" and in "Dalle otto alle dieci studia l'italiano." Finally, in "Fu indotto da gratitudine ad amare il padre," *da* and *ad* determine respectively the cause and the result of mental or emotional activity. Between the concepts of beginning, expressed by *da*, and of ending, expressed by *a*, are those of fixity, stability, and impartiality, generally and most logically specified in Italian by *in* or *a*. For example, in "Antonio è nella sala da pranzo," *in* denotes a fixed locality, with absolutely no indication of motion, and, in "Antonio è arrivato alle due," *a* determines the moment of arrival, without specifying the beginning, the end, or the duration of the moment. A word or phrase which qualifies a verb or verbal adjective, whether of rest or of motion is, to be regarded as one of neutrality, since from the point of view of the verb it qualifies, it contains no idea of change or motion whatsoever. Thus, in "Partì da Firenze con venti fiorini addosso," *in* relation to the subject of the verb the *venti fiorini* do not change position, and, in "Il ragazzo agì da vero soldato," the phrase introduced by *da* describes the verbal action, but, in relation to it, undergoes no transformation.

These notions, as well as others which will be discussed in the course of this article, may be divided into three general categories, represented in the diagram by the three circles A, B, and C. The first category, with



its basic connotation of source, denotes, in the spatial sense—origin, recession, separation, removal, obtainment, divergence, agent, and permanent possession, in the temporal sense: the beginning of a period of time and the past in relation to the present, and, in the mental sense, the cause of pure intellectual activity, the incentive of the will, and the source of the emotions. The second category, besides the notions of fixity, stability, and impartiality, and extent in space and time, includes also associative qualifiers such as, means, manner, accompaniment, specification, quality, degree, and price. And the third category, represented by circle C, consists of concepts which are the exact opposites of those of A: namely, end, junction, assemblage, conformity, benefit, inclination, and temporary possession; end of a period of time and futurity, and the effect of intellectual activity, the intention of the will, and the inclination of the emotions.

In Latin these notions were expressed in various ways. Those of the first circle were indicated by the genitive of permanent possession and of the partitive, by the dative of separation, temporary possession, and agent, and by the ablative of cause and origin. Of these three cases, however, the most popular was the ablative, which, together with the prepositions *de*, *ex*, and *ab*, being more analytical than the other two, not only took over their functions, but, with the eventual loss of case distinctions, crowded them out almost completely. The preposition *ex* became more and more rare from the third century on,²³ and its functions were usurped by *de* and *ab*, both of which remained exceedingly active and were used almost interchangeably. Guillemin records many examples to show that, even in the Classical period of Latin, *ab* could express the principal ideas included in category A.²⁴

As has already been stated, the notions listed under category B are to be divided into two classes: those denoting a fixed or neutral point in space or time, and those which qualify verbs or verbal adjectives. Those of the first class could be expressed in Latin by the accusative with *ad*, whereas those of the second were generally indicated by the ablative alone or by the ablative with prepositions. *Ab* was often used to introduce means or instrument, or specification, and examples are not lacking in which it takes the place of *cum* to express accompaniment.²⁵

As for the ideas included in category C, they were indicated in Latin by the accusative with *ad* or *in* when motion was implied, and by the dative alone when no motion was inferred. And yet, even in this latter case, *ad* with the accusative is frequently found.²⁶ Later, with the loss of

²³ Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (Boston: Heath, 1907), p. 39.

²⁴ Guillemin, *op. cit.*

²⁵ Muller, *op. cit.*, pp. 56–58.

²⁶ Guillemin, *op. cit.*

the case system, the use of *ad* in the place of the dative was greatly extended ²⁷

As long as the two prepositions *ab* and *ad* could be distinguished from each other, their particular spheres were clearly differentiated. However, as Richter pointed out, before words beginning with consonants, they were both reduced to *a*, which, regardless of its source, became *ad* before words beginning with vowels, by analogy with *ed*, *od*, *qued*, and *ad* itself ²⁸. Complete confusion resulted when this *ad*, representing both *ab* and *ad*, was finally employed also in front of words starting with consonants. Consequently this *a* or *ad* could serve and did serve for all the varied and contradictory notions symbolized by our three circles, thereby becoming a preposition without any distinctive prepositional force whatsoever. It was due to this confusion that other particles were resorted to, in order to indicate the original functions of *ab* as distinct from those of *ad*. Italians not only had available *de*, which from the very beginning was practically interchangeable with *ab*, and extended the use of *cum* from the idea of accompaniment to that of means, manner, and specification, but created a new preposition by a fusion of *de* and *ab*, resulting in the modern *da* ²⁹

The emergence of *da* (*dea* and *dead* are also found) in Italy in the eighth century is of great importance, since eventually it took over nearly all the functions of *ab* ³⁰. However, this does not mean, as Richter would have us believe, that *a* as a descendant of *ab* fell completely out of use ³¹. On the contrary, it was employed extensively in Italian up to the end of the Renaissance, and is quite common in modern Italian. One may recognize an *ab* of source or separation in "pigliar gusto al racconto," "chiedere alla donna," and "sottrarsi a un pericolo"; an *ab* of possession in "mettere in bocca al cane," and "lo vidi in cima a un gelso", and an *ab* of accompaniment in Manzoni's phrase "a croce alzata," corresponding to the Latin ablative absolute. Finally, we have an *ab* introducing an ablative of manner in expressions such as "risotto alla milanese," "scottare a buono," "intendere a sordo," "andare a piedi" and "fare alla peggio."

I do not think it is any longer necessary to accept the old theory that the Italian *a* (or *ad*) introducing manner means attendance, separation, and agent, is a borrowing from French or Provençal. No one will deny that the early Italian writers knew both these languages and that not a few French and Provençal words and phrases made their way into Italian. However, it must not be forgotten that the basis of Italian is Latin, and

²⁷ Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (Heath, 1907), p. 44.

²⁸ Richter, *op cit*, pp. 25-26.

²⁹ Muller, *op cit*, p. 65

³⁰ Richter, *op cit*, p. 44.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 54.

hat educated Italians of the Middle Ages, lawyers, teachers, and priests, employed Latin more than any modern foreign language, and were fully aware of the connotations of *ab* with the ablative. Moreover, the preposition *a* was used so universally in the place of *da* that it could not be a foreign importation. On the contrary, it evolved from both *ab* and *ad* and became part and parcel of the native tongue.

II

After stating that the Italian preposition *a* introducing means, manner, and agent comes from Latin *ad*, Graur continues:

J'ai dépouillé la *Divine Comédie*, ce qui m'a permis de constater que, si cet emploi est assez fréquent chez Dante, il est, de toute façon, bien plus rare qu'en français moderne, par conséquent plus rare encore que dans le français de l'époque ³²

I do not propose to compare the frequency of *a* in the two languages in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, but I shall show that Dante used it extensively to introduce all the notions of circle A and all those of the second class of circle B.

A

In the *Divine Comedy* there are at least eleven kinds of concepts belonging to category A. Whenever it is an *a* or *ad* that introduces them, his *a* or *ad* always corresponds to Latin *ab*, as will be shown by appropriate quotations from Latin writings, including Dante's.

1. To indicate the source or origin of motion in space, Latin, besides the ablative with *de* and *ex*, also used the ablative with *ab* a populo amor . . . venit (Ov. *F.* 3.374),³³ emergit ab aquis (Dante, *A T.* II), ab inde ad utrumque latus (Dante, *V.E.* I. viii). To this *ab* undoubtedly corresponds the *a* in the following passages from the *Comedy*

n altro *a* lui uscìo (*Purg.* II, 24), *al* collo della cetra prende sua forma (*Par.* XX, 2), per lo seguir che face *a* lui la 'nvoglia (*Par.* XXVI, 99), uscìro *ad* esser che on avia fallo (*Par.*, XXXIX, 23).

2. Closely allied to this was the use of *ab* to specify an object from which another recedes: fugit ab ara taurus (Lucan 7. 165); ab Haemonia . . . cessit (Ov. *Pont.* 1. 3. 75);³⁴ ab omni guerrarum insultu cessaremus (Dante, *Epist.* I. 3); recedunt ab albo (Dante, *V.E.* I. xvi). In the *Divina Commedia* we find many examples of the same type:

l fatto il dir vien meno (*Inf.*, IV, 147), fallire *a* glorioso porto (*Inf.*, XV, 56), li iechi *a* cui la roba manca (*Purg.*, XIII, 61), *a* che non posso schermar lo viso (*Purg.*, XV, 25), *al* quale ha or ciascun disteso l'arco (*Purg.*, XVI, 48), quant'è ascosa la veritate *alla* gente (*Purg.*, XVIII, 35), che si vela *a'* mortai (*Par.*, V,

³² Graur, *op. cit.*, p. 36

³³ For other examples Cf. Guillemin, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 and 25-30.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 12 and 45.

129), sta sepolto *all'i* occhi di ciascuno (*Par*, vii, 59), lo sol talvolta *ad* ogni uom si nasconde (*Par*, xii, 51), per cedere al pastor (*Par*, xx, 57), *a* noi profondo (*Par.*, xxx, 4), *al* mio veder si stinse (*Par*, xxx, 13), che 'l parlar nostro, ch'a tal vista cede, e cede la memoria *a* tanto oltraggio (*Par*, xxxiii, 56-57)

3 Latin could also use *ab* to express the idea of separating one object from another: a pectore vestem diripuit (Ov. *Met* 9 635),³⁵ qui a patria pulsus (Dante, *Epist.*, ii. 1), mihi a limine . . . separato (Dante, *Epist.*, iii. 2); and for the corresponding Italian function Dante employed its descendant *a*:

Caina attende chi *a* vita ci spense (*Inf*, v, 197), *a* cui non può il fin mai esser mozzo (*Inf*, ix, 95), non tegno riposto *a* te mio cuor (*Inf*, x, 20), onde *a* guardar le stelle . . . non li era la veduta tronca (*Inf*, xx, 50), non m'è il seguir *al* mio cantar preciso (*Par*, xxx, 30).

4. The object or person from which a thing is removed or taken away was likewise often indicated by *ab*: traxit *ab* aeque piscem (Sil 5. 52), *ab* humo attollit amicum (Virg *Aen.* 5. 452),³⁶ removet *ab* hac causalitate aerem et ignem (Dante, *A T.* xx) Such a construction occurs quite frequently in the *Divine Comedy*

che la gran preda levò *a* Dite (*Inf*, xii, 39), munge le lagrime . . . *a* Rinier da Corneto, *a* Rinier Pazzo (*Inf*, 137), torrien fede *al* mio sermone (*Inf*, xiii, 21), tolsero *a* Mattia (*Inf*, xix, 94), poder . . . *a* tutti tolle (*Inf*, xxxiii, 57); *a* cui tanto distilla (*Inf*, xxxiii, 97), torre tali esecutori *a* Marte (*Inf*, xxxi, 51), *a* te com'è tanta ora tolta? (*Purg*, ii, 93), sciolse *al* mio petto la croce (*Purg*, v, 126), ha tolto l'uno *all'* altro Guido (*Purg*, xi, 97), *al* sangue mio non tolse la vergogna (*Purg*, xx, 62), notte nè sonno *a* voi non fura (*Purg*, xxx, 104), si tolse *a* me (*Purg*, xxx, 126), *a* più alto leon trasser lo vello (*Par.*, vi, 108); traendo *alla* rocca la chioma (*Par*, xv, 124)

5. *Ab* was commonly used in Latin to mark the point from which an object stands removed, particularly with *longe*, *procul*, *prope*, and *alienus*: a gelido longius axe foret (Ov. *Pont.* 4 14. 62),³⁷ Longe namque *ab* officio se esse non dubitet (Dante, *Mon.* i. i); distantem *a* centro mundi (Dante, *A T.* xiv). Dante's epic has at least two such examples:

non molto lungi *al* percuoter dell'onde (*Par*, xii, 49), non molto distanti *alla* tua patria (*Par*, xxi, 107).

6. Intimately connected with the idea of distance and separation is that of divergence, which in Latin was expressed by *ab* as well as by *de* and *ex*: qui *a* te totus diversus est (Cic. *Acad.* I. II 32),³⁸ quos *a* nobis

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 18 and 47

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 26, and 52

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 42

³⁸ D. Pesavento, *Manuale di un metodo comparativo per apprendere facilmente e solidamente come si suole nelle lingue vive la logica struttura delle due lingue italiana e latina ad un tempo* (Padova. Tipografia del Seminario, 1867), p. 214

... facit esse diversos (Dante, *V.E.* I ix), dissentientes discordamus ab eis (Dante, *V.E.* I xv). Dante regularly employed *ab* to denote divergence in equality (*ie* comparison), which in Classical Latin was indicated by the ablative alone: minus ab angelis (Dante, *Mon.* I v), de rebus inferioribus ab homine (Dante, *Mon.* I x). The *Divine Comedy* reveals an identical construction in the following passages:

parole *alle* prime diverse (*Inf.*, ix, 12), *al* color della pietra non diversi (*Purg.*, xiii, 48), letizia presi *a* tutte altre dispari (*Purg.*, xiii, 129), all'error contrario corsi *a* quel ch'accese amor (*Par.*, iii, 18), dissimile *al* sommo bene (*Par.*, vii, 80), fortuna trova discorde *a* sè (*Par.*, viii, 140), *a* te puot'esser fuia (*Par.*, ix, 75), tenetevi stretti *a* giudicar (*Par.*, xx, 134)

7. In Latin *ab* was employed as frequently as *de* to denote the person from whom an object is either asked or obtained. redimere . . . a iudicibus (Cic. *Mil.* 32 87),³⁹ postulabat a Deo (Dante, *Mon.* I xiii), ab eis . . . quaerentur (Dante, *Epist.* x. 33). And such a construction can be easily recognized in the following verses:

chiedi *a* lui (*Inf.*, xiii, 81), che *a* me richiedi? (*Inf.*, xix, 66), *a* lui . . . domandò 'l duca mio (*Inf.*, xxii, 77), la chieggi *a* lui (*Purg.*, xx, 48), dimandar ragione *a* questo giusto (*Par.*, vi, 137), per più amore ch'*ai* primi effetti di là su tu hai (*Purg.*, xi, 3)

8. The agent of an action was regularly introduced in Latin by *ab*: laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis (Hor. *Sat.* I. 2. 11),⁴⁰ Omnis domus regitur a senissimo (Dante, *Mon.* I v), a Virtutibus honoratur in coelis (Dante, *Epist.* II 2). Similarly in the *Divina commedia* it is often indicated by *a* instead of by the more modern *da*:

alla pioggia mi fiacco (*Inf.*, vi, 54), vid'io quello strazio far di costui *alle* fangose genti (*Inf.*, viii, 59), serbolo *a* chiosar . . . *a* donna che saprà (*Inf.*, xv, 90), puttaneggiar coi regi *a* lui fu vista (*Inf.*, xix, 108), si paga il fio *a* quei che scommettendo (*Inf.*, xxvii, 136), non vidi già mai menare stregghia *a* ragazzo . . . nè *a* colui che (*Inf.*, xxix, 77-78), mi fece ardere *a* tal (*Inf.*, xxix, 117), non viste mai fuor ch'*alla* prima gente (*Purg.*, I, 24), Sentendo fender l'aere *alle* verdi ali (*Purg.*, viii, 106), si dibarba robusto cerro, o vero *al* nostral vento o vero *a* quel della terra di Iarba (*Purg.*, xxxi, 70-72), Io senti' mormorare *a* tutti "Adamo" (*Purg.*, xxxii, 37), legar vidi *alla* biforme fera (*Purg.*, xxxii, 96), seguiterieno *a* tua ragion distrutti (*Par.*, II, 72), fu viso *a* me cantare essa sustanza (*Par.*, vii, 5), verrà fatto *a* chi ciò pensa (*Par.*, xvii, 50), vidi rappresentare *a* quel distinto foco (*Par.*, xviii, 108), che non si lascia vincere *a* disio (*Par.*, xix, 15).

9. In Latin possession was expressed by the dative and by the genitive. The dative, however, was generally used only with *esse* to denote tem-

³⁹ Guillemin, *op. cit.*, pp 48-50.

⁴⁰ D. Pesavento, *op. cit.*, pp 469-471.

porary possession, and the genitive was eventually supplanted by the ablative with *de*.⁴¹ As *ab* was practically interchangeable with *de*, it is quite likely that it, too, took on this function, aided perhaps in this extension by its indication of source and distant origin. From the phrase: *philosophiam . . . a Socrate ortam* (Cic. *Ac* 1.1.3),⁴² in which *a* denoted source, it was easy to pass to the phrase: *philosophia a Socrate*, in which *a* simply indicated possession. Likewise Virgil's expression: *genus a Pallante profectam* (*Aen* 8.51), was reduced to "genus a Pallante," usually rendered in English by "Pallas' offspring." Again Dante's "*ius a Deo*" (*Mon* II.ii) and "*insultus a filio*" (*V E* I.vii) could be translated into English by "God's justice" and "a son's insult" without doing too much violence to *a*'s fundamental connotation of source. In early Italian the use of *a* to denote possession was nearly as common as that of *di*. That the *a* employed in this sense could well be a descendant of *ad* taking the rôle of the dative of interest or temporary possession does not preclude necessarily the possibility of its being a representative of *ab*. Here are a few of the many examples in the *Divina commedia*:

le lanose gote *al* nocchier della livida palude (*Inf*, III, 98), nel petto *al* mio signor (*Inf*, VIII, 116), dal collo *a* ciascun pendea una tasca (*Inf*, XVII, 55), *a* cui di bocca uscì (*Inf*, XXII, 55), sì rose la tempie *a* Menalippo (*Inf*, XXXII, 131), etc

10. Latin employed *ab* to denote the beginning of a period of time: *ab hora octava ad vesperum* (Cic. *ATT.* 7.8.17), *ab initio*, *a pueritia*,⁴³ *a principio dicebatur* (Dante, *Mon.* I.vii); *a lapsu primorum parentum* (Dante, *Mon.* I.xviii). However, this use of *a* < *ab* is extremely rare in Dante's poem:

che discese di Fiesole *ab* antico (*Inf*, xv, 62), *ad ora ad ora* (*Inf*, xv, 84), volgendo *ad ora ad ora* la testa (*Purg*, VIII, 101), compartendo la vista *a quando a quando* (*Purg*, xxv, 126).

11. Cause was generally expressed in Latin by the ablative alone. Nevertheless examples are found in which prepositions are also used. Starting with the phrase: *a causa*, employed by Lucretius, the extension of *ab* into this rôle was aided by its general and basic meaning of source and origin: *corpora ab immodico . . . nigrantia Phoebo* (Sil. 9.225),⁴⁴ *ab ardente virtute sublimatos ad aethera* (Dante, *V E* II.iv), *quam infantes adsuefiunt ab adsistentibus* (Dante, *V E* I.i); *confundentur . . . a facie corruscantis* (Dante, *Epist.* v.i). In his masterpiece Dante has many examples of *a* < *ab* denoting cause, including several in which it precedes the infinitive, which in Italian serves the same rôle as the Latin

⁴¹ Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (Heath, 1907), p. 43

⁴² Guillemin, *op cit*, p. 33, note 2

⁴³ Pesavento, *op cit*, pp. 464 and 488.

⁴⁴ Guillemin, *op cit*, p. 65

gerund; and, in one case at least: *a* che guardando il mio duca sorrise (*Purg*, xii, 136), it is used with the ablative of the gerundive, corresponding exactly to the Latin construction. In the *Divina commedia* there are three types of causal *a* (a) that which indicates pure cause, or the logical source of an event or change; (b) that which denotes the cause or source of cognition; and finally, (c) that which denotes the cause or source of the emotions

(a) The first type is by far the most frequently encountered.

la madre ch'al romore è desta (*Inf*, xxiii, 38), ch'a ciò s'accorse (*Inf*, xxiii, 114), ad ira pareo mosso (*Inf*, xxiv, 69), stupido tutto al carro della luce (*Purg*, iv, 59), a troppo si confonda (*Purg*, viii, 36), a memoria de' suo' primi guai (*Purg*, ix, 15), perchè a poco vento così cadi? (*Purg*, xii, 96), a che guardando il mio duca sorrise (*Purg*, xii, 136), io scoppio dentro ad un dubbio (*Purg*, xvi, 54), si consumò al consumar d'un stizzo (*Purg*, xxv, 23), al vostro guizzo guizza dentro allo specchio vostra image (*Purg*, xxv, 25), ritornaro alla parola (*Purg*, xxxii, 77), ai colpi delli caldi rai della neve riman nudo il soggetto (*Par*, ii, 106); a quelle parole mi fec'io (*Par*, x, 58), Come s'avviva allo spirar di venti carbone in fiamma, così vid'io quella luce risplendere a' miei blandimenti (*Par*, xvi, 28-30), al cui disio ciascuna cosa qual ella è diventa (*Par*, xx, 77-78), al cui fulgore, sarebbe fronda (*Par*, xxi, 11), A questa voce vid'io più fiammelle . . . scendere (*Par*, xxi, 136), al cui odor si prese il buon cammino (*Par*, xxiii, 75), a' suoi consigli tutto era pronto (*Par*, xxiii, 76), tal mi fec'io a quell'ultimo foco (*Par*, xxv, 121), a lume acuto si disonna (*Par*, xxvi, 70), a suo piacer di grazia dota diversamente (*Par*, xxxii, 65), Così la neve al sol si disigilla (*Par*, xxxiii, 64), A quella luce cotal si diventa (*Par*, xxxiii, 100)

(b) The examples of *a* denoting the source of cognition are relatively few:

all'abito ne sembri esser alcun (*Inf*, xvi, 8), ch'al fatto o al nome si conosca (*Inf*, xxiii, 74), par vivo all'atto della gola (*Inf*, xxiii, 88), con pomi a odorar soavi e boni (*Purg*, xxii, 132), l'avrei riconosciuto al viso (*Purg*, xxiii, 43), se . . . a nome vuo' saper chi semo (*Purg*, xxvi, 89), conosceresti all'arbor moralmente (*Purg*, xxxiii, 72), sì che pare a' lor vivagni (*Par*, ix, 135).

(c) And those indicating the source of emotion are rare:

lutto alla tua pria ch'all'altrui ruina (*Purg*, xii, 38-39); sarò io lieto a veder la vendetta (*Purg*, xx, 95), e condolliemi alla giusta vendetta (*Purg*, xxi, 6)

B

All the functions of *a* which we have discussed so far depend on the general idea of source or origin and can be traced back to corresponding Latin constructions with *de*, *ex*, or *ab*. In the earlier texts, however, this Italian preposition also indicated notions which, by qualifying verbs in a parallel, associative way without spatial or chronological divergence, belong to the second class of category B.

1 Although means was usually expressed in Latin by the ablative alone, examples are found in which it is introduced by *de* and, in popular speech, by *ab*. (piscis) teneatur ab hamo (Ov. *Ars*. 1. 763); circinetur illud a forfice (Italian handbook of chemistry eighth cent. Muratori ed. 1778, T 4, Diss 24, 687),⁴⁵ vix ab inutili unda Oceani se circumcingi dignatur (Dante, *Epist*, vii. 3), ostensa sint nobis haec ab humana ratione . . . haec a Spiritu Sancto (Dante, *Mon.* iii xvi). In the *Divina commedia* a introducing means or instrument occurs frequently:

ombre mostrommi *a* dito (*Inf*, v, 68), *a* che e come concedette amore (*Inf*, v, 119), battiensi *a* palme (*Inf*, ix, 50), non temesti torre *a* 'nganno (*Inf*, xix, 56), levar per l'aere *a* volo (*Inf*, xxix, 113), Io volsi Ulisse del suo cammin vago *al* canto mio (*Purg*, xix, 23), e fatti far credenza *al* lembo de' tuoi panni (*Purg*, xxvii, 30), ch'è vinto *al* pome (*Purg*, xxvii, 45), *al* semblante lo fa vedere (*Par* xx, 65), *a* più angusto vaglio ti conviene schiarar (*Par*, xxvi, 22), *a* così lunga scala ti dispose (*Par*, xxvi, 111), *a* proprio nome vo per la rosa giù di foglia in foglia (*Par*, xxxii, 14), *a* che si parton le sacre scalee (*Par*, xxxii, 21)

2 In Latin the ablative of manner was used with *cum* when it had no adjective, and with or without *cum* when accompanied by an adjective or its equivalent. This function of *cum* > *con* has remained very active in Italian. And yet many expressions of manner are introduced by *a*. Phonologically, of course, *a* could have evolved from either *ad* or *ab*, but, since *ad* in Latin was employed only with the accusative and did not indicate any of the notions requiring the ablative, its only likely source is *ab*. Moreover, in the declensions of Donatus, the sixth case is always denoted by the ablative preceded by *ab*. *Ab* probably spread to manner from means and instrument. Undoubtedly its extension to this rôle was aided also by its use to give the point of view from which a thing is regarded. The phrase: *mediocriter a doctrina instructus*, which could well be considered as an expression of means or even specification, is quoted by Richter as an expression of manner.⁴⁶ A few examples in which manner is indicated by *ab* instead of the more bookish *cum* follow:

nos deus osculatur ab oculis (Paul Nol *Epist* 13 19), *ab una manu pallas altaris tenerem* (Greg Tur in Ubat's *Beitr* p. 27), *et tene illud cum tenalea ferrea et distende et a forfice recide* (Italian handbook of chemistry, *loc. cit*),⁴⁷ *sera poenitentia hoc a modo venire genitiva non erit* (Dante, *Epist*, vi 6), *et ab in vicem segregavi* (Dante, *Epist.*, x. 3).

It is not always easy to decide as to whether such phrases are of manner or means, and the same difficulty arises in the analysis of many passages in the *Divine Comedy*. The following, however, seem to me to denote manner:

⁴⁵ Guillemin, *op cit*, p. 61, Muller, *op cit*, p. 58

⁴⁶ Richter, *op cit*, p. 44

⁴⁷ Muller, *op cit*, p. 58

gittansi di quel lito *ad* una *ad* una (*Inf*, III, 116), vanno *a* vicenda (*Inf*, v, 14), li stornei ne portan l'ali . . . *a* schiera larga e piena (*Inf*, v, 41), dandole biasmo a torto e mala voce (*Inf*, VII, 93), troncandosi co' denti *a* brano *a* brano (*Inf*, VII, 114), ciascun dentro *a* pruova si ricorse (*Inf*, VIII, 114), la difesi *a* viso aperto (*Inf*, x, 93), vanno *a* mille *a* mille (*Inf*, XII, 73), rispuosi lui *a* questo metro (*Inf*, XIX, 89), lasciali digrignar pur *a* lor senno (*Inf*, XXI, 134), *a* tal modo . . . si stenta (*Inf*, XXIII, 121), stette . . . *a* testa china (*Inf*, XXIII, 139), *a* gran passi sen giù (*Inf*, XXIII, 145); si rispuosero *a* tai norme (*Inf*, XXV, 103), parlando *a* gioco (*Inf*, XXIX, 112); *a* poco *a* poco un altro a lui uscìo (*Purg*, II, 24), Cantando . . . *a* verso *a* verso (*Purg*, v, 24), *ad* una se n'andaro (*Purg*, IX, 63), *A* guisa d'uom che 'n dubbio si raccerta (*Purg*, IX, 64), ora *a* maggiore e ora *a* minor passo (*Purg*, XX, 120), volan più *a* fretta (*Purg*, XXIV, 66), venendo teco sì *a* paro *a* paro (*Purg*, XXIV, 93), piede innanzi piede *a* pena mette (*Purg*, XXVIII, 54), le labbra *a* fatica la formaro (*Purg*, XXXI, 33), *alla* cui norma . . . si veste (*Par*, III, 98), Non prendan li mortali il voto *a* ciancia (*Par*, v, 64), mendicando sua vita *a* frusto *a* frusto (*Par*, VI, 141), chi cercasse *a* foglio *a* foglio (*Par*, XXII, 121), *a* guisa di baleno (*Par*, XXV, 81).

3 In Latin, attendance or accompaniment was expressed by the ablative, usually with *cum*, and this use has remained quite generally in Italian. In the older texts, however, *a* is often met with in this function, and again its source goes back to Latin *ab*. The following are but a few of the many examples that could be adduced to show that *ab* came to be employed in lieu of *cum* or *apud* to denote accompaniment:

a me sentiat, abs te stat (Plaut *Rud* 4 4 46), libertus qui a vobis stat (Apul *Apol* 53), tam *a* me pudica est quasi soror mea sit (Plaut *An. Curc* 51), rixas habebat *a* coniuge (Fortunatus *Vita S Radeg* 7 20),⁴⁸ exordium suae locutionis incipit *ab* *heu* (Dante, *VE* I iv), quosdam *ab* eptasyllabo tragice principiasse (Dante, *VE* II xii)

In the *Divina commedia*, likewise, *a* indicating accompaniment is frequently encountered:

Mischiate son *a* quel cattivo coro (*Inf*, III, 37), non move bocca *alli* altrui canti (*Purg*, VII, 93), voce mista *al* dolce suono (*Purg*, IX, 141), buoi che vanno *a* giogo (*Purg*, XII, 1), O dolce lume *a* cui fidanza i' entro (*Purg*, XIII, 16); danzando *al* loro angelico caribo (*Purg*, XXXI, 132), la forza *al* voler si mischia (*Par*, IV, 107); *ad* alte grida disposò lei col sangue benedetto (*Par*, XI, 32), amassero *a* fede (*Par*, XI, 114), *a* sua nota moviensì (*Par*, XVIII, 79), sì volgièno *a* nota (*Par*, XXV, 107), Concreato fu ordine e costruito *alle* sustanze (*Par*, XXIX, 32)

4. To specify or limit the application of an adjective or adverb, Latin often resorted to the ablative with *ab*: Dies nullus *ab* exercitationibus oratoriis vacuus (Cic *Brut.* 90), genus humanum liberum *a* iugo ipsorum (Dante, *Mon.* II. i), mandatus *a* lepra intercessione Sylvestri

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp 56-57

(Dante, *Mon.* III. i) This use of *ab* with the ablative of specification was extended considerably so that it could even precede the infinitive, which took on the function of the supine in *-tu*: mirabile dictu (Virg. *Georg.* 2.30)⁴⁹ In the *Divine Comedy* the preposition *a* denoting specification occurs very frequently before both nouns and infinitives:

a dir di Sardinia si sentono stanche (*Inf.*, XXII, 89), *a* ciò fare era più crudo (*Inf.*, XXII, 120), *alle* sue vision quasi è divina (*Purg.*, IX, 18), qual fora stata al fallo degna scusa (*Purg.*, X, 6), e *al* sì e *al* no discordi fensi (*Purg.*, X, 63), e per lo fabbro loro *a* veder care (*Purg.*, X, 99); *al* montar su è parco (*Purg.*, XI, 45), fu presuntuoso *a* recar Siena (*Purg.*, XI, 123), questa è *a* udir sì cosa nova (*Purg.*, XIII, 145), *a* fuggir la mia vista fu ratta (*Purg.*, XV, 24), *a* veder queste cose non ti fia grave (*Purg.*, XV, 31), libero *a* mutar convento (*Purg.*, XXI, 62), contente *a* brieve festa (*Purg.*, XXVI, 33), disioso ancora *a* più letizie (*Purg.*, XXIX, 33), *a* risponder la materia è sorda (*Par.*, I, 129), non fui *a* rimembrar festino (*Par.*, III, 61), ciò mi fece *a* dimandar più tardo (*Par.*, III, 130); *a* ciò far non bieci, come Ieptè *alla* sua prima mancia (*Par.*, V, 65–66), Siate *a* muovervi più gravi (*Par.*, V, 73), è forte *a* veder (*Par.*, VI, 102), *a* rilevarvi suso fu contenta (*Par.*, VII, 111), più largo fu Dio *a* dar sè stesso per far l'uom sufficiente *a* rilevarsi (*Par.*, VII, 115–16), per esser *al* dover le genti crude (*Par.*, IX, 48), basse *a* tanta altezza (*Par.*, X, 47), *a* considerar fu più che viro (*Par.*, X, 132), *a* conversione acerba troppo la gente (*Par.*, XI, 103), degno collega fu *a* mantener la barca (*Par.*, XI, 119), sicure *a* giudicar (*Par.*, XIII, 131), forti *a* tutto ciò (*Par.*, XIV, 60); subiti e accorti. *a* dicer "Amme" (*Par.*, XIV, 62), *a* tacer fur concorde? (*Par.*, XV, 9), contenti *alla* pelle scoperta, e le sue donne *al* fuso e *al* pennecchio (*Par.*, XV, 116–17), *al* servizio di Dio mi fe' sì fermo (*Par.*, XXI, 114), mirabile *a* veder (*Par.*, XXII, 96), possente *a* sostener lo riso (*Par.*, XXIII, 48), intero *a* contenerlo sarebbe arto (*Par.*, XXVIII, 33); non sono *a* tal modo sufficienti (*Par.*, XXVIII, 58), posson quanto *a* veder son sublimi (*Par.*, XXVIII, 102), modesti *a* riconoscer sè (*Par.*, XXIX, 59), poco sarebbe *a* fornir questa vice (*Par.*, XXX, 18), sarà più corta mia favella, pur *a* quel ch'io ricordo, che d'un fante (*Par.*, XXXIII, 107).

A may also limit the application of a verbal action:

sodisfammi *a'* miei disiri (*Inf.*, X, 6), li sodisfeci *al* suo dimando (*Inf.*, X, 126), ho perduto *a* veder (*Purg.*, VII, 26), ch'i' erri anzi *ad* aprir ch'*a* tenerla serrata (*Purg.*, IX, 127–128), *a* nominar trascorse (*Par.*, IV, 63), sodisfarvi *ai* voti manchi (*Par.*, IV, 137), sì caro costò *a* riarmar (*Par.*, XII, 38), *alla* risposta così mi prevenne (*Par.*, XXV, 51).

5. The quality of a noun was expressed in Latin by the genitive: vir magnae auctoritatis (Caes. *B. G.* v. 35. 6), but more often, especially when the quality was external, by the ablative without any preposition: Agesilaus statura fuit humili (Nep. XVII. 8. 1) With the disappearance of the declensional system, however, resort was had not only to *de*, but,

⁴⁹ Pesavento, *op. cit.*, pp. 169 ff. and 455.

though to a less extent, also to *ab*: argumentum ab oblatione Magorum (Dante, *Mon* S. C.); est manifesta per locum a sufficienti divisione causae (Dante, *A T.* x); eventually Italians, besides *de* and *ab*, also adopted for this function the newly-formed and restrengthened *da*. Probably the extension of these prepositions to the notion of quality was helped by their inherent meaning of source and origin. From the sentence: Hannibal fuit ab Carthagine, it was easy to derive the phrases: Hannibal ab Carthagine or Hannibal de Carthagine and, finally, Hannibal deab > da Carthagine, which ended by being purely qualifying expressions. In modern Italian these three prepositions are employed almost indiscriminately to indicate quality: bistecca ai ferri, pranzo di nozze, il signore dai baffi castagni, berretto da viaggio, etc. In Dante, however, the use of *a* in this sense is quite rare:

quella fera *alla* gatta pelle (*Inf*, I, 42), l'alta torre *alla* cima rovente (*Inf*, IX, 36), la lonza *alla* pelle dipinta (*Inf*, XVI, 108), e diede 'l punto con Calcante in Aulde *a* tagliar la prima fune (*Inf*, XX, 111), lume ti fiero *al* come che tu die (*Purg*, XXV, 36)

In the foregoing pages I have tried to show that the Latin preposition *ab*, far from disappearing in Italy, remained very active in its descendant *a*. It is true, of course, that in modern Italian it has been replaced to a great extent by *di*, *da*, *con*, and even *in*. Its use, however, was quite common up to the end of the Renaissance, and the present study could be applied advantageously to other early classics. As for the *Divine Comedy*, I have indicated the various functions of *a* < *ab*, and have recorded many passages in which they occur. Thanks to centuries of scholarship, the majority of these passages have been interpreted correctly. Not a few, however, have given rise to obscure and contradictory annotations, particularly those in which *a* seems at first sight to correspond to Latin *ad* or in which *a* apparently makes sense whether taken as the equivalent of *ad* or *ab*. Although other scholars may not accept such doubtful items as I have interpreted them, I have thought it advisable to include them in my lists since they should at least be reexamined. I intend to discuss the more important ones in short articles and notes.

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THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS IN THE SEEGE OF TROYE

THE present essay embodies a continuation of some previously published studies of the Middle English *Seege (or Batayle) of Troye*,¹ it is therefore hardly necessary or advisable to present here a full summary of the large body of scholarly comment which this poem has aroused. Briefly, it has been established that the *Seege of Troye* is dependent on two principal sources: *De Excidio Troiae* of Dares Phrygius and the *Roman de Troie* of Benoit de Sainte-Maure; and that details from these two accounts are pretty thoroughly blended together in the English poem.² There have been noted, however, a number of episodes—mostly concerned with the early lives of Paris and Achilles—which are not traceable either to Dares or to Benoit. At least one other source of some kind has therefore been regarded as a necessary postulate in order to account for the presence of these episodes in the *Seege of Troye*.³

In my previous studies of the *Seege* I have attempted to point out that the post-classical Latin *Excidium Troiae*,⁴ whose existence I dis-

¹ "The Rawlinson *Excidium Troie*—a Study of Source Problems in Mediaeval Troy Literature," *Speculum*, ix (1934), 379-404, "The Youth of Paris in the *Seege of Troye*," *University of Texas Studies in English* (1941), pp 7-23. Modern editions of the *Seege of Troye* have been made by C. H. A. Wager (New York, 1899), Mary E. Barnicle, E. E. T. S., O. S., no 172 (London, 1927), and Leo Hibler-Lebmannsport, 2 vols (Graz, 1928). Of the four extant MSS, Harley 525 (*H*), Lincoln's Inn 150 (*L*), Egerton 2862 (*E*), and Arundel xxxii (*A*) Wager prints only *H*, Hibler-Lebmannsport prints *L*, *E*, and *H*, while Miss Barnicle prints the four MSS complete. In the present study the quotations are uniformly from Miss Barnicle's edition.

² See, in this connection, especially A. Zietsch, *Ueber Quelle und Sprache des mittelhochdeutschen Gedichtes "Seege oder Batayle of Troye"* (Kassel, 1883), W. Greif, *Die mittelalterlichen Bearbeitungen der Trojanersage, in Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Romanischen Philologie*, lxi (Marburg, 1886), E. T. Granz, *Ueber die Quellengemeinschaft des mittelhochdeutschen Gedichtes "Seege oder Batayle of Troye" und des mittelhochdeutschen Gedichtes vom trojanischen Kriege des Konrad von Würzburg* (Leipzig, 1888), and the editions of C. H. A. Wager and M. E. Barnicle, cited above.

³ Greif postulated a Latin source pertaining especially to the career of Paris, Granz, Wager, and others have held that the *Seege* derives from a hypothetical "enlarged" *Roman de Troie*. Miss Barnicle refused to accept either of these theories, contending that all the material in the *Seege* could have come from a knowledge of the extant Dares and Benoit, plus an acquaintance with various classical authorities and traditions.

⁴ Three manuscripts of this narrative are now known to exist: *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D 893*, *Florence, Bibliotheca Laurenziana*, lxvi, 40; and *Florence, Bibliotheca Riccardiana* 881. The first part of the Rawlinson text was printed in my article in *Speculum* cited above. The complete text has now been edited in collaboration with Dr V. K. Whitaker of Stanford University, and this is in process of publication by the Mediaeval Academy of America. Quotations in the present study are from the composite text, not yet printed, for convenience, page references are given to the corresponding passages in the printed Rawlinson text (*Speculum*, ix, 397-404).

covered some years ago, contains most of the material with which the Middle English author supplements the narratives of Dares and Benoît, and that in the episode of the birth and upbringing of Paris this Latin text resembles the *Seege* so closely as to indicate very strongly that the author made use of it in a form quite close to that which is extant. In a few details, however, the *Seege* appears to have been influenced by some other version of Paris' youth, probably a Latin account showing resemblance to the *Compendium Historiae Troianae-Romanae*.⁵ A considerable body of evidence, now in process of publication,⁶ tends to support the idea that at least one other version of this story was in existence,—although in the *Seege* itself there are not many details of Paris' youth that could not have come from the *Excidium* in its present form. As I have also attempted to show, the author of the *Seege* very likely composed his poem entirely from memory, it is not surprising, therefore, if he blended details from more than one version of the same narrative.

My present task is to examine another episode in the career of Paris—namely, his judgment of the goddesses. An attempt will be made to discover whether the prolix and corrupt account in the *Seege of Troye* is to be regarded as an original reworking of Dares, or whether its counterpart is to be found in such sources as the *Excidium Troiae* (ET) and the *Compendium Historiae Troianae-Romanae* (C). Parallels will also be cited from a number of vernacular analogues, since these accounts are needed to throw light on the question of no-longer-extant sources.

The account in the *Seege* (S) of the judgment of the goddesses was undoubtedly influenced rather strongly by the narrative of Dares,⁷ where the whole affair is a dream which Paris relates before the assembled Trojans. But the author of S apparently conceives of the occurrence as real, and of the goddesses as real entities, since, although they approach Paris while he is asleep, they bid him "rise vp & wake" (543) from his slumbers. As in Dares, Paris begins by relating that he fell asleep while on a hunting trip. In the forest were "ffoure ladies of eluene land"—who turn out to be Saturnus, Jubiter, Mercurius, and Venus. They have found a golden ball on which is an inscription in letters of silver, stating that the fairest should have it. They quarrel over the ball and ask Paris to decide the dispute. After listening to their respective offers of riches, strength, beauty, and the love of women, Paris awards the ball to Venus. The apparent confusion might at first lead one to suppose that the passage is an original reworking of Dares and Benoît, in which the main outlines—except for the bribes of Juno and Minerva—are to be found. But a close study of the dramatic portions reveals traces of a much fuller

⁵ Ed. H. Simonsfeld, *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, xii (1886), 241–251.

⁶ In the Introduction to the new edition of the *Excidium*, sections II–IV.

⁷ *De Excidio Troiae Historia*, vii, ed. F. Meister (Leipzig, 1873).

source than these—fuller than *ET*, *C*, or any other known source account. Consider first the quarrel of the goddesses. Of the four MSS, *L*, *E*, *A*, and *H*, MS *L* will be regarded as nearest the author's original,⁸ while MS *H*, as an independent reworking, will be quoted separately:

L (EA)

"Þe lettres saide 'Þe faireste wommon of al (519)

Schal haue & welde þis riche bal.'

Saturnus þeo eldest þeo bal vp tok

And on þeo lettres gon heo loke

And saide, 'y wol haue þis riche bal

And, when me likiþ, playe wiþ-al'

'Nay,' saide Jubiter, 'so god me saue, (525)

Þis riche bal y wol haue,

ffor y am fairer, so haue y blis,

And so am y halden þer wise men is'

'Nay,' saide Mercurius, 'so mote y go,

y am fairer þan ȝe bo, (530)

ffor-þy y wol haue þis riche bal

And, whan me likiþ, playe wiþ-al.'

Þo spak venus ful hendely,

'Susteris, flyten con nouȝt y

Bote ȝon,' he saide, lyþ a knyȝt, (535)

He schal tryȝe al oure ryȝt,

Whiche of ows schal haue þeo bal'

And þerto graunteden þis sustres al

ffadir," saide Paris, "þus hit was"

H

"Sir," he seyd, "listeneth a stounde (399)

Thre goddes an apull fonde— (400)

Juno, the lady of wysenesse,

Dame pallas and dame venesse—

That fortune cast, withoutyn lees,

Too makyn werre þat ere was pees.

That appul was with gold begraue, (405)

And seyd the fayrest it shuld have

Thanne seyd Iuno, 'Myn shall it be,

ffor I am fayrest of vs thre'

Pallas seyd, 'It shall be myn,'

She swore be Jubiter and Appolyn, (410)

'ffor well it is knowyn and vnderstond

The fayrest I am of þat is in ony lond'

Dame venesse seyd, 'Now be styлле,

That appul is myn be ryght skylle,

ffor I am, without lees, (415)

⁸ It is so regarded by Miss Barnicle, and also by G. Hofstrand, *The Seege of Troye* (Lund, 1936)

The fayrest that euer born was.
 Dame Juno seyde, 'Be Mahound, nay.
 O non wyse it may not be
 That it be at our Juggement
 ffor ilkone seyth his owne talent' (420)
 'Thou seys sothe,' seyde pallas, 'sekerly
 Anoder man þat most Jugegy
 Whyche shall have þis Juell'
 Thenne seyde venus, 'þou seyst well
 Paris is the trewest man (425)
 That god leyde euer lyf vpon;
 Best it is our Juge þat he be
 Who shall it have of vs thre'
 All þey graunted þerto I-wisse (429)

No dramatized version of this quarrel is found in *ET*, *C*, or any other Latin account to my knowledge; yet, as will become apparent, some such source account must have been current. Evidently the quarrel originally occurred at the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, which the author of *S* drops (because of the Dares influence, no doubt), but which is found in *ET* and (in some form) in numerous medieval analogues.⁹ In the account of Alfonso el Sabio Juno is the first to take up the golden apple, read the letters, and make her claim:

e leyo donna Juno aquel latin . . . , e dixo luego alas otras. "Amigas, esta mançana yo la deuo auer e mia es" (p. 25).

Pallas asks to see the apple, then claims it for herself, and Venus, in turn, makes her claim. The goddesses speak out to much the same effect, and in the same order, in the *Libro de Alexandre*.¹⁰ In Konrad von Wurzburg there is a long debate in the presence of Paris, the essence of which is that Juno puts in her claim ("ich wil zem êrsten hie besehen . . ."—1914) and is followed by Pallas ("der apfel sol billiche mir . . ."—1950).

⁹ E.g., in Alfonso el Sabio's *General Estoria*, of which the pertinent excerpts are given in A. G. Solalinde's article "El Juicio de Paris en el 'Alexandre' y en la 'General Estoria,'" *Revista de Filología Española*, xv (1928), 1-51. See also *El Libro de Alexandre*, ed. R. S. Willis, Jr., Elliott Monographs, no. 32 (Princeton and Paris, 1934), stanzas 335 ff.; Leomarte's *Sumas de Historia Troyana*, ed. A. Rey, *Revista de Filología Española*, Anejo xv (Madrid, 1932), pp. 151 f.; Konrad von Wurzburg, *Der Trojanische Krieg*, ed. A. von Keller, *Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins*, XLIV (Stuttgart, 1858), II, 808 ff.; *Trójumanna Saga*, ed. J. Sigurdsson, *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1848), pp. 18-20.

¹⁰

Dixo donna Iunno || yo la deuo auer
 respuso donna Pallas || no lo puedo creer
 a la fe diz donna Venus || non pued esso eer
 yo soe mas fremosa || & mia deue ser (343)

As Solalinde shows, the account of Alfonso was strongly influenced by the *Alexandre*, here and elsewhere

Venus' rebuke and claim are very similar to MS *H* (413-416):

"ir mugent iuwer kriegē lān,
ich wil den apfel selbe hān,
wan er ist mīn von rehte
an libe und an geslehte
kan mir kein vrouwe sīn gelich" (2099-2103)

The decision of the goddesses that they can reach no solution themselves (*H*, 417-423) seems likewise to have been in the source account, since it is strikingly similar to a passage in the *Istoriëtta Trojana*¹¹

l'una de queste dee disse "Non è bella cosa che per tale cagione sia discordia trannoi, ma troviamo alcuno soficiente acciò giudicare" (382)

The others agree, and soon they spy the sleeping Paris.¹²

Allora disse l'una all'altra "Vedete, vedete Paris qui, il figliuolo del re Priamo; più leale di lui non potremo noi trovare . io lodo chennoi ne facciamo lui giudicatore" (382)

—a statement corresponding closely to *H* (425-427). Whatever the immediate source, it is most likely that the statement was originally made by Jupiter, since in most versions which include the wedding feast it is Jupiter who proposes Paris as judge because of his great justice¹³ As a possible explanation of the divergence in *S* and the *Istoriëtta*, consider the following passage in *ET*:

[Jupiter] "Ego inter vos iudex esse non possum, sed dabo vobis iudicem qui inter vos iudicet" Quibus sic respondit: "Ite ad Ideum montem qui super Troia est, et ibi habebitis Paridem pastorem, solus inter vos poterit iudicare, quia iudex iustus est" (398)

Obviously, both speeches were made by Jupiter, yet the fact that something has been left out between *iudicet* and *Quibus*¹⁴ might very easily have led a redactor to suppose that one of the goddesses made the second speech¹⁵ This might suggest that the authors of both *S* and the *Istoriëtta*

¹¹ Ed E Gorra, *Testi inediti di Storia Trojana* (Torino, 1887), pp 371-403

¹² The striking similarity in plan is here evident. That is, in both *Istoriëtta* and *S* the goddesses find Paris while they are quarreling (rather than being sent by Jupiter) and decide that he is qualified to decide their dispute, they approach him with the ball, etc. The similarity is almost too strong to explain. I can hardly believe these events to be part of the basic Latin narrative, which apparently included the wedding feast and the Apple of Discord. That the author of *S* had read the Italian account in addition to his other sources seems likewise improbable, but it is a possibility. Both accounts represent a combination of the classical story with the narrative of Dares, in which Paris goes to sleep and dreams the entire judgment, but the fact that both authors should have hit on so very similar a combination is to say the least remarkable.

¹³ E.g., Konrad, II 1611 ff., Alfonso, p. 27, Leomarte, p. 152

¹⁴ See W. A. Oldfather, "Notes on the *Excidium Troie*," *Speculum*, XI (1936), 272-277

¹⁵ In Robert Mannyng's *Story of England* (II 525 ff.) it is also one of the goddesses who proposes Paris as a judge. For citation, see below.

misread the text of *ET* at this point,—or else that an intermediate source which they used had derived this misconception from the text of *ET*

It is evident that MS *H* is closer to the source account than *L(EA)*. The "ladies" are goddesses, they are reduced from four to three and are correctly named, the ball is an apple, and it has been cast by an evil deity, "fortune," who corresponds to *Discordia* in *ET* and numerous vernacular accounts.¹⁶ These facts, together with the correspondences of some of the speeches to those of analogues in other languages, leave little doubt that the writer of *H* had separate access to a source account in presenting this episode.

The story continues by stating that the ladies approach Paris with the ball,

L(EA)
 And beden me anon rise vp & wake
 And in myn hand þeo bal gon [*EA om*] take
 And ȝeue þe bal þer corteysely,
 As þeo lettres spak, to þeo faireste lady (543–546)

This shows very close similarity to a passage in *ET* in which the goddesses come to Paris with the apple: "et dum ei malum aureum offerrent, dixerunt: 'Lege titulum, et quod tituli scriptura continet inter nos iudica'" (398)

The narrative here, however, parts company with *ET*, since in the offers of the four (three) goddesses there is again to be found evidence of a fuller source. Saturnus (*Juno*) first addresses Paris:

L(EA)
 þo spak saturnus to me ful sone, (551)
 'Knyȝt, ȝef me þe bal and han y-don
 A better ȝefþe y wol ȝeue þe,
 ȝef þou þeo bal wolt ȝeue me
 y schal þe make þeo rycheste man (555)
 þat lyueþ vndur god alone,
 ffor y haue myȝt to ȝeue richesse
 To whom y wol, more or lasse . . . (558)
 And y þouȝte ich was riche ynouȝ þo (563)
 What schold y wiþ more richesse do?

H
 Juno she went onto Parysse (430)
 And seyde, 'Parys, will þou be,
 ffor grete nede I com to the
 ffor an appull þat we fownde
 This endir day vpon the grounde,
 That appull, Parys, yef þou me, (435)

¹⁶ E.g., Konrad, l. 1254, Alfonso, pp. 23 ff., Leomarte, p. 152. In *Alexandre*, stanzas 339 ff., it is "el peccado"—"Sin," or, more probably, "the Evil One."

Thou shalt be wyse, will þou ma '
 Parys seyð, 'Soo I wille,
 If þou have therto skylle ' (438)

In the classical versions of the story Juno's offer is power over whole kingdoms,¹⁷ or, in some accounts,¹⁸ the realm of Asia. In *ET* (398) her promise is unique: she will cause his flocks to produce twin offspring and thus increase his property; in other medieval versions her offer is quite regularly one of wealth.¹⁹ Juno's statement that she has power to bestow wealth was certainly to be found in the source account, compare her statement in the Bulgarian *Trojanska Priča* ²⁰ "habeo enim in potestate divitias neque erit homo ditior te" (p. 161), in Leomarte's *Sumas de Historia Troyana* (Juno promises Paris riches), "ca ella abia poder de dar las riquezas a quien quisiese" (153), and in Konrad:

"Ich hân in mîner werden hant
 Grôzlichen hort und allen schaz" (1940-41)

Paris' reflection that he does not need Juno's gift²¹ also corresponds to some other accounts. In Robert Mannyng's *Story of Englai*²² he reflects similarly, but after all the offers have been made:

"Iuno hyghte me poer,
 þerof," he seid, "ys no mester" (585-586)

In *Alexandre* and Leomarte, and probably in the original account, Venus argues that Paris has no need of the gifts offered by the other goddesses ²³

Mercurius (Minerva or Pallas) offers to make Paris valiant in battle:

L(EA) (missing in *H*)
 þ9 spak Mercurius, þat 9þir lady,
 'Knyȝt, ȝef me þeo bal for þy cortesy
 And y schal ȝeue streynþe and myȝt, (565)

¹⁷ E.g., Ovid, *Heroides*, xvi, 81, ed. G. Showerman (London, 1914), Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 92, ed. M. Schmidt (Jena, 1872), Apollodorus, *Epitome*, iii, 2, ed. J. G. Frazer, 2 vols (London, 1921).

¹⁸ E.g., the first Vatican Mythographer, 208, *Classici Auctores*, iii, ed. A. Mai (Rome, 1831), Colluthus, *Rape of Helen*, ll. 148 ff., ed. A. W. Mair (London, 1928), Lucian, *Deorum Dialogi*, 20, 11, ed. G. Dindorf (Paris, 1867).

¹⁹ E.g., *Alexandre*, 369, Leomarte, 153, Konrad, 1913 ff., and the *Gottweiger Trojaner-krieg*, ll. 2074 ff., ed. A. Kopitz, *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, xxix (Berlin, 1926).

²⁰ Ed., with Latin translation, in *Starine* (Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti), iii (1871), 156-187.

²¹ As will be noted, Paris has an identical thought after each promise except that of Venus. ²² Ed. F. J. Furnivall, 2 vols (London, 1887).

²³ *Alexandre* (Venus)

"Qui te promete riqueza || non te faz nul amor
 ca tu as assaz della || grado al Criador
 porend caualleria || Ector non es meior" (383)

Leomarte " . . . ellas prometieron lo que tu non as menester, ca riquezas tu as assaz dellas, pues en caualleria non ha en el mundo mejor que tu" (153)

In al þeo world no schal beo such a knyzt
 Ector ny no knyzt in lande
 Schal haue no myzt agayn þyn hande. (570)
 In turnement no in batail, feor no ner,
 In al þis world no schal beo þy per,
 ffor y haue power to zeue mon myzt
 Boþe to sqwyer and to knyzt. (574)
 Me þouȝte y was strong ynouȝ þo (577)
 What schold y wiþ more streynþe do?

Pallas' offer of victory in battle is to be found in all the ancient accounts,²⁴ as well as in *ET*. In some of the late classical versions she offers wisdom²⁵ Her statement of her right to make this offer is also found in the *Trojanska Priča* and in Leomarte,²⁶ in Konrad she offers wisdom, and states her right to make such an offer²⁷ Paris' reflection that he does not need this gift has already been commented on.

Jubiter in the *L(EA)* version speaks third and offers Paris the gift of beauty. Since this is clearly an invented addition to the story, it need not be quoted. Then follows Venus' speech:

L(EA)
 Þo spak Venus, þeo furþe lady,
 'Knyzt, ȝef me þeo bal for þy cortesy (590)
 And þou schalt haue loue and wolde,
 Alle folk þe schal loue, boþe ȝonge & olde;
 Alle wymmen þat þe seon wiþ syȝt
 Schole þe loue wiþ al heore myzt—
 Maydenes in chaumbre schal loue þe alle, (595)
 Ladyes in boure, & wyues in halle
 Alle wymmen schole beo in þy pouste
 And alle schole þey loue þe '
 þan hade y mucche blys
 To haue þeo loue of alle þis (600)
 And ȝaf hire þeo bal hastely
 And saide heo was þeo faireste lady.

²⁴ E.g., Apollodorus, *Eptome*, III, 2, Lucian, *Deor Dial*, 20, 12, Colluthus, *Rap Hel*, 143 ff., and Ovid, *Heroides*, xvi, 81–82

²⁵ E.g., Myth Vat 1, 208, Hyginus, *Fab*, 92. On the offer of wisdom see W. C. Curry, "The Judgment of Paris," *MLN*, xxxi (1916), 114–116. Curry is evidently mistaken in believing that Pallas' promise of wisdom was unknown in classical times. It should be noted that Pallas offers both wisdom and strength in battle in the *Trójumanna Saga*, p. 22, and in *Floue et Blanceflor*, l. 466, ed. E. du Méril (Paris, 1856). Alfonso (p. 39) gives what may be a very significant explanation: since Pallas has two names, she is mistress of two accomplishments: " . . . en lo que me dizen Pallas so deesa delos saberes liberales, et Minerva deesa de batalla "

²⁶ *Trojanska Priča* " . . . habeo enim in potestate fortitudinem, neque erit fortior heros te" (p. 161), Leomarte. " . . . que en ella era el poder de lo fazer vencedor en fazendas" (p. 153). ²⁷ "Jd walt ich allei wisheit" (1954). Cf. *Juno's* promise in *MS H*, above

H

Pallas²⁸ þe way from him has taken,
And venesse to him was I-comen (440)

And seyð, 'Parys, wele be þou ay,
Mahound the save þat best may
ffor þou art þe trewest knyght,
And all þyng þou Jugest ryght,
Therefore, Parys, I pray the (445)

That Appull þat þou graunte me .
That Appull, Parys, graunt þou me, (449)

A feyre leman I wull yeve þe,
Thou shaltt haue the fayrest leman
That euer god leyd lyf vppon '
And thenne, sire, I be-þought me so
That Juno hadd no ryght þer-to, . (454)

Ne pallas, Sir, so mot y the, (457)
Venesse was fayrer thanne þre
Therefore I grauntt her to have
That appul was with gold be-graue .

In the ancient *Cypria*, as well as in numerous other classical accounts,²⁹ Venus specifically offers Paris the hand of Helen; in *ET* she merely offers the fairest wife. Only in the first Vatican Mythographer (208), so far as I know, does she offer to give him any woman he wants. Yet she must have made some such statement in the source of *S*, since in other medieval accounts her offer is almost identical. Compare Venus' speech in the *Istoriella*, in which she reminds Paris of his integrity (corresponding to *H*) and then makes her offer (corresponding to *L[EA]*):

Paris, settu se'leale uomo, tu mi dei la mela donare, per ciò che alla più bella debbe essere data Settu mi fai ragione io l'avrò, essettu fai ch'io l'abbia, io ti donerò bello dono Ciò fia chettutte le donne chetti vedranno t'amaranno e qualunque tue vorrai, sittì darò, e ancora vedi che io sono la più bella (382)

In Jansen Enikel's *Weltchronik* (13913 ff)³⁰ and in *Alexandre* (386) she also offers Paris any woman he wants, and in *Trojanska Priča* (161) she tells him that all ladies will love him With the idea in *L(EA)* (595–596) that Paris can have his pick of both married and unmarried ladies, com-

²⁸ Evidently one speech has dropped out of *H*, since it is Juno, not Pallas, who has just been addressing Paris The name Pallas is significant, since in Dares, Benoit, *ET*, and *C* she is regularly called Minerva The popular Latin source which we must assume to have existed undoubtedly used the name Pallas, since this is the form used in nearly every analogue, e.g., Konrad (1038), *Alexandre* (340), Leomarte (152), *Istoriella* (382), Mannyng (515), etc

²⁹ E.g., Apollodorus, *Epitome*, III, 2, Lucian, *Deor Dial*, 20, 13–16, Colluthus, *Rap Hel*, 164 f., Ovid, *Heroides*, XVI, 83 ff.; Hyginus, *Fab*, 92

³⁰ Ed P Strauch, *Mon. Germ Hist, Deutsche Chroniken*, III (Hannover and Leipzig, 1900)

pare *Alexandre*:

Dar te yo casamiento || muger qual tu quisieres
por casar o casada || qual tu por bien touieres (386)

One further passage in the judgment should be noted. That is Venus' speech of thanks to Paris, with her instructions that he proceed to Greece:

<i>L(EAH)</i>	ffor noþyng schaltow þer drede,
'Alsaunder, y schal qwyte þe	fful wel schaltow þer spedē
þat þou hast þus honoured me	þeo faireste lady þat beorip lyf
Bide þy fadir, as he is kyng hende,	þou schalt welde to þy wif'
Graunte þe to grece to wende,	(607-614)

In Jansen Enikel she likewise makes a speech to Paris at this point, practically identical in content:

dô sprach frou Venus 'lieber man,	ich wil dir fuegen ein edel wip,
dû hâst mir êren vil getân,	diu kuniginn von Kriechen lant
die wil ich widerdienen sô,	nû var gên Kriechen, des ist zît,
daz dû muost wêrlîch werden vrô.	und nim die frouwen hie ze stunt'
	(13991-13995, 13999, 14006-14007)

In *ET* (400) Venus also informs Paris that his promised wife is to be obtained in Greece, but it is at a considerably later point in the narrative, after Paris' supplication that Venus keep her promise to him. Yet in the immediate source of *S* and Enikel this speech must have come immediately after the judgment, since in *C*, as well as in other versions,³¹ she gives him similar and somewhat fuller instructions at this point.

A few words, finally, should be said about the general conception of the judgment in *MS H*. This version separates itself further from Dares than the other MSS by omitting the idea that the goddesses approach Paris while he is asleep in the forest, and the writer apparently did not consistently think of it as a speech of Paris, since he unthinkingly lapses into the third person at ll 430, 437, and 439-440. Another interesting conception is that the goddesses come separately to Paris to offer their bribes; e.g.:

Pallas þe way from him has taken,
And venesse to him was I-comen ³² (439-440)

³¹ In *C* (243), *Alexandre* (392), and Mannyng (613 ff.) she instructs him to proceed to Greece under the pretence of being a merchant. *MS H* of *S* shows a very definite source relationship to these accounts, i.e., when Paris arrives in Menelaus' kingdom, he disguises his identity, pretending to come as a merchant.

"Marchauntis," þey seyð, "þat we be;
Out of the see Octaman comen wee" (654a-654b)

³² Cf. *ET* "Etiam ipsi promisit . . , et discessit Postea vero Venus . . ad eum ingressa est" (398-399)

In *ET* (398) Paris deliberately postpones the judgment for three days, during which the goddesses make their offers separately. In Robert Mannyng and in the *Roman d'Eneas*³³ we find also that a day is set for the decision, and it seems necessary to suppose an ultimate source connection with *ET* at this point.

We may conclude that the author of the *Seege* did not base his narrative of the judgment primarily on Dares, although he was certainly influenced by that source. Nor can this drama of the elfin ladies be regarded entirely as an original flight of the poet's imagination, since many of the speeches find rather close parallels in other vernacular Troy stories. The *Excidium Troiae*, which is so remarkably close to the *Seege* in the birth and upbringing of Paris, is not possible as a direct source of the judgment, although it resembles the *Seege* in some particulars of this episode. We are forced to the hypothesis that the author of the *Seege* had read a fuller version of this narrative, probably based on the *Excidium* or partly on it, in which occur a great many dramatic speeches, especially those of the three (four) goddesses. The writer of MS *H* had evidently also read this source,³⁴ he brought the story at several places into greater agreement with it, and added from it a few details and speeches.

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³³ In *Eneas* (l. 128) the postponement is likewise for three days "a lui reviegnent al tierz ior"—ed. J.-J. Salverda de Grave, *Classiques français du Moyen Age*, nos. 44, 62 (Paris, 1925-9). In Mannyng (538) the goddesses merely "sette a day." Cf. *ET* "Ille vero accepto malo eas distulit et iudicium comperendinavit" (398).

³⁴ I find no reason to suppose that this source was different from that of the *LEA* version. The changes are in the nature of corrections or additions, the additions are consistent with *LEA*, and they show correspondences to the same vernacular analogues.

XXIII

OXFORD AND *ENDIMION*

IT is curious, in view of the strange fascination which the seventeenth Earl of Oxford has exercised on a whole school of modern critics, that perhaps the most crucial episode in his life has been glossed over or ignored completely. Yet this episode, however discreditable to the Earl, is of some literary interest

Edward de Vere (1550-1604) became a royal ward at the age of twelve (1562), and was brought up in the household of Sir William Cecil, later Lord Burghley. In 1571 he married Cecil's daughter Anne. As a youth he enjoyed considerable popularity at court. In the spring of 1573 Gilbert Talbot wrote to his father:

My Lo of Oxforth is lately growne into great credite, for the Q Ma^{tie} deliteth more in his parsonage, and his daunsinge, and valientnes, then any other. I thinke Sussex dothe back him all that he can; if it were not for his fyckle hed he would passe any of them shortly.¹

Talbot was probably referring to a well recognized failing when he mentioned the Earl's "fyckle hed."² In spite of his high rank and advantageous position as the son-in-law of Lord Burghley, he was never entrusted with any office or public business. But he danced and tilted well, and throughout the 1570's he was one of the leading figures in the social life of the court. In 1579-80, as one of the chief supporters of the Queen's projected marriage with the Duc d'Alençon, he was "superlative in the Prince's [Elizabeth's] favor."³ But at Christmas, 1580, he became involved in a quarrel in which he "lost credit and honour" and was "abandoned by all his friends and by all the ladies of the court."⁴ The quarrel came to the Queen's notice in the following way:

A few days before Christmas the Earl of Oxford (who about four and a half years ago on his return from Italy made profession of the Catholic faith together with some of his relatives among the nobility and his best friends, and had sworn, as he says, and signed with them a declaration that they would do all they could for the advancement of the Catholic religion) accused his former friends to the Queen of England . . . For his own part he craved forgiveness for what he had done, saying that he now recognized that he had done wrong. He then proceeded

¹ Quoted in E. K. Chambers, *Sir Henry Lee* (Oxford, 1936), p. 154.

² For a rational discussion of his character see A. Feuillerat, *John Lyly* (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 78-81. The documentation in B. M. Ward's *The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford* (London, 1928), is useful also.

³ Sir Fulke Greville, *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Nowell Smith (Oxford, 1907), p. 63.

⁴ Ward, p. 208, from the report of the French ambassador.

to accuse his best friends who had supported him in his recent quarrels⁵ of having conspired against the State by having made profession of the Catholic faith, and he endeavoured to do them all the harm he could. The Queen was very much upset about it, for she was very fond of most of those accused by the Earl, among whom were Lord Henry Howard, a brother of the late Duke of Norfolk, and Charles Arundel.⁶

The Queen ordered all concerned into custody while the confession was being investigated, but Oxford was "soon set at liberty,"⁷ and took part in a tilt at court on January 22.⁸

However, worse was to follow. On March 23, 1580/81, Sir Francis Walsingham wrote to a friend:

On Tuesday at night Anne Vavysor was brought to bed of a son in the maidens' chamber. The E. of Oxford is avowed to be the father, who hath withdrawn himself with intent, as it is thought, to pass the seas. The ports are laid for him.

The gentlewoman the selfsame night she was delivered was conveyed out of the house and the next day committed to the Tower.⁹

All mention of this scandal is omitted by Captain B. W. Ward, the Earl's chief biographer. Most of the facts have been gathered up and set forth briefly by Sir Edmund Chambers in his life of *Sir Henry Lee* (pp. 150-163). But as he is concerned with Anne Vavasour and not with Oxford, he does not investigate the connection between the Christmas quarrel and this disclosure.

However, when Anne Vavasour accused Oxford of having seduced her, the Queen not only imprisoned Oxford for that offense, but showed a renewed interest in his confession of Catholic activities and his charges against his former friends. She knew, what his biographers have overlooked, that the friends with whom Oxford had quarreled, and whom he charged with plotting against the government, were relatives of Anne Vavasour and friends of her family. Therefore, when Anne's condition was discovered, Oxford's charges against Lord Howard, Charles Arundel, Francis Southwell, and others, took on the appearance of a conspirator's quarrel, and Oxford's confession looked like self-protection instead of the proof of his innocence and loyalty which he had pretended.

Lord Howard was a cousin of Oxford's, but he was also a first cousin

⁵ Probably the famous tennis-court quarrel with Sir Philip Sidney, and a quarrel with some gentlemen of the Inns of Court.

⁶ B. M. Ward, pp. 207-208, translating the report of Mauvissière de Castelnaud, the French Ambassador. The text of the report is printed in J. H. Pollen and W. MacMahon, *The Ven. Philip Howard Earl of Arundel, 1557-95*, in *Publications of the Catholic Record Society*, xxi (1919), 29. The dispatch is dated 11 Jan., 1581 (n.s.). See also pp. 30-31.

⁷ *The Fugger News-Letters*, 2d Series (1568-1605), ed. Victor von Klarwill, trans. L. S. R. Byrne (London, 1926), p. 55.

⁸ *Calendar of Hatfield MSS.*, xiii, p. 199.

⁹ Quoted from Chambers, *Lee*, pp. 155-156.

of Sir Henry Knyvet, the grandfather of Anne Vavasour. Two of Anne's mother's brothers, Sir Henry Knyvet the younger, and Sir Thomas Knyvet, and a sister, Katherine, Lady Paget, were at court at this time ¹⁰ Sir Thomas Knyvet was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and Lady Paget had been a Maid of Honour before her marriage and remained at court as a Gentlewoman of the Bedchamber. Since Anne Vavasour was only fifteen when she came to court in 1580, and since she was also a Gentlewoman of the Bedchamber, it seems probable that she was, to some extent, in her aunt's care.

Charles Arundel, who took sides with Lord Howard in the quarrel with Oxford, was a friend of the Knyvets, the Vavasours, and of Lord Paget, and apparently was also related to them ¹¹ The Knyvets are not named in Mauvissière's report of Oxford's confession, but they were involved in the quarrel which preceded and evidently precipitated the confession, for in the subsequent counter-charges entered by Lord Howard and Charles Arundel against Oxford, he is accused of having planned to murder both Sir Henry and Sir Thomas Knyvet. They may be the two knights mentioned in a news letter as having been arrested along with Lord Howard ¹² The news letter continues:

The Earl of Oxford, also arrested but soon set at liberty, is again in the Tower for forgetting himself with one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, who is in the Tower likewise. This in spite of his having a pretty wife, daughter of the Treasurer. But he will not live with her ¹³

¹⁰ These Knyvets were grandchildren of Muriel Howard, daughter of Sir Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. The genealogy of the Knyvets is discussed in Chambers, *Lee*, pp. 150 ff., *Wiltshire Notes and Queries*, viii (1916), 448-454, *The Topographer and Genealogist*, i, (1846), 469-473, Walter Rye, *Norfolk Families* (Norwich, 1913), p. 451, and for correction of the *D N B* see the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xii, 11. There were also links between the Knyvets and the Howards through the Rich and Dacres families. In 1583 Lord Henry Howard's nephew, Thomas, second son of the late Duke of Norfolk, married Katherine, eldest daughter of Sir Henry Knyvet the younger. Lord Howard had assumed responsibility for his brother's children after the Duke's execution, and so was probably responsible for this match.

¹¹ He mentioned a "cousin Vavasour," by whom Chambers thinks that Anne was meant, see *Lee*, p. 155. But a William Vavasour was among Oxford's intimates before the Christmas debacle, see Ward, p. 128. A William Vavasour who describes himself as a brother of Thomas (Anne had a brother Thomas) is mentioned in the *Cal of State Papers Dom. 1581-1590*, p. 145, but see p. 207. There is a letter from Arundel to an unnamed lady, mentioning her disgrace and banishment, and thanking her for delivering him from "almost as great agony as your self endured," which Chambers thinks is addressed to Anne. Arundel was a close friend of Lord Paget with whom he fled to Paris in 1583.

¹² Extant accounts of Oxford's charges name only Lord Howard, Charles Arundel, and Francis Southwell "and others," but neither of the latter two were knights. Sir Henry Knyvet was knighted in 1574, and Sir Thomas in 1578.

¹³ *Fugger News-Letters*, p. 55. This letter is dated April 29, 1581, and effectively disposes of Ward's contention that Oxford's confinement was limited to one night. He examined the

Oxford was released from the Tower June 8, 1581.¹⁴ But he was still confined to his house in July and the Queen was alternately pressing for his reconciliation with his wife and demanding that he be confronted with Lord Howard and Charles Arundel.¹⁵ Oxford charged them with conspiracy against the protestants and possession of a book "of painted pictures of prophecy" relating to the succession, possession of which was regarded as treasonable.¹⁶ They replied by asserting that the book belonged to Oxford, and they charged him in turn with being a notorious liar, a habitual drunkard, a practiser of unnatural vices, and one who had planned to murder various people, including Sir Henry and Sir Thomas Knyvet.¹⁷ As late as May 12, 1583, on the eve of a formal reconciliation with the Earl, Elizabeth thought of reopening the inquiry into his activities as a secret Catholic.¹⁸ Walter Ralegh, who acted as Lord Burghley's agent in the reconciliation,¹⁹ reported that he had dissuaded the Queen from

new repartition betweene the Lords Howard, Arundel, and others, and the Earle, and [she] saide it was a matter not slightly to be passed over it weare to small purpose, after so long absence [from Court] and so many disgraces, to call his honor and name agayne into question, wherby he might appeare to be less fitt either for her favor or presence.²⁰

list of prisoners for whom food was supplied by the Lieutenant of the Tower and failed to find Oxford's name among them, but noblemen frequently took their servants with them and supplied their own tables during their imprisonment.

¹⁴ *Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. J. R. Dasent (London, 1896), N S XIII, 74

¹⁵ *Cal. of State Papers Dom 1581-1590*, pp. 22, 23, letters from Walsingham to Burghley dated July 12 and 14. Oxford had refused to live with Anne Cecil since 1576 when he returned from abroad and disowned the child which she had borne in his absence, on the fantastic grounds that he had not cohabited with her *twelve months* before the child was born, but only at Hampton Court, nine months before the birth, see Ward, pp. 115, 117

¹⁶ *Cal. of State Papers Dom 1581-1590*, pp. 38, 70. In 1583 Lord Howard published *A Defensative against the poyson of supposed Prophecies*, in which he describes the type of prophetic writing and mentions the particular book which figures in these charges. He is careful to state that he is describing it from the report of others, and that he has never seen it, see pp. 116v and 120-20v of the reprint of 1620

¹⁷ The charges and counter-charges are preserved in the State Papers, but the *Calendar* (1581-90), gives only the briefest summary, pp. 1, 32, 38-40, 70, 97, and *Addenda 1581-1625*, pp. 48-9, 84-5. Many excerpts are scattered through Ward, pp. 99-100, 128-129, 206-234. A summary of Lord Howard's part of it is in G. F. Nott's "Memoirs of the Life of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton," in *The Works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder* (London, 1815), I, 434

¹⁸ She had reason to distrust him, since he had plotted to rescue the Duke of Norfolk from the Tower in 1571/2. The plot was not discovered at the time, but in 1574 it came to the knowledge of the Privy Council, and Oxford fled to the Low Countries. It was feared that he would join his uncle, the exiled Earl of Westmorland, but Burghley managed to smooth over the affair and persuade him to return, see Ward, pp. 66-69, 92-98, and *Cal. of State Papers Dom*, 1547-80, pp. 478, 484, 485

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Edward Edwards, *The Life and Letters of Sir Walter Ralegh* (London, 1868), II, 21.

Meanwhile, the Knyvet clan undertook to avenge the family dishonor. In March, 1581/2, Sir Thomas Knyvet fought a duel with Oxford. Both men were wounded, "but my lord of Oxford more dangerously. You know Mr Knevet is not meanly beloved in court, and therefore he is not like to speed ill, whatsoever the quarrel be."²¹ The feud between Oxford and Sir Thomas Knyvet continued through a series of street fights and ambushes in which several men were wounded, and two of Oxford's and one of Knyvet's men had been killed by the end of March 1582/3.²² Four of these were serious enough to come to the attention of the authorities, and on one occasion Sir Thomas Knyvet was tried for murder and acquitted. Both Lord Howard and Arundel appeared on the Knyvet side in at least one of these affairs. Feuillerat not unjustly compares them to the feud between the Montagues and the Capulets. As late as January 19, 1584/5, the lady's brother, Thomas Vavasour, challenged Oxford to a duel.²³

In spite of the efforts of Lord Burghley and all the other courtiers whose aid he could enlist, it was not until June 1, 1583, that the Queen consented to see the Earl. The meeting took place at Theobalds during a visit of consolation to Lord Burghley, who had just lost his younger daughter, Elizabeth Wentworth.²⁴ Oxford presented himself to the Queen, and "after some bitter words and speeches, in the end all sins are forgiven and he may repayre to the court at his pleasure."²⁵

The discovery of the Throckmorton plot, in the autumn of 1583, ruined both Lord Howard and Charles Arundel,²⁶ and to some extent vindicated Oxford's charges against them. After this disclosure, in the winter of 1583/4, Oxford's position at court was improved and that of the Howard-Knyvet faction was proportionally weakened.²⁷

²¹ Nicholas Faunt to Anthony Bacon, quoted from Chambers, pp. 156-157. That the quarrel was over Anne Vavasour is evident from another report of the duel, see p. 156. Only six weeks before this duel took place, Jan. 21, 1581/2, Sir Thomas Knyvet was appointed Keeper of the Palace of Whitehall, see Ward, p. 227 n.

²² Different episodes in this feud are described by Chambers, pp. 156-157, *Calendar of State Papers Dom. 1581-90*, p. 58, Feuillerat, *Lyly*, pp. 126-128, and see Sir Harris Nicolas, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton* (London, 1847), pp. 321-324. There were two fights in June, 1582, and one in July, and one the following March.

²³ The challenge is printed by Chambers, p. 158. The fact that it was preserved among the Burghley papers suggests that it was turned over to the authorities and the duel forbidden.

²⁴ E. M. Tenison, *Elizabethan England* (Royal Leamington Spa, 1933-40) iv, 289. Elizabeth was born 1 July, 1564, and married Thomas Wentworth, son and heir of Thomas, Lord Wentworth, in 1581. Her husband died 7 Nov., 1582, and she died childless in April, 1583.

²⁵ *Hist. MSS Comm. Report* xii, App. rv, Rutland MSS, i, 149-151.

²⁶ Lord Howard was imprisoned in the Fleet, and was later in custody in the country. He was not readmitted to court until 1600; see Nott, p. 435 ff. Charles Arundel fled with Lord Paget to Paris and thereby seemed to confess his treason.

²⁷ I cannot find that Thomas and Henry Knyvet were suspected, or that Lady Paget suffered from the flight of her husband, but the group was weakened numerically in spite

John Lyly entered Oxford's service before March, 1580, and remained with him until some time in 1588. He looked upon Lord Burghley as his foster-father and some of his letters indicate that he tried to help the Lord Treasurer in his efforts to straighten out Oxford's difficulties. He seems to have worked in the interest of Lady Oxford, with whom the Earl was reconciled at Christmas, 1581,²⁸ and he was consulting with Lord Burghley about the Earl's affairs in July, 1582.²⁹ His first two plays, *Alexander and Campaspe* and *Sapho and Phao* were apparently presented at court in the winter of 1583/4, when the Earl was allowed to appear at court again and was naturally trying to regain his old position of favor and popularity.

It does not seem improbable that, under these circumstances, the Earl's secretary might try to write an apology for Oxford, and I should like to venture the suggestion that perhaps *Endimion* was written with that end in view. Modern attempts to discover and interpret Elizabethan topical allegory have produced such absurdities at the hands of over-zealous devotees, that a scholar who desires a reputation for sanity hardly ventures to touch the subject. And yet, the evidence is too extensive to be ignored that a good deal of the entertainment especially prepared for the Queen was topical, that she thoroughly enjoyed interpreting that kind of enigmas, and that personal pleas for her favor often took that form. One has only to read the entertainments gathered together in John Nichols' *Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1823), including lists of symbolic New Year's gifts to the Queen, to observe the practice in this respect. Files of private letters and ambassadors' reports of court entertainments contain further evidence in the same direction.³⁰ What we lack is a gathering together and analysis of these records which would provide us with some facts and principles for future guidance.

I believe that most of the absurdities arise from the attempt to interpret the allegories, even where they are clearly present, in the light of a

of the fact that Anne's brother, Thomas Vavasour, came to court in 1584 and entered the service of the Earl of Leicester. Anne's sister became a Maid of Honour about 1590, Chambers, p. 161. ²⁸ See the quotation in Ward, p. 228.

²⁹ R. W. Bond, *The Complete Works of John Lyly* (Oxford, 1902), I, 27-29, prints the letter but does not understand Oxford's troubles, see the letters in Feuillerat, pp. 533-534, 529-531.

³⁰ Feuillerat's *Lyly*, pp. 104-106, gathers up some of this material, Chambers' *Lee*, pp. 84-90, discusses the topical import of the Woodstock entertainment of 1575 and notes it in the entertainment of 1592 (p. 150) and in Lee's retirement ceremonies (pp. 135-144). See also Appendices D and E. Essex presented a discussion of the state of his mind to the Queen in this form in 1595 (see Nichols, III, 371), and we get a glimpse of the low state of popular interpretation in the report of it to Robert Sidney, Arthur Collins, *Sidney Papers*, I, 362. Lord Burghley also resorted to this kind of symbolism, and so did Sir Christopher Hatton, see Feuillerat's notes in *Lyly*, pp. 104-106.

sketchy knowledge of the history of a few figures and political events, whereas the more obvious cases of this kind of thing concern the personal relations of the Queen with her courtiers. It seems clear that the delicate subject of the Queen's marriage was sometimes touched upon, and evidence is available that she usually resented such references. It seems, therefore, initially improbable that playwrights and court entertainers ventured to go further and advise her in this way about affairs of state.

Repeated attempts have been made to interpret *Endimion* as topical allegory,³¹ because it is so evident that Cynthia largely represents Queen Elizabeth. But the status of such interpretation has been summed up by a recent editor as follows: "recent opinion, while not challenging the obvious references to Elizabeth, nor denying the presence of topical allusions, is sceptical of the proposed allegories."³²

In 1909, Professor Percy W. Long reviewed the whole subject, pointing out the untenability of all existing attempts to explain the play as personal allegory, and offering the alternative suggestion that the plot was framed to convey an allegory of courtly love in the new "Platonic" fashion, Tellus and Cynthia representing Heavenly and Earthly Beauty, and Endymion being the courtly lover, temporarily enthralled by Tellus but eventually rescued by Cynthia.³³

Certainly a contrast between Cynthia and Tellus is indicated in the naming of the two characters,³⁴ but such a philosophical implication does not exclude the possibility that there are also personal implications in the play. Professor Long does not deny that Cynthia, whom he would have to be Heavenly Beauty, represents also Queen Elizabeth.

Let us try to place ourselves in the position of the court audience. They remembered the plays of *Zabeta* and *Gaudina* at Kenilworth and Wood-

³¹ An insufficient knowledge of the chronology involved allowed J. P. Collier and Hazlitt to suggest that Endymion represents Lyly, see Feuillerat, p. 143 n. N. J. Halpin, "Oberon's Vision in the *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Illustrated by a Comparison with Lyly's *Endymion*," *Shakespeare Society Publications* (1843), Part II, pp. 47 ff., suggested that Endymion and Tellus represent Leicester and Lady Sheffield. G. P. Baker, in his edition of the play (New York, 1894), pp. 1 ff., argues for Leicester and Lady Essex. R. W. Bond, in his edition of the *Works*, I, 46 ff., argues for Leicester and Mary Queen of Scots. But W. W. Greg, in his review, *MLQ*, VI (1903), 22, rejects this argument. Feuillerat, pp. 143 ff., accepts Mary Queen of Scots as Tellus but would have Endymion her son James. P. W. Long, "Lyly's *Endimion*—an Addendum," *Modern Philology*, VII (1911), 599–605, points out the many improbabilities in this identification.

³² Hazelton Spencer, *Elizabethan Plays* (Boston, 1933), p. 144. Quotations are from this text. ³³ "The Purport of Lyly's *Endimion*," *PMLA*, XXIV (1909), 164–184.

³⁴ Henry Morley, *English Writers* (London, 1892), IX, 208, asserts that the play is an impersonal allegory touching "the relation of the mind of man to Earth and Heaven." But, as Long points out, Cynthia does not represent Heaven, "Purport," p. 177.

stock in 1575.³⁵ They were familiar with the use of *Cynthia* as a poetic name for the Queen³⁶ It was well known that Lyly was in Oxford's service and therefore under obligation (or suspicion) to promote his interests. Therefore, as soon as Endymion appeared on the stage and began to protest his devotion to Cynthia, as he does in the opening scene, would not the Queen and her court begin to look for parallels between Endymion and Oxford?

Professor Long recognized that, from the point of view of the playwright's motive, Oxford was the most likely candidate for the rôle of Endymion,³⁷ but at the time he wrote, the pertinent facts about Oxford's troubles had not been brought together. He says of the part of Tellus in the play:

The data in brief describe Tellus (if a historical personage) as a fair young virgin of Queen Elizabeth's court, vainly loving a lover of the Queen's, imprisoned for slandering him, thwarted in revengefully attempting to estrange them, pardoned after the confession of her love³⁸

Let us see how this fits Oxford's story Anne Vavasour was certainly a fair young virgin of the court Virtually all of Elizabeth's courtiers posed as her lovers and there is no suggestion in the play that Endymion wanted to marry Cynthia, so that as far as his devotion to Cynthia is concerned, Endymion might represent any courtier But Tellus is represented, not as having been wronged by Endymion, but as slandering him and attempting to estrange the Queen from him.

Anne Vavasour evidently named Oxford as the father of her child, but is it probable that he ever admitted his responsibility? He repudiated his wife in 1576 on the ground that the child she had borne was not his He had nothing to gain and much to lose by accepting the responsibility for Anne's child. He would have to provide for it, and he was bankrupt. Besides, an admission of guilt would only make his reinstatement with the Queen more difficult. On more than one occasion he boldly asserted the complete selfishness of his principles³⁹ Lord Burghley probably reveals the character of Oxford's defense when he refers to Anne as a "drab."

If Oxford pleaded innocence, as it is in perfect keeping with his character that he would, then Anne's charge becomes slander, actuated by malice. She had been in love with the Earl. There are contemporary verses extant which represent Anne's love for "Vere,"⁴⁰ as well as some

³⁵ *Zabeta* is alluded to in Peele's *Arraignement of Paris* (1584), and *Gaudina* in the Woodstock entertainment of 1592

³⁶ See E. C. Wilson, *England's Eliza* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), pp. 245 ff., 297-320

³⁷ "Purport," p. 173 ³⁸ "Addendum," p. 603.

³⁹ See quotations in Ward, pp. 103, 110, 121, and 126 "for always I have, and I will still, prefer mine own content before others" ⁴⁰ Printed by Chambers, pp. 151-154.

verses in which Raleigh is supposed to have warned her of her danger. But, according to the story Lyly tells, and in all probability according to the story Oxford told, he would have nothing to do with her, and so, in revenge, she slandered him.

For lack of direct evidence on this point, we have to deal with the probabilities of the situation, but they are genuine probabilities, not merely convenient possibilities. By the time *Endymion* was written, several of Anne's defenders were in disgrace on account of the Throckmorton plot, and she herself had been the subject of further scandal and had probably borne a second illegitimate child, as we shall see. It would, therefore, be fairly safe for Lyly to throw the whole blame on her, if he was writing *Endymion* as an apology for Oxford.

Tellus is in attendance on Cynthia and is treated as a subordinate by her. Yet she is addressed as "Madam," a title of respect to which Anne's birth (as the descendant of a Howard she could claim kinship with the Queen) and position at court would entitle her. She is a girl (III, 1, 51, IV, 1, 19), young and beautiful. Cynthia says:

Is it possible, Tellus, that so few years should harbor so many mischiefs? Thy swelling pride have I borne, because it is a thing that beauty maketh blameless . . . (v, iii, 76-79).

Tellus offers in her own defense only the plea that her heart—

Madam, I not without blushing confess, yielded to love (v, iii, 125-126)

That was certainly Anne's crime. Cynthia orders Tellus to prison, where she is to weave stories "what punishments long tongues have." But when she is released she has wrought "Only the picture of Endymion," and Cynthia says, "Then so much of Endymion as his picture cometh to, possess and play withal" (v, iii, 355-359). It has been suggested in another connection that the picture is a poetic symbol for a child, as it is in the famous lament of Dido for Aeneas.⁴¹ In that case, this enigmatical reference to Endymion's picture is a poetic allusion to Anne's child.

In general outline, as well as in some suggestive details, which a reader of the play can discover for himself once he is in possession of the pertinent facts, the story of Tellus agrees with that of Anne Vavasour, and the part created for Endymion is suggestive of Oxford's troubles during the earlier part of Lyly's service with him. The representation could not, of course, be literal, both for considerations of tact and because Lyly was not writing a realistic play. Whatever is there, is represented under a poetic fiction which permitted the author to select from the facts as his story and his object in writing the play dictated.

⁴¹ Halpin makes the suggestion in connection with Lady Sheffield's child by Leicester. See John Donne, "Elegy on the L. C.," "His children are his pictures." *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, ed. R. E. Bennett (Chicago, 1942), p. 229.

The play had its inception in the selection of the classical myth on which it is based. From this myth Lyly has preserved only the two chief characters and the central situation, Endymion's sleep and the unique kiss with which Cynthia awakens him. The rest of the story he makes over to suit himself. Endymion loves Cynthia, instead of the reverse, the whole story of Tellus is invented, and so is the machinery of the enchantment and its dissolution. If the myth was selected as the vehicle for a plea for Oxford, then both the sleep and the kiss must be symbolic of Oxford's situation, since those are clearly the elements for which the poet selected it.

The sleep can be interpreted as a symbol of royal displeasure, as it was in the entertainment at Woodstock in 1592, which will be discussed later. The kiss, as a unique display of Cynthia's favor, is a very appropriate poetic symbol for the unusually large pension which the Queen granted Oxford in June, 1586. Even before his disgrace the Earl had sold most of his estates and run hopelessly into debt. Lord Burghley supported his family and got the Queen to provide for them. But the Queen preferred giving Oxford a pension, payable quarterly at her pleasure, to granting him more lands to squander. So he was given 1000 pounds a year out of the exchequer.⁴² He was one of the few representatives of the old nobility remaining at court, and the Queen's sense of the royal dignity required that he be provided for, especially since, as hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain, he was needed to officiate at state functions, such as the thanksgiving after the Armada victory.⁴³

Oxford's pension was granted before *Endimion* was written. According to the first edition (1591), the play was acted before the Queen at Greenwich "on Candlemas day at night by the Chyldren of Paules." Between 1580 and 1591, the only probable date for this performance was February 2, 1587/8.⁴⁴ At that time Lyly was still in Oxford's service, although he

⁴² Ward makes much of the unique character of this pension, and it seems to be the largest she ever granted without duties attached to it, but the Earl was definitely unemployable.

⁴³ J. E. N., in a review of Ward, in *EHR*, XLIV (1929), 337-338, says, "It is enough to assume that the pension was provision for a bankrupt earl so that he might—as the patent phrases it—'be in some manner relieved'." In 1590, Oxford's settlement with the Court of Wards showed that he owed the Queen 11,000 pounds. Strype, *Annals*, (Oxford, 1824), Vol. III, Pt. II, 191. For Burghley's aid see *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.* (1581-90) pp. 335, 409-410.

⁴⁴ Both Feuillerat and Bond argue for 1585/6 because that date suits their interpretation of the personal allegory, but the extant records of court performances do not support them. Between 1580 and 1591 the Queen kept Christmas, through Candlemas at Greenwich only between 1584/5 and 1587/8, E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford, 1923), IV, "Court Calendar," Mary S. Steele, *Plays and Masques at Court During the Reigns of Elizabeth*, etc. (New Haven, 1926), pp. 91-97. The records of the first of these four years are fairly adequate and make it improbable that *Endimion* was acted in 1584/5. For the next

seems to have left it later in 1588.⁴⁵ In order to have the play ready for court presentation so early in 1588, Lyly must have written *Endimion* in 1587 or earlier. It is quite possible that it was written as much as a year earlier, since plays were usually tried out in the theatre before they were presented at court. There is, however, no reason for dating the composition of the play earlier than the middle of 1586, the date of the granting of Oxford's pension.

If Lyly wrote *Endimion* as a plea for the Earl of Oxford, he evidently found further material for his plot in the subsequent history of Anne Vavasour, for there is a remarkable parallel, both of character and action, between Tellus' relations with her jailer, Corsites, and Anne's relations with Sir Henry Lee. Corsites is an old soldier who falls in love with his fair prisoner. She incites him to make an attack on the sleeping Endymion, but he fails and is put to sleep in turn. He is awakened and forgiven by Cynthia.

Sometime between her imprisonment in the spring of 1581 and 1590, Anne Vavasour became the mistress of the Queen's champion, Sir Henry Lee. All that can be learned of the history of the affair has been gathered up by Sir Edmund Chambers, who is of the opinion that it began as early as 1580.⁴⁶ Lee was Anne's uncle by marriage. His wife was a sister of Henry, Lord Paget, the husband of Anne's aunt, Katherine Knyvet.⁴⁷ There is good reason for thinking that Anne was in Lee's care during her imprisonment in the Tower. As Master of the Armoury, he had apartments in the White Tower in the center of the Tower enclosure.⁴⁸ Distinguished prisoners were assigned to special quarters and sometimes to

two years the records of plays and dates are missing from the Revels Office accounts, published by A. Feuillerat, *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels* (Louvain, 1908), Band XXI of *Materialien zur Kunde des alteren Englischen Dramas*, ed. W. Bang, pp. 360-375. The *Acts of the Privy Council* are also missing for 1582-86 O.S., and there is only one record of payment to players (Queen's) for 1585/6 and none for 1586/7. These gaps leave only the records of payments by the treasurer of the Chamber in the Pipe Roll, which records payments to Paul's boys in 1586/7 but not on Candlemas. The only Candlemas payment to them is that of 1587/8; see E. K. Chambers, "Court Performances before Queen Elizabeth," *MLR*, II (1906), 9.

⁴⁵ Perhaps the death of Lady Oxford, in the summer of 1588, which severed the tie between Oxford and Lord Burghley, made Lyly's place untenable. He was made Esquire of the Body to the Queen in 1588, and thereafter importuned her for appointment in the Revels Office for many years, Feuillerat, pp. 552-563.

⁴⁶ Lee, p. 160.

⁴⁷ Lee married in 1554, but in 1575 he was openly protesting his devotion to one of the court ladies. In 1584 his wife seems to have been living with her mother; Chambers, p. 77. All of his children were either dead or alienated by that time, for he made a recovery on his estates, destroying the entail. His wife was buried in 1590 (Chambers, pp. 76-79), and he was living openly with Anne in that year, if not earlier.

⁴⁸ Chambers, pp. 106-107, 110. He was appointed in 1580.

special jailers Under very similar circumstances, Sir Walter Raleigh, imprisoned in 1592, was committed to the charge and quarters of his cousin, Sir George Carew, who was connected with the ordinance office and had an apartment in the Brick Tower within the Tower enclosure ⁴⁹ Anne was entitled by birth and rank to at least as much consideration as Raleigh enjoyed, and her condition when she entered the Tower required special care for her health. Even if she was not committed to Lee's care, he would hardly fail to take an active interest in his fair "mece's" plight, such as, because of his connection with the Tower, could most readily be represented in a play by a jailer relationship.

Lee seems to have made no secret of his infatuation He had a suit of tilting armour engraved with her initials, and caused the fact that she lived with him "long time for love" to be inscribed on his tombstone—to the scandal of the parish In 1583–84 Anne was the subject of further gossip,⁵⁰ and probably by 1586 she had borne Sir Henry Lee a son.⁵¹

As to the propriety of alluding to this amour in a play written for the Queen, we must consider that Lee's relations with Anne are clearly alluded to in the entertainment which he himself provided for the Queen at Woodstock in 1592 ⁵² This entertainment took the form of autobiographical allegory. Since it is pertinent to this discussion both in content and method, I shall describe it briefly The whole tone is one of reminiscence.⁵³ The Queen is led through a grove of trees which represent metamorphosed lovers. She enters a bower where an old knight (representing Lee) lies in perpetual sleep She awakens him, not as in *Endimion* with a kiss, but by interpreting some pictures Then he tells his story. He had been left to guard the pictures (which figured in the 1575 entertainment at Woodstock, where Lee was Keeper of the Lodge), but he had been unfaithful to his trust in the matter of one lady (whom Sir Edmund Chambers identifies as Anne Vavasour), and the Faery Queen (representing Queen Elizabeth, and also from the 1575 entertainment) had punished

⁴⁹ William Stebbing, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (Oxford, 1891), p. 94.

⁵⁰ In *Leicester's Commonwealth* (1584) it is charged that Leicester offered her 100 pounds a year and jewels if she would become his mistress "shee being but the leavings of another man before him," Chambers, p. 160, *Leicester's Commonwealth* (1641), p. 32 There is some reason to think that Charles Arundel was the author of this libel, see Ward, p. 221, Pollen, *The Ven. Philip Howard*, p. 58 Whether or not the charge was true, it is probable that Anne was befriended by Oxford's enemies, the Leicester faction Lee was an old friend of Leicester's, and Anne's brother entered Leicester's service about 1585

⁵¹ He was made Yeoman of the Armoury in 1607/8, see Chambers, p. 222 If he was of age at that time, he must have been born by 1586 at the latest.

⁵² Chambers, p. 150

⁵³ The best text is that in Chambers, *Lee*, pp. 277–297. Bond, *Lyly*, I, 404 ff attempts to claim the authorship of the entertainment for Lyly, but see Chambers, pp. 145 ff, and W. W. Greg's review of Bond, already cited

him with a long sleep from which the Queen has now awakened him

The sleep here clearly represents royal disfavor, as I believe it does in *Endymion*, where both the hero and Corsites suffer from it. The period of Lee's sleep in royal displeasure must have been over when the Queen consented to visit him, and there is no hint that he was out of favor in November, 1590, when he entertained the Queen with elaborate retirement ceremonies in connection with the annual Accession day tilt. Anne was openly living with him in that year, and the period between November 17, 1590, and the autumn of 1592 seems both too short and too late for the "sleep" alluded to. It is much more probable that Lee's period of royal displeasure occurred between 1581 and 1590 and was over before the latter date. It would naturally come near the beginning of the liaison with Anne, which Chambers thinks began early in the 1580's.

The 1592 entertainment indicates clearly that Lee slept for a time in the Queen's displeasure on account of Anne. The only problem is whether this period of displeasure came early enough to be represented in Lyly's play. The impartial testimony of Lee's distinguished biographer is that it probably did.

Lyly's characterization of Corsites fits Lee well enough so that an audience which identified Tellus with Anne could hardly fail to recognize him. The point is emphasized by repetition that Corsites is an old soldier by profession, a Captain (III, II, 26-29, 32-36; IV, III, 134-136; 157-159). Lee was an old campaigner, veteran of 1558, 1569, and the siege of Edinburgh castle in 1573. He had a command in each of these affairs and apparently boasted of his exploits in 1573.⁵⁴ In 1580 he was appointed Master of the Armoury. He was preeminently a military man, a Captain, or commander.⁵⁵ Corsites boasts of his great feats of strength (IV, III, 17-22) and Lee, as the Queen's self-appointed champion, was the professional strong man of the court.

Corsites' attempt to move Endymion to an obscure cave (suggestive of a grave) might allude to the efforts of Anne's friends to do away with Oxford. We do not know that Lee took an active part in the bitter feud, but he was certainly on the side of those who did.

We are baffled by the lack of information at several points in the action, but the parallels of character, of the central facts of Lee's infatuation with Anne, and of the Queen's initial disapproval and final forgiveness, are strong enough at least to raise the question whether Corsites was not a recognizable allusion to Lee.

⁵⁴ Chambers, pp. 40-41.

⁵⁵ The rank of "Captain" was a much higher one in those times than it is now, and corresponded more nearly to the general officer or "colonel" of modern terminology. Sir William Segar, *Honor, Military and Civil* (1602), p. 44, heads a chapter, "Of Captaines generall, Marshalls, and other chiefe Commanders."

The chief objection is a matter of decorum. Corsites is made ridiculous in the scene in which he fails to lift Endymion, and is pinched and put to sleep by the fairies. It might be contended that Lyly would hardly venture to treat a prominent courtier in this way. But Elizabethan conventions of propriety differed substantially from ours, and even today some rather crude ragging of the President of the United States is permitted in the intimacy of the Press Club dinner, and even on the public stage.

Much depends on Lyly's relations with Lee,⁵⁶ on unknown factors in Lee's character, and on his position at court at the time the play was written. We know that he was an old man (ca. 55) who had invited laughter by devoting himself romantically to a beautiful young woman of scandalous reputation. Lyly indicates graphically that Tellus made a fool of Corsites. But, on the other hand, he makes Corsites one of Cynthia's trusted attendants, for whom she shows solicitude in his misfortune, and whom she readily forgives, even sanctioning his love.⁵⁷ Lyly merely says that Tellus made a fool of her old-soldier jailer and got him into trouble with Cynthia, a trouble represented, as in the case of Endymion, by sleep. But, says the play, after he had slept for a time beside Endymion, put to sleep by the mischief of the same lady, the Queen awakened (forgave) him, and even, in the end, bade him enjoy his love. This is substantially an apology for Corsites, and one which not only excuses him, but helps to excuse Endymion by showing what a naughty girl Tellus really was.

If no parallel between the chief characters of the play and the affairs of Anne Vavasour and her two lovers, Oxford and Lee, was intended by the playwright, he at least feared that his audience would "apply pastimes," that is, look for topical allegory in the play, for he warns them against it in his prologue. He also introduces a thin veil of physical allegory into the first two acts, but it is no more than a pretense which he soon drops almost entirely.

On the other hand, the intention of the playwright to plead the cause of Endymion comes out strongly in the epilogue, where Endymion steps out of the play to tell the fable of the man for whom the wind and the sun contended. The moral is directly addressed to the Queen:

⁵⁶ The two were probably acquainted. Lee kept town lodgings at the Savoy, where Lyly lived from about 1578-79 until his marriage in 1583, Feuillerat, pp. 41 ff., 132 ff.

⁵⁷ It has been asserted that Corsites marries Tellus, but Cynthia merely says to Corsites, "Well, enjoy thy love" (v, iii, 355). The Queen must have given some such sanction to the amour, since she forgave Lee, although he continued to live openly with Anne. Sometime between 1581 and 1590 she was married to a John Finch whom Lee pensioned. But there is no reason to suppose that she ever lived with Finch. She so far forgot his existence that after Lee's death she married again and was heavily fined for having two husbands living. She managed to retain sufficient social position, however, to play hostess to Queen Anne, in the next reign.

Dread Sovereign, the malicious that seek to overthrow us with threats, do but stiffen our thoughts, and make them sturdier in storms, but if your Highness vouchsafe with your favorable beams to glance upon us, we shall not only stoop, but with all humility lay both our hands and hearts at your Majesty's feet

This is hardly the language of an actor begging favor for the play, or even of a playwright asking for royal approval. It is too full of dignity and pride, and the reference to "the malicious that seek to overthrow us with threats" smacks of more serious matters.

What, we must ask ourselves, would the court audience make of it, and of the story of Endymion's troubles? Did Lyly invent the whole story of Tellus and her relations with Endymion and Corsites, without once thinking about Anne Vavasour, the court beauty who had caused Oxford years of trouble and disgrace (1581-85) by accusing him of having seduced her? And who subsequently got an old soldier into trouble because he fell in love with her?

If the audience had Anne's story in mind as they watched the play, there are many details which would appear significant in that connection. For example, Endymion describes two dreams which frightened him while he was asleep. The first is simply a dumb-show of the parts played by Floscula and Semele in influencing Cynthia. The second represents an old man (Lord Burghley?) as offering a book of "counsels, policies, and pictures" of treason, to Endymion. He refused the counsels and policies, but he discovered the treasons, as Oxford "discovered," or revealed, the treasons of Lord Howard and Charles Arundel.

The Queen particularly enjoyed the type of puzzle represented by these enigmatical dreams, and there are records of similar enigmas invented for her amusement.⁵⁸

This interpretation of the dreams hinges, however, on the identification of Endymion. If he represents Oxford, then the dreams refer to the struggle between Oxford's friends (represented by Floscula) and his enemies (represented by Semele) among the court ladies, and to his part in discovering the treasons which culminated in the Throckmorton plot. So interpreted, they represent a resume of the two causes of Oxford's disgrace. But if Endymion is not Oxford, then they remain unexplained, for they certainly do not fit into any interpretation of the play as physical or philosophical allegory,—nor into any of the previously offered interpretations of the play as topical allegory. They must have had some reasonably intelligible meaning, for the Elizabethans were not given to inventing merely senseless enigmas.

⁵⁸ See for example, the account of the pictures at Woodstock, Chambers, *Lee*, pp. 87-89, and Lady Raleigh's letter to Sir Robert Cecil, Edwards, *Raleigh*, II, 397.

The parts played in the action by the old witch, Dipsas, her husband, Geron, and Endymion's faithful friend, Eumenides, remain unexplained as topical allegory. Perhaps we lack the clues, but it is not necessary to suppose that all of the characters in the main plot stand for persons and events. The play is very symmetrical and formal in structure, and shows an admirable economy of parts and action. It seems highly improbable that Lyly was able to construct so neat and orderly a plot entirely out of current events. On the other hand, the artificiality of the plot does not preclude the presence of some topical matter.

Interpretation of *Endimion* as an apology for the Earl of Oxford has at least the merit of meeting, more fully than any previous explanation, the three requirements which have been laid down for this kind of interpretation. It is timely as commemoration of a recent very great favor which the Queen had shown Oxford. Lyly's motive for writing such a play is direct and obvious. And the data of the play correspond with the data of history to a surprising extent if no topical references were intended.⁵⁹ The final verdict must rest with each reader's personal judgment of the probabilities of the situation and of Elizabethan usage in matters of this kind. But, whether or not we conclude that *Endimion* was planned and written as an apology and a plea for the Earl of Oxford,⁶⁰ since the question of topical import has been repeatedly raised in connection with this play, it is incumbent upon us to canvas the more immediate and obvious possibilities of such interpretation, before we go further afield, and before we reject the possibility altogether. In any case, a knowledge of the ramifications of Oxford's troubles is necessary if we are to understand Lyly's position and activities during the years of his service as "the minion secretary."

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⁵⁹ C. F. Tucker Brooke, "The Allegory in Lyly's *Endimion*," *Modern Language Notes*, xxvi (1911), 12-15, points out some further considerations that Lyly's main object was flattery of the Queen, that the allegory must be personal and sentimental rather than diplomatic, that Lyly's allegories deal only with *faits accomplis*, never with advice to the Queen, and that the allegory probably extends only to a few of the main characters. With these requirements also the theory that the play is an apology for Oxford is in full accord.

⁶⁰ As late as the summer of 1588 he was still seeking preferment at court, see Ward, pp. 286-292.

POESIA ESPANHOLA

(Manuscript 756 of the Biblioteca Nacional Matritense)

POE^{SIA} ESPANHOLA, a manuscript of sixty-seven folio pages, which forms part of the Gayangos Collection in the National Library at Madrid, was, as its title implies, compiled by a Portuguese. Further evidence of the nationality of the collector is furnished by two poems in Portuguese as well as the Portuguese captions added to several other compositions. From the authors included in it, it may be assumed that the manuscript belongs to the first quarter of the seventeenth century. It has come down to us virtually intact except for a single folio page (45r) containing one complete sonnet and the initial five verses of another. However, some notion of the contents of the missing poem may be gained from the caption at the bottom of folio 44v—*Soneto de Diego de Mendoca a la muerte de su muger*, while the last nine verses of the other composition (given on folio 45v) fortunately make it possible for us to retrace them and the missing lines that go with them to a sonnet by Góngora beginning "Mientras por competir con tu cabello," *Obras Poeticas*, I (New York, 1921), p. 30.

There is a curious similarity in the sequence of a number of poems by Quevedo and Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola between this manuscript and one by Juan Antonio Calderón, compiler of the *Segunda Parte de las Flores de Poetas Ilustres de España*, prepared in 1611, but printed for the first time in 1896 by Juan Quirós de los Ríos and Francisco Rodríguez Marín. For instance, the series of Quevedan poems: *¿Qué de robos, . . . ¿Dónde vas, . . . ¿Que alegre, . . . ¿Que tienes, . . . ¿Con qué culpa . . . Disté credito . . . , Pues que primavera . . .* (folios 26v–35v) is the same as that in *Flores* . . . II, pp. 214–227, and reappear in the same order with the exception of the fourth item: *¿Que tienes. . .* A block of ten compositions by Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola: *Vencida Clori, . . . Quando los aires . . . , Hago Fili . . . , Calla, no alegues . . . , Que mágica . . . , En la manchada olanda . . . , Dizesme, Nuño . . . , Cayo, señor . . . , Alivia sus fatigas . . .* (frequently attributed to B. L. but in reality belonging to his brother, L. L. de Argensola), *Quando me paro . . .* (folios 1r–22v) are likewise to be found in Calderón's anthology in a partially identical sequence. Both collections also include identical compositions by Arguijo (4), Alonso Cabello (2), Jáuregui (1), and a sonnet by B. L. de Argensola: *Antes que Ceres . . .* which is separated in this case from the Argensola block. All of these poems are minus any variants save Cabello's *Memoria viva . . .* in which the only difference is one word in line

fourteen (*amor*, *ms*, *dolor*, *Flores* . . .). This would seem to indicate either that the Portuguese verse collector was acquainted with the second part of the *Flores* . . . or that both the *Poesia Espanhola* and the *Flores* . . . drew a part of their materials from a common source

Among the eighty-nine compositions contained in our manuscript nineteen are by B L de Argensola, including one under the caption of El Rector de Villahermosa and the one by L L de Argensola mentioned above. Eight belong to Quevedo, seven to the Conde de Villamediana, four to Arguijo, Góngora, Alvarez de Soria, Gaspar de Bonifás are represented by three compositions apiece, Alonso Cabello, Francisco de la Cueva, Diego de Mendoza, and the Manuel de Portugal by two each, Lope de Vega, Fernando de Guzmán, Martí del Vasto, Maestro Ortensio João Lares, the Conde de Portalegre, the Conde de Saldaña, the Marqués de Pescara, Jáuregui, and J. D. G. by only one poem. Forty-six of the poems in the manuscript lack the names of their composers, but of these twenty-five have been identified through the medium of other collections and assigned to known individuals, leaving twenty-one in the anonymous class.

The unidentified group might further be reduced by access to rare sixteenth-century editions, and to some of the manuscript collections of poems in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid and elsewhere that have as yet not found an editor. But this identification, if accomplished, would contribute little to what we already know about the compiler's tastes. He was, it seems, a thoroughgoing individualist, who selected his favorite authors and his favorite poems without worrying unduly about following the predilections of the cultured public of the day. Had he slavishly gone along with the literary current, his anthology would have been drastically altered, as by a greater numerical representation of the poems of Góngora over those of the Conde de Villamediana and the poems of Lope de Vega over those of Arguijo.

Of more importance than the compiler's taste is the fact that the *Poesia Espanhola* provides us with a fairly extensive group of hitherto unpublished poems and with variants for a number of compositions that have been published, both categories involving verse by first-rate sixteenth and early seventeenth-century authors. The new materials, especially those that relate to these primary writers, should prove to be welcome additions if and when new complete editions of their poems appear. The variants, admittedly inferior to the readings of poems already printed, give evidence of the published compositions in their predefinitive stages, and as such should be capable of throwing a considerable light upon the question of the stylistic evolution of a given author or poem. In addition, the varied verse forms in the manuscript in the traditional and Italianate

patterns—romances, décimas, redondillas, glosas, coplas, epitafios, sonnets, silvas, canciones, and octavas—as well as the heterogeneous contents of the poems give us to a greater degree than most of the other anthologies an accurate and typical picture of the range of poetic production during this period.

In the alphabetical index of first lines which immediately follows, if the name of a writer is in brackets, it means that the authorship of the composition in question is not indicated in the manuscript. Failure on the part of the collector to provide an authorship tag for so large a group of poems is evidently due to two factors: the poems of major writers like B. L. de Argensola and Quevedo needed no tag since most cultured persons of the time could identify them. On the other hand, poems by lesser literary figures, in particular those without high social standing and those not participating in influential academic circles, depended upon their own peculiar attractions as a guarantee for their continued existence, and are therefore apt to figure anonymously in the manuscript anthologies. Nevertheless, as to the group of poems the authors of which are definitely named by the compiler, it may be presumed that his attributions are fairly reliable since, insofar as I have been able to check on this score, they are all correct with three exceptions: the L. L. de Argensola poems attributed to B. L. de Argensola (an error made by other compilers, i. e. Calderón), Francisco de la Cueva's sonnet *No eres nieve . . .* which, as we shall see later has also been variously attributed, and *Quen dice que pobreza . . .* given to the Marqués de Pescara but which in reality is the property of Pedro de Padilla. On these grounds, until irrefutable evidence is adduced against them, I should be disposed to accept his attributions even in the most suspicious cases, as, for example, the sonnet assigned to Góngora beginning with the words: *Projos tiene el cabello más dorado . . .*

The second section gives the text of some hitherto unknown compositions, while the third section gives variants of poems already in print.

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HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED POEMS

(Punctuation has been altered for clarity and emendations
 indicated by parenthesis)

fol 35v-36r

Anon.

¡Quién tubiera mil vidas que entregaros!

¡Quién tubiera mil ojos con que veros!

¡Quién tubiera mil bienes que offreceros
y voluntades mil con que adoraros!
¡Quién tubiera mil braços con que ataros!
¡Quién mil laços de amor con que prenderos!
¡Quién mil templos tubiera en que poneros
y con aromas mil eternizaros!
Mas pues mal se me logran mil deseos
por ser mil vezes firme, en ser amigo
persíganme mil males de fortuna,
mil tormentos me den en mil recreos.
que mil y más a padecer me obligo
por vos, señora, que entre mil sois una

fol 37v

Anon

En el infierno Tántalo buscava
con sed ardiente el agüa fugitiva,
que de los secos labios se le iba
quando él mismo apenas la tocava.
Y rebentando Sísifo llevava
hum pesado peñasco a un monte arriba,
donde con ciertas esperanças yva
de llegar adonde jamás llegava.
En su esperança entretenido el uno,
y en su deseo el otro porfiando,
aliviava el tormento que ansí tubo
Mas yo sin medio, y sin remedio alguno,
con mayor ansia que estos deseando,
ny solo al agüa ny el peñasco subo.

fol 37v-38r

Anon

Al hombro sube por un monte arriba
Sísifo un gran pedaço de una roca,
y a lo alto apenas de la cumbre toca,
quando a lo baxo el cielo lo derriba.
Tántalo la comida fugitiva
hambriento pierde de la misma boca,
la sed el agüa al labio le provoca
y el cielo ayrado de beber le priva
Trabajo cuesta el bien hasta alcançarlo,
mas perderlo a este tiempo es gran tormento,

y tiene la fortuna por costumbre
 poner el bien al ojo y despintarlo,
 tomando este rigor por instrumento
 para dar con el bien más pesadumbre

fol 39r

Anon

Pues no siempre tus rayos vengativos
 sobre torres y alcázares fulminas,
 mas a voces destroncas las enzinas
 y abrasas los pacíficos olivos
 Un pedante que a gritos excesivos
 enseña a variar voces latinas,
 juntando a las magníficas ruinas
 cuyas memorias guardan tus archivos.
 El, de pálido box labrado al torno,
 vibra un cetro. Así en madre formidable
 el amor del barvio abrásele en fuego,¹
 que esta asa que el haze inhabitable
 convierto en templo, y en tus aras luego,
 o Jupiter, gramático la adorno

fol 39r-29v

Soneto hecho en la hora de la muerte por un cavallero
 J D.G.

Quando los ojos buelvo a lo passado,
 de quanto fué me allo arrepentido,
 aora veo el tiempo que he perdido,
 el trabajo, y affán mal empleado
 En lo dañoso siempre gran cuydado,
 y en lo que más cumplía gran olvido,
 tan presto el desengaño me ha venido
 quan presto la esperança me ha faltado.
 Edificios que hizo el pençamiento,
 quando más encumbrados los tenía,
 por el suelo los vy en un momento
 Cerrada cuenta de la fantezía²
 que en dolor para y arrepentimiento,
 triste quien siente, triste quien confía¹

¹ The sense of this tercet is obscure

² The same spelling is repeated below.

fol 40r

Anon.

¿De qué gran capitán es esta faz
 que aun retratada, si el transunto es vero,
 con feroz ceño y ademán severo
 de orgullo y de valor promette assaz?
 ¿Es de Gradasso o Rodamonte audaz,
 o de algún turco, o tártaro guerrero
 que en el mostacho retorcido y fiero
 semeja un bajá neto,³ un monferraz?
 No es syno de un varón que vivió en paz
 gran comedor de miel, poco de agraz,
 que aunque mató más natas que hombres Nero,
 huyóse siempre del trabajo, amó el solaz,
 y fué entre hembras cucú verdadero

fol 41r-41v

Conde de Villamediana

De quien más vale no ay tomar vengança;
 lo que puede mostrarse es sentim⁽¹⁾ento,
 la⁴ gloria ya perdida (es)⁴ escarm⁽¹⁾ento,
 de honrado pençamiento no ay mudança.
 Passada profesión no dá esperança,
 alcanço con desdenes sofrimiento,
 para sentir me sobra entendimiento
 y sol para amar la confiança.
 Huyo del bien porque morir deseo,
 vivo por padecer más larga muerte;
 inbidio lo que tuve y é perdido,
 al desengaño por my engaño creo,
 el más amigo de my sangre vierte
 porque corte la espada en un rendido.

fol 41v

Conde de Villamediana

Acovarda al deseo el pençamiento;
 no puede desear un desdichado;
 al passo del amor anda el cuidado;
 al del deseo llega el sufrimiento
 Nunca tuve esperança y escarmiento,

³ So in MS, but meaning is not clear⁴ The MS reads *de* and *el*.

para perder siquiera no é ganado,
 aun por yeiro mys penas no é acertado,
 es solo para amar my atrevimiento
 Sy temo, no por esso soy covarde,
 y si me attrevo me persigue el miedo,
 que temiendo y osando me aventuro
 Quexas no tengo de que llego tarde,
 que en medio la ocasión ¡ay triste! quedo
 del bien incierto y de my mal seguro.

fol 42r-44v

Canción diziendo a un pintor como había
 de hazer un retrato

Anon

Bien tyenes, o maestro,
 o famoso Gusmán, en que exercites
 el delgado pincel, la diestra mano
 Ancho campo te muestra
 para hazerte divino, con que imites
 de my Lisarda el rostro soberano
 No es el sujeto humano,
 y ansí no lo ha de ser el pincel tuyo
 para el retrato suyo.
 Si en retratalla como sueles obras
 eterno nombre cobras,
 que basta su belleza aun imitada
 para hazer tu memoria celebrada

Pídesme que delante
 te ponga el bello original que digo
 para hazer más al vivo su tr(a)slado ⁵
 Al fin como ignorante
 deseas hermosos ojos, caro amigo,
 a ver su luz estás determinado,
 porque de ty olvidado
 el alma ocuparás en contemplalla.
 Los ojos en miralla
 el modo te diré sin que la veas.
 Sy es que acertar deseas,
 haz un perfecto rostro y te prometto
 que le ha de parecer en lo perfecto

⁵ The MS reading is *treslado*, also repeated below.

Pinta un rostro pequeño,
y las facciones hagan armonía,
conviniendo las partes con el todo,
que consiste del todo
en esta unión de partes la hermosura
y en la igual compustura.
Da a su semblante un modesto grave,
con extremo suave,
que dé indicios de una alma generosa,
que en alma y cuerpo es my Lisarda hermosa.

Su delgado cabello
ny de évano ny de oro le colores,
aunque en évano y oro tiene parte.
Haz un compuesto bello,
haz un medio color destos colores,
y, si lo alcança el arte,
dales tal resplandor, tan puro lustre,
que al mismo sol deslustre.
Ya en los hombros sueltas las madexas,
o ya en trenças las texas,
que enlaçan livres almas por despojos
y vencen a los negros y a los roxos.

Su blanca y lisa frente,
tan espaciosa quanto lo permita
la proporción que en lo demás guardares;
a un terso y transparente
lavrado mármol la pureza quita
quando imitalla en algo procurares;
y si su igual no hallares,
con dos hermosos arcos pintan un cielo
tan hermoso que al suelo
pintan un campo de nieve no pisada
que no aventaja su beldad en nada.

Dos estrellas escoge
las más proporcionadas y más bellas,
y en dos ojos azules las tr(a)slada.
Junta cifra recoge
la luz del sol en una y otra dellas.
Que junta, aunque dará su luz pintada,
no difieras en nada,

porque defraudas la mayor belleza
 (Que la)⁶ naturaleza
 cerró en una breve esfera tanto fuego
 muestren bien ser traçados
 que en velle quedé ciego.
 Tu pincel acredita en retratallos
 y teme aun retratados admirillos

Gusmán, aquella parte
 que tantas hermosuras haze feas,
 bellísimas facciones agraviando,
 tal perfec(c)ión reparte
 que con censura aún de imbidioso veas
 que está las demás partes adornando
 Tal gracia está augmentando
 que las bellas mexillas que divide,
 a quien tratar se impide,
 tengan por gloria que espongan en medio
 un tan hermoso medio.
 Quando tu mano el retratalle acabe,
 sea su hermosura quien tu mano alabe.

Finas colores mescla
 que igualen en lo blanco y encarnado
 blancos jazmines y encarnadas rosas,
 y has tan vistosa tal mescla
 que excede el bello tornasol mesclado
 en color y las flores más hermosas.
 Verás las milagrosas
 mexillas tuyas luego retratadas,
 del aurora invidiadas,
 que no tan agradables resplandecen
 quando hermosa amanece,
 la bella Héca(te)⁷ verás do el cielo quiso
 los delentes fingidos del parayso.

Dulcíssimos amores
 cierra la boca de quien pende my alma,
 que en su divino nectar se sustenta
 de los rubíes mejores, y sus labios llevan palma
 sy competir en la color intenta;

⁶ The MS reads *quiso*. The meaning of the stanza is not altogether clear.

⁷ MS reads *Heca*

sean del marfil afrenta
sus blancos dientes, sus iguales perlas,
o aunque prives de verlas
para encobrir tu falta y tus agravios,
cúbrelas con los labios
y al fin tu mano acabe con primor
del extremo inferior al superior.

Canción, sy de atrevido
tyene tu pensamiento alguna culpa,
dí que tan alto ha sido,
que está en el emispherio la desculpa,
aunque has diferenciado
lo que va de lo vivo a lo pintado

fol. 44v

Anon

Sy fuera el tiempo yo, perded temores
de que por vos, señora, no passara,
y sy fuera el Abril yo, os coronara
con círculos de perlas y de flores
Sy el cielo fuera yo, de sus primores
arreboles pusiera en vuestra cara;
sy fuera el sol, sus rayos os prestara,
y sy el prado, os vistiera sus primores.
Sy fuera yo el thesoro más sembrado,
al punto en vuestras manos me pusiera,
porque el oro estuviera con el oro.
Mas ¿qué me importa ser lo deseado
sy en vos están como en su propria esphera,
tyempo, Abril, cielo, sol, prado y thesoro?

fol. 47v-48r

Mote

A pesar de los hados enojosos
también para los tristes uvo muerte.

Glosa de Martí del Vasto

Sintidos, no os quezáis del que siento,
que Amor lo quiso, —el alma no resiste,—
triunpha la esperança del tormento,
que a un tiempo alegre sigue otro triste
Sy los hados dan fuerça al sofrimiento

yo os llevaré do vuestro bien consiste,
 y aun digo más, sentidos venturosos,
 que a pesar de los hados enojosos,
 por tormento y dolor, por agüa y fuego
 pienso llegar donde Amor me guía
 Y quando en el camino quede ciego
 a do no fuere yrá my fantezía
 y sy faltare faltar no puedo un día
 para morir, que quiera o no la suerte,
 también para los tristes uvo muerte

fol. 48r

Anon.

Huye el bien, está el mal quedo.

Glosa

De impossibles fabricó
 la desdicha mi tormento,
 al mal mil lugares dió
 y al bien solo el pençamiento.
 Discursos haze el sentido,
 suben al cielo sin miedo,
 voyme tras ellos perdido,
 huye el bien, está el mal quedo.

fol. 48r-49r

Coplas de Don Francisco de la Cueva

Amor, ninguno te vence,
 ninguna razón te enfrena,
 primero mata tu pena,
 que a ser sentida comie(n)ce,
 y luego a los hombres muertos
 renuevas en sus conciertos
 para perdurable vida,
 con la paciencia dormida,
 y los sentidos despiertos.

La mucha continuación
 quita la fuerça al respeto
 y engendra en el más subiecto
 libertad y presunción.
 Ya que por tu esclavo quedo

sy e de ser qual devo y puedo,
suspende el rigor cruel,
porque usando siempre dél
harás que lo pierde el miedo.

Déxame, Amor, descansar
alguna vez por cautela,
solo porque más me duela
verme después maltratar.
Quien te lleva, niño tierno,
no sabe el dolor eterno
que me acompaña por ty.
¿Sy eres Dios y estás en my,
cómo peno en el infierno?

Dirás que estas obras son
muestras de inmenso poder,
y que consiste tu ser
en milagro y no en razón,
mas la respuesta es agena
de tu nombre y de la pena
que por seguirte me daña,
pues Dios jamás acompaña
a quien destruye y condena

No es desengaño él que nace
effectos que no se entienden,
ny milagros los que offendén
al mismo Dios que los haze.
Offensa tuya es notoria,
siendo Dios que has de dar gloria,
llevar contigo un tormento
que dexar al entendimiento
por martyr de la memoria.

Lo impossible facilitas,
lo fácil pones en duda,
al engaño das ayuda,
y a la verdad se la quitas.
Es tu imperio devaneo,
tal que aunque lo siento y veo
nunca entender le podré,
porque vive en mí la fee,
después de ver lo que creo.

fol 49r-52r

Canción de D Fernando de Guzmán el herege

Séspedes perigrino,
 o único entre arte,
 píntame qual dué a mi Elisa bella,
 sy en seso humano ay tino
 para imitar la parte
 menor de las que puso en ella,
 o acaso una estrella
 del fuego glorioso,
 de su sacro transunto
 no le abraze en un punto
 por el atrevimiento peligroso;
 pues podrá su figura aunque sin habla
 arder de amor a ty, el pincel y todo

El cabello primero
 medio entre évano y oro
 me pinta dulcemente ensortijado,
 parte al viento ligero
 por la frente que adoro
 vagando suelto, y parte con cuidado,
 y al Amor enredado
 en aquel lazo bello,
 que en ondas deleitosas
 sobre las tres carroças,
 le da prisión entre un s(u)ave bello,
 de cuyas hiebras haze el deseo
 al arco cuerda y tiros al sentido.

Vivo marfil
 la frente en perfecta medida
 sea de grana un poco retocada,
 y si el cielo consiente
 que de mano attrevida
 alguna de sus luzes sea robada,
 de la esphera estrellada
 las dos más claras quita,
 no de mayor grandeza
 mas de mayor belleza,
 y al retrato las da
 que a Elisa imita,
 porque solo del cielo los despojos
 pueden ser comparados a sus ojos

Un no sé qué se vea
en ellos no entendido
de aspereza mezclada con dulçura,
que espanta y que recrea
y enfrena al atrevido
y al covarde le anima y le asegura,
a cuya fuerça pura
ninguna se defiende
Pinta el dichoso assiento
de las gracias sin cuento
de la nariz, que bellíssima descende
entre vegas de contino llenas
de rosas encarnadas y açucenas.

Mas tu arte no puede
de la boca divina
fiel tr(a)slado sacar, que no es bastante
que al ser humano excede
(en quien no ay cosa digna)
que a tan alto misterio se levante.
Pinta rubí y diamante,
o entre mestura hermosa
perlas celestiales,
que en no aver iguales
palabras dan con suavidad dichosa
del aliento delgado que da aviso
de las flores que cría el parayso.

De cristal que trasflore
azules tetas sea
el cuello ayroso altivo y bien dispuesto,
nieve el pecho do more
llama que naide vea
si no yo a cuya causa Amor la ha puesto.
Pero no pintes esto,
pinta solo la nieve
en dos tiernos collados
pequeños y apartados,
y más abaxo en un espacio
la cintura sutil, medida al justo,
del cinto que hizo Venus por su gusto.

Los braços y las manos
donde naturaleza
mostró de su poder todo el effecto,

los miembros soberanos
 de altura y gentileza
 a los de Palas finge en tu conceto,
 aunque en ser más perfecto.
 Y occulta con un velo
 que el encuentro resista
 de la profana vista
 lo que en efecto igual venero y celo,
 que aún pintada no quiero sea gozada
 la gloria a mí sola reservada

Dos columnas lavradas
 de un alabastro tierno
 sobre pequeños vasos, que en su obra
 por el maestro eterno,
 pues no se les conoce falta o sobra,
 tal que aún la imbidia cobra
 verguença de tachallas,
 figura si pudieres
 y de amores no mueres.
 Mas sy la muerte en tal impresa hallas
 ¿dónde pudiste dar más alto buelo
 que morir por el bien mayor del suelo?

Adoren la pintura
 Venus, Gracias, Cupidos,
 las Horas alegres y más que trayan⁸
 la dichosa ventura
 y el buen suceso asidos
 de suerte que llegados no se vayan.
 Sileno y Baco cayan
 vañados, y aun no enxutos,
 de vino y de contento.
 Hora enriquecen el viento
 con varias flores, de Pomona frutos,
 que parescan averse consagrados
 a la deidad que imita aquel traslado.

Del retrato más culto
 que Dios de sí dió al mundo,
 sy no te falta el ánimo o te ciega
 la luz que a mí me ha muerto,

⁸ Note the rimes-trayan, vayan, cayan.

podrás sacar segundo
 Osa y muestra tú acerca donde llega,
 que sy el cielo no te niega
 el suceso dichoso
 al temerario hecho,
 fué el intentar despecho
 que aspira a un caso grande y generoso,
 que podráse decir de tu ardimiento
 sy no alcançó, cayó de grande intento.

fol 52v.

Soneto de Don Manuel de Portugal
 Rompiendo el aere junto al alto cielo
 Dédalo con su hijo caminava
 Soberbio el moço viendo que bolava,
 dexa su padre y alça más el buelo
 Phebo derrite el ala y quema el pelo,
 y quanto más el moço se le acercava
 así bax(ava)⁹ quan (do a lo)⁹ alto estava
 hasta morir en el profundo suelo.
 Yo que unas alas desta misma suerte
 de amor y de esperança avía texido,
 tanto subí que pude así quererte.
 Mas fué tu resplandor tan encendido
 que el alma derritió, y así mi muerte
 no fué si no de aver tanto subido.

fol. 53v

Soneto do Reytor de Villahermosa
 (i.e. B.L. de Argensola)

Nunca dañó en amor atrevimiento;
 favorece fortuna la osadía,
 que suele la encogida covardía
 servir de piedra al livre pençamiento.
 Quien sube al estrellado firmamento,
 allá tyene su estrella que le guía,
 que el bien que encubre en sí la fantezía
 son ylusiones que lleva el viento.
 Abrir se deve el passo a la ventura;
 syn sí mismo ninguno avrá dichoso;
 solo la suerte los principios mueve.

⁹ The MS readings are *baxó* and *quan*. Two syllables are added to complete the line

No deve el atreverse ser locua,
que de covarde pierde el venturoso
el mismo bien que a su fortuna deve

fol. 54r

Soneto de Don Manoel de Portugal
A un retrato

Dulces engaños de mys ojos tristes,
quán vivo despertáis my sentimiento,
y aquello que pudiera dar contento
en sombras de pinturas lo bolbistes.
De blando sobresalto enternecestes
con la amorosa vista el pençamiento,
mas no le prolongastes un momento
este vano bien que le offrecistes,
pues vió que la figura era fingida,
y aquella no que en sy my alma esconde,
aunque en esto se llega al natural
Ansí escucha mi llanto, ansí responde,
y ansí se condole de my vida
como si fuesse el proprio original.

fol. 54r-54v

Anon.

Espero lo que tengo, que el deseo
haze dudoso el fin quando se alcança,
en possessión sustento my esperança,
mas dentro en ella mil mudanças veo.
No descanso en la gloria que posseo,
que vive en los extremos la mudança;
no cabe en lo que veo confiança
y ansí lo espero porque no lo creo.
Nunca siento de mal, pues que en my pena
tan felizmente vivo desdichado,
que no me hacen las dichas venturoso.
Mas sy fortuna, en gustos me condena,
puede dar por desculpa a my cuidado
que en mucho amor no puede aver reposo.

fol. 54v-55r

Soneto del Maestro Ortensio al sepulchro de
Domínico Griego excelente pintor destes tiempos.
Divino Griego, de tu obrar no admira

que a la naturaleza vença el arte,
 sy no que della el cielo por templarte
 la vida duda, o tu pincel retira.
 No el sol sus luzes por su esfera gira
 como en tus lienços dexa de empeñarte
 en amagos de Dios entre la parte
 naturaleza que vencer se mira
 Emulo de Prometheo, en my retrato
 no affectes lumbres, el hurto vital dexa,
 que hasta my alma a tanto osar ayuda,
 y tras veinte y nueve años de trato,
 entre la tuya y la de Dios perplexa,
 quál es el cuerpo en que ha de vivir duda.

fol. 55r

Décima del Conde de Saldaña a D. Luis de Góngora

Estilo para deidades
 ordió¹⁰ el cielo en tanto extremo,
 qual se ve en el *Polifemo*
 y muestran las *Soledades*.
 Voz grave, dulces verdades,
 y tan entendida musa,
 que contra lo que se usa
 (porque se usa el ignorar)
 vos no queréis escusar
 el saber que no se escusa.

fol. 55r-55v

Anon.

My atrevimiento no, tus ojos bellos
 culpa, Amarilis, que ocasión han sido,
 pues, de ser ya mi amor tan atrevido,
 está la suerte en my la causa en ellos.
 Sy dessos laços más que el sol bellos
 tyene el Amor prendado mi sentido,
 es fuerça esté el pensamiento asido,
 pues tengo el alma y libertad en ellos.

.
 Sy covarde dexara de atreverme,
 quien teme amando finge, o quiere poco;
 yo no quiero temer, que quiero verme
 sy cuerdo con temor con amor loco.

¹⁰ This was probably a legitimate variant of *urdir* at the time. Cf. Portuguese *ordir*.

fol 56v-59r

En consideración de las ruinas de Burgos

Silva

Anon.

Dudosa luz alegres orisontes
 matizando salía,
 y breve espacio hurtando a las estrellas
 lo hermoso que de ellas
 usurpava a los cielos,
 un fino rosicler restituya
 a los mensajes del sereno día.
 Los elevados montes
 entre purpúreos velos
 risueños se mostravan,
 y entre confusas sombras de arboleda
 también los frescos valles se reyan
 Aura suave en sus hermosos braços
 quantos la selva engendra hijos canoros
 alegres despertava,
 y sobre los Abriles de los prados
 lágrimas del aurora derramava.
 Cristales, desatados
 al canto que escuchavan,
 con murmurantes queiebros respondían,
 y entre las flores con voz mansa y leda,
 blandamente sonoros,
 su música confirmavan,
 sy entre las plantas con torcidos laços
 líquidos bayles al aurora hazían.
 (Era de)¹¹ día (la estación del año
 era la ardiente) quando
 él que a los monstr(u)os lucidos del cielo,
 rey de la luz, sus luzes comunica.
 Del animal retrógrado encendido
 caminava a encender el truculento,
 al tiempo que perdido
 de mi fortuna en ondas solitarias,
 naufrago siempre en tormentoso suelo,
 guiado de mi engaño
 que aún me llama a tentar regiones varias.

¹¹ The MS reading is *Está del*.

Medio florido asiento,
verde margen de un río,
al oydo risueño, en vista blando,
mirava a un lado en áspero desvío
gigante sierra al suelo levantarse,
al otro dilatarse
de frondoso caudal campaña rica,
y entre avarientos ramos
distantes descubrir escasamente
disformes bultos de fatal ruyna,
torres un tiempo que de sus almenas
con gloriosas llamas
farol era el valor resplandeciente.
Va la piedad errante o peregrina,
y a su afligida España,
defensa vigil sy atalaya fuerte,
yazen aora con rabiosa saña
de voraz tiempo, de envidiosa suerte,
aún ruynas apenas,
y así trofeo suyo más glorioso,
pues miran a sus pies la gran cabeça
del invencible cuerpo castellano
y rica multitud de pueblo ufano
reduzida a desierto y vil pobreza.
La rosada mañana,
con mexillas ya de nieve y grana,
de los balcones fúlgidos de oriente
purpureava el sitio deleitoso
alegando la tierra.
Me dexava imbidioso de las plantas,
que si del sol la ausencia
lloran espacio breve,
sus lágrimas destierra
clara restitución de su presencia
Mas triste yo después de noches tantas,
de confusa fortuna,
que el llanto myo tan sedienta beve,
syempre lloroso y triste
me halla el sol, que me dexó la luna.
La montaña que intrépida resiste
aun fulminada Jove fulminante
exemplo se me ofrece,

y compañera a sustentar me anima
 el ánimo constante
 que a los rayos fatales,
 bien que la fuerza corporal se oprima,
 no cae vil si humano se estremece.
 Los frondosos y líquidos caudales
 que la campiña rasa
 unos adornan otros fortalizan,¹²
 la continua corriente de mis males
 y espessa multitud me representan,
 que fértiles se aumentan
 y el grande templo de Fortuna escassa
 con sangrientos despojos autorizan
 Así tristes memorias
 engendradas lloré de agenas glorias,
 mas, tras discursos nunca bien llorados,
 los lagrimosos ojos,
 que de su humor bañados,
 obiectos los tenían más vezinos,
 por los más apartados
 dexé vagar un rato peregrinos,
 y al fin los detubieron
 los sangrados despojos
 que cuna y tumba las virtudes fueron.
 La magestad postrada
 débil, estática de mortal grandeza
 y de su propria máquina oprimida
 myré suspenso y que la edad ayrada
 de su jurisdicción exenta dexe
 Las ciudades, los reynos vencedores
 de su mano atrevida
 fácil trofeo son y la flaqueza
 suplida al hombre en dones superiores
 de ser mortal siquiera
 O, les dize, reliquias venerables,
 mármoles generosos,
 caydos sí, mas no de honor desnudos,
 bien son vuestras ruynas lamentables;
 mas perdonadme, os ruego,
 sy en ellas inhumano hallo sociego,
 pues dan a mis tormentos

¹² I have allowed this odd spelling to stand without change Cf. Portuguese *fortalezar*.

su lexos lastimosos
 con eloquente exemplo alivios mudos,
 que si pueden lo firme, lo invencible
 derribar y vencer tiempos violentes,
 también caerán mis hados vitoriosos
 Dixe, y dexando aquel lugar ameno,
 ya con beldad visible
 de resplandor tocado matutino,
 vergonçoso de hallar en mal ageno
 al proprio mal templança,
 con corrida esperança
 dí al sol espaldas passos al camino.

fol. 60r

Soneto de Don João Lares contra frey Bernardo de Brito

Ao escuro reyno del Rey Pluto
 irás, Bernardo, posto que has escrito,
 pois dizes que de bruto um teu Brito,
 sendo en tal opinião teu brito bruto.
 Mas vens daquelles que a pee enxuto
 passando con Moyses o mar de Egypto,
 un bruto que con sangre de cabrito
 tantos guisados fes ficando enxuto
 Chamaste ao teu livro *Monarchia*,
 sendo *mona*- que *cria*-monstruos vaiios,
 fiziste alquimea da idade de ouro
 Não te mettas en casos temerarios,
 paste das hervas, bebe d'agoa fria,
 ou da verde escudela o caldo louro.

fol 60r-60v

Soneto que se fez quando morreu ou Arçobispo de Braga
 Dom Aleixo de Menezes

Aqui a cinza de hum pastor se enserra
 que ao gado seu e ao mesmo ceo fugia,
 não tem pedra que toda apedraria,
 largou das manos depois de vir da serra.
 A Parca justa que outras vezes erra
 aqui quis serrasse o ultimo dia,
 que quem a terra em que naceo vendia
 nem morto o quer a sua propria terra.
 Comprou sua fortuna e fixa a teve

com pregos de diamantes a instable roda
de ser da força superior movida.
Chorou sua infausta morte a gente toda,
a que devia muito como a tantos deve,
sem razão mas com causa a foi sentida

fol. 60v

Esta octava se halló en la portaria de los
theatinos

Soberbia y ambición dissimulada
en rostros humildes, flacos y amarillos,
humildad escolástica fundada
en cuellos suzios, baxos y senzillos,
vengança eterna y no perdonar nada,
deseos de hombres, mandos y pontillos,
hablar de Dios, vivir de humano modo,
destas puertas adentro se halla todo.

fol 61r

De Alonso Alvarez de Soria a Don Cristóbal Flores

Sy me mataren sin saberse quién
es don Cristóbal Flores, con pasión,
que tiene contra my sin ocasión,
que no la tomara aunque se la den.
Dize que digo dél, y dize bien,
que tyene en el copete un armaçon
como aquel animal de bendición
que acompañó la mula de Betlem.
Mas por sy me matare desde aquí,
una y mil vezes el perdón haré
sy se atreve a matarme bien o mal.
Pluguiera al Cristo que él guardara así
el sexto con el quinto, que yo sé
que tubiera el miembro más cabal.

fol. 61r-61v

Soneto do mesmo contra o mesmo
Oy destierran a Orán un embustero
cuyas flores son *Flores de Alderete*,
hombre que con un pelo de copete
hará seis calçadores y un tintero.
Ya contemplo manchado el casto azero
en la ocasión primera que arremette,

y aunque su condición no lo promette
todo quiere principio y dél lo espero
Que no por ser blasfemo y afrentado,
y sufrir bofetadas cada día
ha de perder del todo su decoro;
y más ryendo de vernos tan cargado
que si en cada uno dellos mette un moro
ensartará en la frente a Berbería.

fol. 61v-62r

Respuesta de don Cristóbal de Flores a Alonso
Alvarez de Soria

Aora, Alonsillo, muy contento
a matar de tu sangre descendientes,
que será muy cierto advenimiento
más breve que alegre esperan tus parientes.
Pide favor al cielo, y a las gentes,
no has de poder livrarte de mi intento,
y sy dixeres lo contrario mientes,
verdades hago a uso de Castilla.
No puedes desquitarte ya conmigo,
déxate fornicar, perdonaréte
Regala a tu amiga Lucianilla,
que pues ahorcaron ayer un tu amigo,
el mismo fin tu vida nos promette.

fol. 62r

Outro do mesmo

Arañador en causa necessaria,
nació en Sevilla un moço palabrero,
por parte de su padre caballero,
de lo mejor de Hiérico y Samaria.
De fortuna atrevida aunque voltaria,
ayer soldado y oy farandulero,
poeta, quando acierta, aventurero,
de mala lengua y vida temeraria.
Vendió alc(u)scus su madre y a hijas,
puta de muchas, que por su paciencia
entre los siglos se le espera gloria.
Dexo otras cosas porque son prolixas;
esta es la vida y clara descendencia
del Señor Alonso Alvarez de Soria. .

fol. 62r-62v

Outro contra o mesmo

Se dize que su madre no fué mora,
 miente Alonsillo, el tuerto, y no lo entiende
 si su madre niega que descende
 del pueblo ingrato que adoró Latona
 También miente si piensa que se ignora
 que apregona león y liebre vende,
 y también si encobrir pretende
 que fué representante la señora.
 Y sobre todo como puto miente,
 afrentado ladrón, lenguaz, malquisto,
 si algo responde o dize, y no es cierto
 lo que es a todo el mundo tan patente,
 este es el evangelio, boto al Cristo,
 y si esto niega negará que es tuerto

fol 62v

De Don Luis de Góngora: epitafio

Del Duque del Infantado
 soy pariente, y soi Mendoça.
 Posseo aquesta carroça
 en que me veys enterrado,
 de todo el mundo elegido
 fuy por Obispo de Agueva,
 y del bálsamo que lleva
 como los demás unguído.

fol. 63r

Décimas feitas a Tello de Guzmán quando o mandou prender
 o Marqués de la Carraceira por lhe não tirar o chapeo

Syente Tello que el él es
 costumbre y descortesía,
 y quisiera cada día
 ser de nuevo descortés.
 Tarde prendiste, Marqués,
 al que sombrero y cabeça
 tiene todo de una pieça,
 y mucho le castigáis
 si el sombrero le quitáis,
 siendo en él naturaleza.

Sor Marqués, por vida mya,
 que está bien preso el Gusmán,
 el Tello, digo el Adán
 de la vil descortesía
 Sy a su casa y señoría
 con justo y piadoso exceso
 queréis borrar el processo,
 dilatad, Señor Marqués,
 (para)¹³ que sea cortés
 basta que siempre esté preso.

fol 63v

Redondilla feita a hum homem calvo que se chama Montalvo,
 e era amigo de Tello de Guzmán

Si quieres cobrir Montalvo
 la falta de tu cabello,
 ponte el sombrero de Tello
 y no se verá que eres calvo.

fol. 63v-64r

Soneto que se fes aos pregadores de Madrid

Ya repite Florencia ya se eleva;
 Fray Domingo en falsete la voz trueca,
 danos Tamayo la escritura seca,
 Fray Plácido disputa arguye y prueba.
 De Hebreos el Jerónimo se ceva,
 hurta Vergara; de gracioso peca
 Oliva, es farsa y entremés Fonseca;
 Fray Gil murmura y toda flor entreve;
 da coz, palmada y bofetada Lucero;
 el mercenario se pondera y vende;
 Gratiano anda dançando altos y baxos;
 Navarro echa loas placentero,
 Herrera habla gelea, Castro emprende;
 a barage lo mette el de Barajas.

fol. 64r

Soneto de Alonso Alvarez de Soria que mando a
 una dama que preguntó quién él era.

Yo soy un hombre que nació en Lautrec
 por la gracia de santo Sabaoth;

¹³ MS reads *hasta*.

mi padre fué pariente de Naboth,
 mi madre descendiente de Lamec,
 Fuy hecho por la junta de *hic et hac*
 muchos siglos después de muerto Lot
 Menos soberbia tengo que Nembrot
 y más humilde soy que Adramalec
 No sigo la modestia de Bararú
 ni exercicio la soberbia de Barac,
 ni me atribuyo el nombre de Joab,
 tampoco sé usar como a Bacú,
 mas sé con menos años que Isac
 tener quarenta hijos como Acab.

fol 64v

Soneto de don Luis de Góngora contra a fermosura

Piojos tiene el cabello más dorado,
 y lagañas tiene el ojo más hermoso,
 y en la nariz del rostro más lustroso
 el moco verde y negro está encerrado;
 al labio de coral más encarnado
 llega el gargajo suzio y asqueroso,
 y la mano más blanca es muy forçoso
 que al c——o de su dueño aya llegado.
 El mejor papo deste mundo mea
 y dos dedos a par del c——o vive y mora,
 el c——o c——a siempre m——a pura,
 a la hermos le baxa y a la fea,
 y pues esta hermosura os enamora
 c——e en el amor y en la hermosura¹⁴

fol. 64v

Redondilla de don Gaspar Bonifás
 a don João de España

Jura España por su vida
 que nunca cena en su casa,
 es que sin cenar se passa
 cuando nayde le convida.

fol. 65r

Outro do mesmo ao mesmo don João
 Don Juan, con tus proprias moças
 nos puede Amor contentar;

¹⁴ This sonnet is also attributed to Cepeda y Guzmán in Gallardo's *Ensayo*, II, p. 366, where only the first line is quoted.

a mí dándome el gozar,
a ty el dezir que las gozas.

fol. 65r

Outro do mesmo a hum alguazil que
socorreo a outro contra o touro

Dyme, guarda del toril,
¿porqué mostraste pasión,
siendo igual la obligación
al toro que al alguasil?

fol. 65v

Epitafio a una doncella que se llamava
Ana de Estrella

Aquí yaze Ana de Estrella,
que veinte años fué doncella
de hermoso parecer,
y en dexándolo de ser
murióse según se ha sabido,
de pena de lo haver sido.

fol. 65v

A un avariento
Epitafio

En aqueste enterramiento
humilde, pobre y mezquino
yaze enbuelto en oro fino
un hombre rico avariento;
murió con cien mil dolores
sin poderlo remediar
tan solo por no gastar
aun hasta malos humores.

fol. 65v

Epitafio a uno que dezían que era puto

Aquí yaz Andrés Ferrer,
hombre tan casto y templado
que antes quiso ser quemado
que no conocer muger
Fué al infierno el cruel
sólo, a lo que yo barrunto,
por tener al limbo junto
y a los niños que ay en él.

VARIANTS

(Only those variants are recorded here which, as far as I have been able to ascertain, do not exist in any published text. In some cases only one printed version with variants has been accessible, but where the same variant readings have been found in two or more printed versions, I have, in order to facilitate comparisons, referred the reader to the most readily available text. All variants are included with the exception of those that are purely orthographical.)

fol. 23r

B. L. de Argensola

Fabio, pensar que el padre soberano .

- | | |
|---|------------------------|
| <i>B A E</i> , XLII, son LXXIX, p 326, col 2 | Manuscript |
| 4 <i>los accidentes</i> del discurso humano | <i>todos los casos</i> |
| 8 <i>mala o buena</i> , la puso en nuestra mano | <i>buena o mala</i> |
| 9-14 <i>Dí quién te estorbará el ser rey, si vives</i>
<i>sin envidiar la suerte de los reyes,</i>
<i>tan contento y pacífico en la tuya,</i>
<i>que estén ociosas para tí sus leyes,</i>
<i>y cualquier novedad que el cielo influya</i>
<i>como cosa ordinaria la recibes?</i> | |

Here the manuscript reads

Y llegar a ser rey está la tuya
si olvidando el estado de los reyes,
de suerte en la república reposas,
que tenga ociosas para tí sus leyes,
y el uso moderado de las cosas,
el imperio de todas te atribuya

fol. 26r

Jaúregui

De verdes ramas y de frescas flores . . .

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>B A E</i> , XLII, son V, p 104, col. 2 | Manuscript |
| 6 <i>gozando</i> al cielo su amador constante | <i>tratando</i> |
| 14 <i>todo la edad lo descompone</i> y muda | <i>qual forma el tiempo no reforma</i> |

fol. 36r-36v

B. L. de Argensola

Mario es aquel que del Minturno lago . . .

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| <i>B A E</i> , XLII, son. LXXX, p 326, col. 2 | Manuscript |
| 3 <i>le vemos sus ruinas</i> confiriendo | <i>las</i> |
| 7 <i>pues también</i> hace el tiempo <i>por</i> estruendo | <i>que . . . sin</i> |
| 12 <i>y comprendida</i> en la fatal vitoria | <i>retratada . . . memoria</i> |

fol 36v

B L de Argensola

*Vístome lo primero, y lo segundo . .**Revue Hispanique*, XLVIII, p 411

Manuscript

12 Vive, vive, *ignorado* de la fama*ignorando*

fol 36v-37r

Marqués de Pescara

*Quien dice que pobreza no es vileza . .**Thesoro de Varias Poesias* (Madrid, 1589)p 327v by Pedro de Padilla, the real author of
the sonnet

Manuscript

2 no *precia* mucho el título de honrado*estima en*

12 La pobreza de espíritu es contento

(gran) contento13 mas la del cuerpo, cuerpo y alma *traga**estraga*

fol 37r-37v

Conde de Portalegre

*Hambrienta, rota, inquieta y desgustada . .*Gallardo's *Ensayo*, II, 995

Manuscript

3 Cortés, *humilde, inútil*, temerosa*afable, humilde*4 *Mança, cruel, roín*, ocasionada*Mansa, civil, y mal*

11 Ruyna del valor y la nobleza

de

fol 38v

B L de Argensola

*Licia es aquella; acude Fausto y mira . .**B A E* XLII, son. LV, p 321, col 2

Manuscript

9 *Juzga* si yo, con más razón que Ticio*Mira*10 *que, por Juno movió a los dioses guerra**por la madre de Juno en justa
guerra*

fol. 39v-40r

Anon.

*Los ojos vueltos que del negro dellos . . .**Revue Hispanique*, VI, p. 359

Manuscript

4 *bañados* en sudor rostro y cabellos*cubiertos*5 y *aquellas blancas piernas, brazos bellos**las blancas piernas y los muslos
bellos*7 ya *Venus fatigados* os tenía*remissos sin vigor ya*8 *remisos sin mostrar vigor en ellos**sin poder meneallos ni movellos*9 *Adonis quando vió llegado el punto**Quando Adonis se vió llegar al
punto*11 *dixo "no ceses, diosa, anda, señora**le dixo "acaba"*13 porque la fuerza y voz *le faltó junto**vigor le falta al punto*14 y qual *Venus quedarse vió a deshora**se vió quedo*

fol 40v

Lope de Vega

Yo ví sobre dos piedras plateadas

Colección de las Obras Sueltas, iv,
Madrid, 1776, p 221

Manuscript

- | | | |
|--|---------------------------------|----------|
| 3 de vidrio azul cubiertas y cogidas | verde | cuñadas |
| 8 os vera de mis braços levantada | fuera | |
| 11 fixara del PLUS ULTRA los trofeos | pusiera | |
| 12 O fuera Sansón que os derribara | olia Sansón | omitted |
| 13 porque cayendo vuestro templo diera | por tierra vuestra templo y con | él diera |

fol 40v-41r

Conde de Villamediana

*El que fuere dichoso será amado . .**B A E* XLII, son xv, p 156, col. 2

Manuscript

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------|--|
| 2 y yo en amar no quiero ser dichoso | para | |
| 3 teniendo mi desvelo generoso | mal proprio invidioso | |
| 5 Solo es servir, servir sin ser premiado | omitted | |
| 8 yo solo sigo el bien sin ser forzado | mal | |

fol 45v

Arguijo

*Pudo quitarte el nuevo atrevimiento . .**B A E* xxxii, p 401, col 2

Manuscript

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| 11 dél alcanzar la empresa a que aspiraste | alcanzar de |
| 14 excede al bien que por osar perdiste | gosar |

fol. 47r

Alonso Cabello

*Memoria viva de la causa muerta . .**Flores* II, p. 233

Manuscript

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------|
| 14 Es morir de dolor que vivir loco | amor |
|-------------------------------------|------|

fol 52v

Francisco de la Cueva

*No eres nieve que fueras derritida . .**Revue Hispanique*, vi, 385¹⁵

Manuscript

- | | |
|---|----------------|
| 3 ni brasa, porque fueras, siendo brasa | eres brasa que |
| 4 del agua de mis ojos consumida | ya vencida |

¹⁵ See also *Revue Hispanique*, vi, pp 384-386 for other versions with variants, including one attributed to the Conde de Castañeda, taken from Gallard's *Ensayo*, II, 996-997. The sonnet is also to be found ascribed to Francisco de Figueroa in *Boletín de la Real Academia*, II, p 492, while an anonymous version occurs in *Poesías Barias, Indiana University Studies*, x 1923, p 86

MILTON'S IDEAL DAY: ITS DEVELOPMENT AS A PASTORAL THEME

TWO of the dominant motives in pastoral literature are the "come-live-with-me" theme, which offers to the loved one as inducements gifts generally of a pastoral nature, and the ideal of the "golden age," which is based upon a personal desire for a patterned idyllic life. The former has been carefully traced by R. S. Forsythe,¹ but the latter has lain neglected in spite of the fact that two of the best known lyrics in the language, Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, utilize this theme. It is the purpose of this paper to demonstrate that the description of the ideal day is a significant and deeply rooted theme which developed gradually during the whole course of the pastoral tradition. Milton's two days derive from this evolution rather than from a few scattered lyrics which immediately preceded his work, as is generally stated.²

There is some overlapping of the two motives, the "come-live-with-me" and the account of the ideal day, for occasionally the lover uses the delights of daily living instead of the customary gifts, to entrap his mistress. For this reason, I look upon this paper as a complement to R. S. Forsythe's work. The combination of the themes is exemplified in Milton's poems, where the "come-live-with-me" motive furnishes the frame for the account of an ideal day. But Milton was not the first to combine the two; Michael Drayton did so in the seventh Eglog of *The Shepheardes Garland* and in *The Quest of Cynthia*.

I. It is logical to seek the beginnings of the theme at the very source of pastoralism, among the Greek poets Theocritus, Moschus, and Bion. In Theocritus' *Idylls* the yearning for a "golden age" is apparent, although details of pastoral living are not listed. Lycidas, in *Idyll* seven, sings of a mythical "perfect day" which he will pass—the day on which his friend sails for Mitylene. On that day Lycidas will wear chaplets of roses and violets, he will draw the wine of Ptoleas, beans will be roasted for him while he reclines upon his couch of rushes, dreaming of his beloved and

¹ R. S. Forsythe, "The Passionate Shepherd and English Poetry," *PMLA*, xI (1925), 692-742. Professor Forsythe recognized the listing of pastoral pleasures as part of the inducements extended in the invitation-to-love poems, so that in this respect his article is closely related to the present paper. However, the fundamental poetic impulses behind these two pastoral themes are totally different: the delights or pleasures listed under the "come-live-with-me" theme are gifts offered to the beloved, while the description of life in a "golden age" constitutes a subjective expression of an ideal pattern of living.

² For examples, see William V. Moody's preface to Milton's poems in the Students' Cambridge Edition, pp. 23-24; J. L. Lowes' "*L'Allegro* and *The Affectionate Shepherd*," *MLR*, vi, 206-209; M. F. Padelford's "An Unnoted Source of *L'Allegro*," *MLN*, xxxii (1907), 200.

draining the liquor to the dregs Then he will listen to a pair of pipers, shepherds both, who will sing him to sleep with the stories of Daphnis' love and of the goatherd Dametas³ Theocritus' twenty-fifth Idyll gives more realistic account of pastoral life Here the herdsman, talking to Heracles the Lion-Slayer, recites the routine of labor,—watching the flock, plowing and sowing, making wine:

Here do we haunt, here toil, as is the wont
Of labourers in the field, the livelong day.⁴

Even in these few lines, Theocritus conveyed the feeling of longing, the sense of contrast between the simple life of the country and that of the town which distinguishes the pastoral idyl.

Bion too, perhaps in imitation of his master, hinted at pastoral delights. In his third idyll the motive is combined with the "change-of-seasons" theme. The shepherd Cleodamus asks:

Which will you have is sweetest, Myrson, Spring, Winter, Autumn or Summer?
. . Summer, when all our labours are fulfilled, or sweet Autumn, when our hunger is least and lightest, or the Winter with her warm firesides and leisure hours—or doth the pretty Springtime please you best?⁵

Thus we find, at the very wellspring of the pastoral, the listing of country pastimes in an attempt to describe the attractions of the country life. As a theme it does not, perhaps, figure so prominently as others, but it appears to have been a part of the "golden age" concept which is the vital source of the entire pastoral tradition.

In Latin literature the tracing of the theme grows more complex, inasmuch as pastoral elements may be found in various poetic art-forms (such as the ode, the epode, the elegy, the Georgic, the eclogue, the lyric); yet at the same time its function becomes more explicit, because the listing of the details of a patterned pastoral life received a definite place in literature. The Roman poets expanded the idea, as they had discovered it in Greek pastoral poetry, by narrating in detail the joys of country life which were contemporary in Roman civilization. Thus it happened that the general expression of the "golden age" ideal was amplified by concrete illustration. Although the treatment is always idealized and formalized, it expresses the personal desires of the poet to return to a happier life. Especially noteworthy examples are Horace's second epode, Virgil's second eclogue, and the second book of the *Georgics*. Yearning to escape the degenerate civilization of the Augustan era gripped all the lyric Latin poets of this age. Catullus's lyrics in praise of pastoral life at Sir-

³ *Theocritus*, trans by Charles S. Calverley (London, 1896), p. 25.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁵ *Greek Bucolic Poets*, trans by J. M. Edmonds (Loeb Classical Libr., 1923), No. 3.

mio, his "all-but-island," express generally this feeling.⁶ But Tibullus, Horace, Virgil, and Ovid expanded the idea until it became a pastoral theme as fixed in form as the elegy.

Tibullus, though a resident of Rome, spent his childhood in the country,—a period of life which he cherished in recollection. So rich are the allusions in his elegies to this experience that the theme of pastoral delights is one of four dominant subjects of his poetry. The opening elegy of his first book begins with the lines.

Divitias alius fulvo sibi congerat auro
et teneat culti iugera multa soli
Ipse seram teneras maturo tempore, vites
rusticus et facili grandia poma manu.⁷

The poem proceeds with descriptions of the two leading pursuits of the farmer,—the care of the crops and of the flock. But besides these labors, there are pastimes, the delights of lying in the cool shade near running water, of eating and drinking out of simple earthenware vessels, and then at night of resting after labor:

. . . requiescere lecto
Si licet et solito membra toto.⁸

In another elegy, one describing his love for Delia, Tibullus builds a castle-in-the-air, painting the pastoral life which he and his beloved will live together. This lyric is almost a "come-live-with-me" poem. Delia as guardian of the crops will help him harvest, will press out the juice from the grape, will count the flock, love and tend the new-born slave child:

Illa deo sciet agricola pro vitibus uvam,
pro segete spicas, pro grege ferre dapem.⁹

In two ways Tibullus' poetry suggests a relation to Milton's *Il Penseroso*: there is an atmosphere of nostalgic melancholy pervading the pastoral scene, and there is evinced a great interest in old, curious religious rites or customs. In the creation of pastoral pictures, Tibullus stands pre-eminent among Roman elegiac poets.

Horace also wrote frequently upon the theme of country delights,¹⁰

⁶ Catullus' *Lyrics* ed. by Elmer J. Merrill (New York, 1893), no. 31, 7-11, no. 46.

⁷ Tibullus' *Elegies*, bk. I, no. 1, in *Roman Elegiac Poets*, ed. by Jesse B. Carter (New York, 1900). ⁸ *Ibid.*, I, no. 1, 6-41.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, no. 5, 21-28. In elegy 1 of book II, Tibullus listed the gifts of the country gods,—food, houses, plowing and carts, gardens, vineyards, bees, fields, poetry, music, dancing, drama, sacrifices, wool, spinning, weaving, love.

¹⁰ See Horace's *Odes*, II, vi, II, xv, III, I, III, xxix; IV, v, in *Horace's Odes and Epodes*, ed. by Paul Shorey (New York, 1924). Following Horace, it became fashionable in Renaissance

missing no opportunity to extol the beauties of his Sabine farm. Perhaps his most famous expression of it is the ode beginning: "Odi profanum volgus et arceo"¹¹ Another Horatian ode invites Maecenas to exchange the smoke and din of Rome for the wine and roses of the Sabine farm. It is a *carpe diem* lyric combined with the "come-live-with-me" theme, one of the earliest appearances of this most delicate and charming of pastoral themes, destined for tremendous popularity in seventeenth-century England.¹²

But Horace's best known expression of the pastoral way of life is the second epode. It abounds with detailed pictures of rural delights, opening with a reference to the "golden age" theme:

Beatus ille qui procul negotiis,
Ut prisca gens mortalium,
Paterna rura bobus exercet suis

The countryman in this epode passes his time wedding the vine to the poplar, watching his flock, pruning the fruit trees, pouring honey into the vats, shearing the sheep. Then come two seasonal pictures of the countryside—one of Autumn and one of Winter,—which constitute an interpolation of the change-of-seasons theme. Finally in the evening the tired farmer leads home his flock, frees the oxen, reverses the plow, and goes to his cottage to enjoy supper with his family.

In spirit this poem is nearer the realism of the *Georgics* than the idyllic atmosphere of the true pastoral. The boundary between the two types however is exceedingly fine, and they sometimes overlap. Virgil's *Georgics* illustrate this fact. Although they are in the main didactic poems composed of realistic pictures of country life, they also contain passages of idealized beauty. Book II closes with a paean of praise for the pastoral way of life,—a passage which is in itself a complete pastoral idyll. It presents a summary of the pursuits, joys, and pastimes of the country, but in an idealized spirit generally absent from didactic works. This passage of Virgil's constitutes the model for all writing in this type: Horace borrowed from it in his epode, Tibullus used it in the elegy, Catullus imitated its spirit in song.

The introductory opening to this passage in Virgil contains an invocation to the happy lot of the farmer, the "fortunatus ille" motive, wherein his life is contrasted to the laborious careers of the soldier, the statesman, the merchant. Meanwhile the farmer pursues his daily round of duties

pastoral poetry to list the pursuits of country and town life, pointing out the superiority of the former. For examples, see Phineas Fletcher's *The Purple Island*, canto vii beginning "Thrice, O Thrice happy Shepherd's life and state"; and no. 104 in *England's Helicon* entitled "The Heardmans Happie Life."

¹¹ Horace's *Odes*, III, 1.

¹² *Ibid.*, Bk. III, no. xxix.

The next section introduces the "change-of-seasons" motive, with the enumeration of especial pastimes belonging to each Autumn, for example, brings the ripe grape with celebrations to Bacchus the master lies in the grass, among his friends, drinking from the wine bowl and praising the god, while shepherds throw javelins or wrestle. The passage closes upon the "golden age" theme, the age of Saturn when he reigned on earth.¹³

Here for the first time is discovered the complete form of the "ideal day" pastoral. The poem opens with an invocation to the proper gods or goddesses; then comes the listing of delights in order of time, the pursuits and pastimes of the day and evening, with references to the particular joys of the seasons; then a certain festivity is described, and the whole concludes with a neat summary in which the poet expresses his choice of this way of living. The last-named section frequently introduces the "come-live-with-me" theme. It is obvious that this organization is precisely that used by Milton.

Although the greatest single classical influence upon Elizabethan pastoral poems was Virgil, reference should be made to Ovid. In his *Remediorum Amoris*, pursuits and joys of country life are suggested as remedies for love. Ovid enumerated the various interests of the farmer,—plowing and planting, caring for the fruit trees and for the flock. He also painted charming genre pictures of the delights of nature, such as the song of the murmuring brook and sheep grazing upon the green. Then comes a description of the changing seasons. The whole passage reaches its conclusion with the assurance that

Cum semel haec animum coepit mulcere voluptas,
Debilibus pinnis inritus exit Amor.¹⁴

II. W. W. Greg stated that during the Middle Ages the "stream of pastoralism was reduced to the merest trickle",¹⁵ therefore, it is not a great disappointment to discover that the literature of this period adds little to the present study. Neither *Petrarch* nor the Renaissance Latin pastoralists, however significant they may be to a study of the historical development of the pastoral, expand the motive of pastoral delights; in-

¹³ See also the *Georgics*, III, 322-338, which contain a pastoral description of the shepherd's day in the pastures; and for two models of the "come-live-with-me" pastoral, see eclogue two where the invitation is addressed to a lad and eclogue nine containing the famous song, "Huc ades, O Galathea."

¹⁴ Ovid's *Remediorum Amoris*, 169-198 (Loeb Classical Libr., vol. xrv)

¹⁵ W. W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama* (London, 1906), p. 18. James H. Hanford found this to be true also of the history of the pastoral elegy. See "The Pastoral Elegy and Milton's *Lycidas*," *PMLA*, xxv (1910), 426, and R. S. Forsythe reached the same conclusion in tracing the "come-live-with-me" motive (*op. cit.*, 696).

deed, their only contribution was to keep alive the general theme of the beauties of the "golden age"

Petrarch mentioned the joys of country life casually; Tansillo wrote a didactic poem, *Il Podere* (1538) which extols the pursuit of agriculture, Lorenzo de Medici humorously contrasted town and country life. The Italian song writers of the fourteenth century used the theme of the "golden age" over and over, and it is probable that Lorenzo borrowed the theme from these lyrics.¹⁶ From Italy the theme invaded French literature, where the pastourelles sing its praise, this type of French poetry appears, however, to have exerted little influence upon English lyrics

The Latinists of the fifteenth century offer more examples of the use of the theme, but they varied not at all the pattern set by Virgil. What they wrote could be found more conveniently at first hand in the master. The first eclogue of Antonio Geraldini is, however, interesting, for it contains an idea often expressed by Milton. The two speakers in this poem cannot partake of the joys of shepherds and their loves or of the delights of Bacchus, because their mission is serious,—they must meditate upon matters worthy of Minerva.¹⁷ The expression of this serious purpose and of the rejection of pastoral pleasures reminds one of Milton's *Lycidas*, the passage beginning:

Alas! What boots it with uncessant care
To tend the homely, slighted, Shepherd's trade
And strictly meditate the thankless Muse?¹⁸

Other Latin poets of this period were Andrelinus and Mantuanus, but these two added nothing new to the pastoral tradition as it pertains to the handling of the theme of the "ideal day"

III Professor Hanford, in his study of the pastoral elegy, declared that "what Milton owes to the specifically Renaissance developments of the pastoral he derived not so much from the Italian and French direct as through the pastoral tradition of his native land."¹⁹ It is this tradition which must be explored now in order to discover how the Elizabethans and early Jacobean poets treated the theme of the "ideal day" in their pastoral lyrics.

As will be immediately recalled, Wyatt and Surrey introduced the general theme of the superiority of country life over that of the city into the stream of English lyricism. They became acquainted with the subject in Petrarch, and in the Latin poets, especially Horace. But both of these early Elizabethan poets did nothing more than praise the simplicity and

¹⁶ Greg, *op. cit.*, 34

¹⁷ Antonio Geraldini, *Eclogues*, ed by W P Mustard (Baltimore, 1924)

¹⁸ *Lycidas*, ll 64-76 (Student's Cambridge Ed.). ¹⁹ James H Hanford, *op cit.*, 438.

peacefulness of pastoral life, and their theme is that of the "golden mean"; they added no details of personal or realistic significance.²⁰

Among the first pastoralists in English verse is Barnabe Googe, whose work, *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes*, was published in 1563.²¹ Herein the joy of pastoral life is greatly praised, but its treatment is neither extended nor original. For instance, the third eclogue praises the "pleasaunt lyfe" of the country rather generally, eclogue eight exalts the shepherd's happy state for a religious purpose, and an *Epytaph to M Henry Cobham of the Most Blessed State of Lyfe*, which might well have been inspired by Surrey, contrasts the life of town and of country in the customary manner. Only the sixth eclogue presents any detailed pictures of country delights, and even this is an imitation of Ovid's *Remedium Amoris*.

Because the first truly native pastoral poetry is found in the works of Spenser and because his influence upon Milton is known to be great,²² an examination of Spenser's pastoralism should yield considerable return. The search is not disappointing, for Spenser brought to the form of the Latin pastoral, as established by Virgil, the Renaissance characteristic of subjective lyricism,—as he did also to the epithalamium.

To discover Spenser's use of the theme of the "ideal day," it is but natural to turn first to *The Shepheardes Calendar*. The *Maye* eclogue contains a passage, much in the spirit of *L'Allegro*, which describes, in all its typically Elizabethan detail, the pastoral pleasures of Mayday. Palinode begins the eclogue with

Is not thilke the mery moneth of May
When love lads masken in fresh aray? . . .
Youghthes folke now flocken in every where,
To gather May buskets and smelling brere
And home they hasten the postes to dight,
And all the Kirke pillours eare day light,
With Hawthorne buds and wete Eglantine,
And girlonds of roses and Soops in wine

²⁰ Their passages in praise of country life depend solely upon Horace's lines in praise of the "mean estate". for example, see nos. 41, 42 and 52 in Padelford's *Poems of Surrey* (Seattle, 1928), satires 1 and 2 in *Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, ed. by A. K. Foxwell (London, 1913), and in *Tottel's Miscellany*, ed. by H. E. Rollins (Cambridge, 1928) nos. 170 by Grimald, nos. 191, 194, 200, 295, by other Elizabethan poets. In all this early poetry there is very little pastoralism. *Tottel's Miscellany* contains two lyrics which give in some detail pastoral delights. Though not strictly in the pastoral vein, no. 15 by Surrey recounts his youthful pleasures at Windsor and is highly subjective; no. 278, which may have been written by Sir Thomas Sackville, paints in its opening lines a picture of pastoral life from dawn to dusk, see Padelford's "An Unnoted Source of *L'Allegro*," *op. cit.*

²¹ Available in *Arber's English Reprints*, (London, 1871)

²² See E. A. Greenlaw's statement that "Milton well understood Spenser," in "*The Shepheardes Calendar*," *PMLA*, xix (1911), 435.

Such merimake holy Saints doth queme,
But we here sytten as drownd in a dreme ²³

Then the *October* eclogue should be mentioned in passing, for, although it is not concerned with the theme of pastoral delights, it does disclose in pastoral allegory Spenser's poetical plans. He voices his desire to free his muse, to rise above the "oaten reedes," to "reare the Muse on stately stage "

And teache her tread aloft in bus-kin fine,
With quent Bellona in her equippage.

This poem is important here, because it foreshadows the personal attitude towards a patterned life found in *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*.

But the best example of this new subjectivity in the pastoral is afforded by the *December* eclogue. Here the framework is not the day, as it is in Milton's lyrics, but the seasons, interpreted allegorically as the ages of man. Colin (Spenser) sings his own life-song, the "rurall song of careful Colinet." He spends his youth in pastoral sport and pastimes, but in manhood his pursuits are more practical and realistic, such as learning to make frame-cotes to shelter both him and his flock, cages for nightingales, and bulrush baskets. But, like the speaker in *Il Penseroso*, Colin also learns to recognize "the signes of heaven," "How *Phoebe* fayles, where *Venus* sittes and when." Other joys of manhood are learning to understand the sudden raging of the seas, "the soothe of birds," and the "power of herbs." But at the approach of Autumn the fruit that promised to be so fair withers, love, which consumed his summer with too excessive heat, destroys the harvest. Now winter draws near:

Adieu delightes, that lulled me asleepe,
Adieu my deare, whose love I bought so deare:
Adieu my little Lambes and loved sheepe,
Adieu ye woodes that of my wnesse were

Surely the subjective note of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* is not, as some Milton scholars would have it, foreign to the pastoral convention, but actually imbedded in the English tradition, beginning with Spenser (as in *Colin Clouts Come Home Again*) and repeated again and again, as we shall see, by his followers.

There is a later manifestation of the pastoral spirit in Spenser's writing which forms an interesting sequel to the *December* eclogue. Book six of *The Faerie Queene* projects its hero, Sir Calidore, into a pastoral setting where he falls in love with the shepherdess Pastorella. Sir Calidore, while pursuing the Blatant Beast, stumbles upon shepherds piping

²³ Colin's first speech in the November eclogue presents similar imagery

and singing as they watch their flocks, with Pastorella in their midst. So attractive is the scene that he lingers all day, joining in their round of duties and pastimes. That evening, at Pastorella's cottage, he listens to her father Meliboe relating his life story. It is, of course, Spenser's own career told in allegory. The passage begins with praise of the country life and with a resumé of the shepherd's daily routine, then Meliboe confesses that in his youth he was led by vain ambition to neglect his sheep, to cast aside his "shepheards base attire," and to go to court where he sold himself for "yearly hire" and worked "in the Princes garden." But time taught him to see the empty idleness and the follies of the court, therefore he returned to "the lowly quiet life, which I inherite here." Then comes a discussion of the superiority of country over city life, much in the Wyatt or Surrey manner. The remainder of this episode in *The Faerie Queene* is devoted to small pictures of "shepheardes delights,"—their daily tasks, pastimes, and seasonal pleasures.²⁴

The followers of Spenser are especially significant here, for Milton probably knew the disciples before the master.²⁵ Pre-eminent in this group was Michael Drayton. It is obvious at a glance that Milton owed something to the pastoral lyrics of Drayton, who himself proclaimed his work to be in the tradition of English pastoral poetry as established by Spenser. Drayton's *Shepheardes Garland. Fashioned in Nine Eclogues* (1593) gathers together many of the pastoral elements from Theocritus on. The "Seventh Eglog" is a debate between old Borrill and young Batte, one of the most ancient of pastoral molds. Borrill invites Batte to "come and sit with me," the invitational motive again, offering as inducements the beauties of pastoral living. This passage is followed by the usual contrast of country with city life, and then comes the picture of the shepherd's day, descriptions of the gathering of medicinal herbs, of hunting the hare, of setting traps for the fox. These are daily tasks which the shepherd had to perform, but the next stanza depicts pastimes more personal and intellectual, thus introducing a note into the pastoral which *Il Penseroso* developed.

Or if thou wilt in antique Romants reede,
Of gentle Lords and Ladies that of yore
In forreine lands atchiev'd their noble deede,
And been renownd from East to Western shore:
Or learns the Shepheards nice astrolobie,
To know the Planets moving in the skie.

²⁴ *The Faerie Queene*, bk. VI, canto IX. This passage of Spenser's is imitated by Francis Spenser in *Pan's Pipe*, eclogue II, which depicts pastoral sport and pastimes ("Pan's Pipe" by J. W. Bright and W. P. Mustard in *Mod. Phil.*, VII, 4).

²⁵ J. H. Hanford, *Milton Handbook* (New York, 1933), p. 149.

Young Batte, however, is afraid of this austere way of life, he wishes to spend his days with mirth and love²⁶ The contrast of the gay with the melancholy was not a new device with either Drayton or Milton; Tibullus, Geraldini, Spenser, Sidney, Shakespere, knew the value of this combination.

In 1619 Drayton published, together with *The Man in the Moone*, ten eclogues, most of which are but variants of those poems comprising the earlier *Shepheards Garland* Number nine gives a cheerful picture of the shepherd's day from morning to sunset, with homely details similar to those found in *L'Allegro*.

And some preparing for the Shepheards Boord,
Upon a Greene that curiously was squar'd,
With Country Cates be'ng plentifully stor'd,
And 'gainst their comming handsomely prepar'd:
.
And to the same downe solemnely they sit,
In the fresh shaddow of their summer bowres,
With sundrie sweets them every way to fit,
The neighb'ring vale dispoyled of her Flowres
And whilst together merry thus they make,
The Sunne to west a little 'gan to leane,
Which the late fervour, soone againe did slake
When as the Nymphs came forth upon the Plaine²⁷

The Quest of Cynthia (1627) is an invitational "come-live-with-me" poem Cynthia invites her lover to leave the world and partake of country life with her The delights which she offers are the study of herbs, the raiding of honey combs, hunting the squirrel and the deer, watching the spider weave his web, fishing, and dancing, when the moon comes up, with the fairies.²⁸

But Drayton's finest descriptions of country life come from the "sixth nymphall" of *The Muses Elizium* (1630). A forester (Silvius), a fisherman (Halcius), and a shepherd (Melanthus) vie with each other in describing the delights of their day. Nymphs award the prize to the shepherd, whose daily life is indeed a merry one:

My watchfulness and care gives day scarce leave to break
But to the fields I haste, my folded flock to see,
Where when I find, nor wolf nor fox hath injured me,
I to my bottle straight, and soundly baste my throat,
Which done, some country song or roundelay I rote
So merrily, that to the music that I make,

²⁶ Drayton, *Works*, ed by J William Hebel (Oxford, 1931), I, Seventh Eclogue

²⁷ *Ibid*, II, 27-56. ²⁸ *Ibid*, III, 172-220.

I force the lark to sing ere she be well awake
Then Ball my cut-tail'd cur and I begin to play

As the day progresses, the shepherds play games, care for their sheep, and eat their simple meal. Music consumes the evening, and the day is over. There is a description of the shearing feast, and the whole passage concludes with:

Then forester, and you my fisher, cease your strife,
I say your shepherd leads your only merry life ²⁹

Richard Barnfield also wrote in the English pastoral tradition. His *Affectionate Shepherd*, published one year after Drayton's *Shepherd's Garland*, relates, like the seventh eclogue of the last-named poem, the love of an old shepherd for a youth. Old Daphnis offers to young Ganymede the enticements of an "ideal day "

And every Morne by dawning of the day,
When Phoebus riseth with a blushing face,
Silvanus Chappel-Clarkes shall chaunt a lay,
And play thee hunts-up in thy resting-place
My Coote, thy Chamber, my bosome thy Bed,
Shall be appointed for thy sleepy head

And when it pleaseth thee to walk abroad,
(Abroad into the fields to take fresh ayre.)
The meades with *Floras* treasure should be strowde,
(The mantled meadowes, and the field so fayre)
And by a siluer well (with golden sands)
He sit me downe, and wash thine yuory hands

As further enticements, Daphnis adds gifts,—cabinets, arbors of eglantine, fruits, nuts, honey, music, and so on.

If thou wilt come and dwell with me at home,
My sheep-cote shall be strowd with newgreene rushes.
Weele haunt the trembling Prickets as they rome
About the fields, along the Hawthorne bushes;
I haue a pie-bald Curre to hunt the Hare.
So we will live with daintie forest fare ³⁰

The bits which resemble Milton's descriptions are, it seems to me, parts of the general tradition rather than actual sources.

Another description of an ideal pastoral day may be found in Barnfield's *Shepherd's Content*. It opens with the conventional apostrophe, "(Thrice happie man) he knowes not how to weepe," and then a series of "genre" pictures, which have become part of the tradition, follows:

²⁹ *Ibid.*, III, the "Sixth Nymphall" of *Muses Elizium*

³⁰ Barnfield, *Poems*, (1594-1598) (Fortune Press Ed., 1939), pp. 5-6.

He sits all day lowd-piping on a Hill,
The whilst his flocke about him daunce apace,
His hart with ioy, his eares with music fill

Another while he woos his Country wench,
(With chapelets crownd, and gaudy girlonds dight).

Thus doth he frolicke it each day by day,
And when night comes drawes homeward to his Coate,
Singing a jigge or merry Roundelay

A description of the May-day festival concludes the poem.³¹

Before proceeding to an analysis of Browne's and Wither's contributions, reference should be made, in attempting to maintain chronological order, to the most famous anthology of English pastoral poetry, *England's Helicon* (1600, 1614). Herein were printed the best known of all "come-live-with-me" poems, Marlowe's, Raleigh's reply, and the anonymous piece on the same theme sometimes attributed to Lyly.³² But among the finest work in the anthology is Nicholas Breton's *Passionate Pilgrim*, the influence of which upon Milton has been considered by John Lowes.³³ The part of Breton's poem printed in *England's Helicon* opens with the lines:

In the merry moneth of May,
In a morne by breake of day,
Foorth I walked by the Wood side,
When as May was in his pride³⁴

Another poem in this collection, of greater importance to the development of the theme of the ideal day, is *The Herdsmans Happie Life*, which sets forth the beauty of the contented country life. It begins with the contrast of the herdsman's round of duties and pleasures to court life, and gives a series of pictures of the former.³⁵ This poem leans heavily upon the Latin lyrics of Virgil, Horace, and Tibullus, but it also represents a fashionable type of Elizabethan pastoral.

Professor Cory noted that "*L'Allegro*" derives remotely from the Spenserian pastoral as developed by Drayton and his friends, Browne and Wither.³⁶ Here again, however, in so far as the theme of the "ideal day" is concerned, Milton's debt to these two predecessors is slight. It is clear by now that the pastoral elements in *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* be-

³¹ *Ibid.*, *The Shepheardes Content*, pp. 29-34

³² See *England's Helicon*, ed by H. E. Rollins (Cambridge, Mass., 1935)

³³ J. L. Lowes, "*L'Allegro* and *The Passionate Pilgrim*," *MLR*, vi, 206-209

³⁴ *England's Helicon*, no. 12, p. 27. ³⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 104, p. 139.

³⁶ H. E. Cory, "Spenser, the School of the Fletchers, and Milton," *Mod. Phil.*, II, no. 5 (June 17, 1912), pp. 352-353.

long in almost every detail to the long, continuous pastoral tradition rather than to any one period or individual

The first book of William Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals* was published in 1613, the second in 1616, and the third not until after Browne had died, although it was circulated in manuscript during the poet's life. Book two contains a passage on the daytime pursuits of shepherds

But since her stay was long, for fear the sun
Should find them idle, some of them begun
To leap and wrestle, others threw the ball,
Some from the company removed are
To meditate the songs they meant to play,
Or make a new round for next holiday.
Some tales of love their love-sick fellows told,
Others were seeking stakes to pitch their fold
This, all alone, was mending of his pipe
That, for his lass sought fruits more sweet, most ripe
Here from the rest a lovely shepherd's boy
Sits piping on a hill, as if his joy
Would still endure, or else that age's frost
Should never make him think what he had lost
Yonder a shepherdess knits by the springs,
Her hands still keeping time to what she sings,
Or seeming, by her song, those fairest hands
Were comforted in working ³⁷

All the pursuits here are purely traditional, but there is another poem in *Britannia's Pastorals* which is more personal and therefore more in the spirit of *Il Penseroso*.

Instead of hounds that make the wooded hills
Talk in a hundred voices to the rills,
I like the pleasing cadence of a line
Struck by the consort of the sacred nine.
In lieu of hawks, the raptures of my soul
Transcend their pitch and baser earth's control. . . .
Such of the Muses are the able powers,
And since with them I spend my vacant hours,
I find no hawk, nor hound, nor other thing,
Tournes nor revels, pleasures for a king,
Yield more delight ³⁸

Throughout *Britannia's Pastorals* there are a number of words and phrases, favorites with Browne, which Milton also liked to use, such as *jocund*, *Cimmerian*, *neat*, "*uncouth cell*."

³⁷ *Poems of William Browne of Tavistock*, ed. by Gordon Goodwin, Muses' Libr. (London, 1894), I, song 2, ll. 264-266.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, II, iv, 171-205.

The Shepherd's Pipe is a collection of eclogues generally attributed to Browne, who, however, might have had the aid of Wither and others in its composition. Eclogue five is autobiographical description of the shepherd's day, apparently modelled upon Spenser's October eclogue. Cuttie (Browne) and Willie (who may have been Wither) lead out their sheep in early morning, count them, and then

Underneath a hawthorn by them,
On their pipes thus 'gan to play,
And with rhymes wear out the day.

Willie asks his friend why he does not fashion songs of greater scope than pastorals, to which the latter replies:

I dare not search the hidden mystery
Of tragic scenes, nor in a buskin'd style
Through death and horror march, nor their height fly
Whose pence were fed with blood of this fair isle
It shall content me on these happy downs
To sing the strife of garlands, not for crowns

Then Cuttie turns around to ask:

Why doth not Willie then produce such lines
Of men and arms as might accord with these?

The epic intent is nicely conveyed by the direct translation of the Virgilian *arma virumque*. But Cuttie promises to attempt such a song

And sing it to our swains next holiday,
Which (as approv'd) shall fill them with the store
Of such rare accents, if dislik'd, no more
Will I a higher strain than shepherds use,
But sing of woods and rivers, as before ³⁹

The only other work which deals with the theme of the ideal day is a paraphrase of Horace's second epode, "Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis" ⁴⁰

George Wither was not only Browne's contemporary but also his close friend. The strength of this relationship makes it all but impossible to evaluate their work separately. Wither's finest expression of the fitness of the pastoral life for a devotee of the Muses is in the fifth eclogue of *The Shepherd's Hunting* (1614):

Nor would I wish thee so thy self abuse
As to neglect thy calling for thy Muse,
But let these two so each of other borrow,
That they may season mirth, and lessen sorrow.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, see the "fifth Eclogue" of *The Shepherd's Pipe*.

⁴⁰ See above, p. 407 for a discussion of this Horatian epode.

Thy flock with help thy charges to defray,
 Thy Muse to pass the long and tedious day
 Or whilst thou tun'st sweet measures to thy reed,
 Thy sheep, to listen, will more near thee feed,
 The wolves will shun them, birds above thee sing,
 And lambkins dance about thee in a ring," etc.⁴¹

This passage is another illustration of the subjective mood in pastoralism.

Another post-Spenserian is William Basse, whose pastoral poetry Milton might have known.⁴² Basse wrote three pastoral elegies in 1602, the last of which contains a pleasant "Song" to the delights of the shepherd's life:

When shepherds sit upon the hills,
 Nursed in their swainish wills,
 Young, and in desire unripe,
 Curious of the flocke and pipe,
 Then is swaynish life the best,
 And he that cares and loues the best,
 Thinkes he fares about the rest.⁴³

Although Basse's work did not contribute anything to Milton's, nevertheless the former is a part of the general English pastoral tradition.

The Fletchers are the best known of all Spenser's imitators, and their poetry did, without doubt, influence Milton. It is, however, Phineas' work alone which contributes to this study. All of his *Piscatorie Eclogues* are autobiographical, telling in allegory the author's own career. Eclogue seven uses the ancient pastoral frame of the debate, the shepherd Thomalin and the fisherman Daphnis alternately sing the delights of each other's life.⁴⁴ Like Horace's love for his Sabine farm is Phineas Fletcher's feeling for his native Kent. In "To E. C. in Cambridge, My Sonne by the University" the delights of this "garden spot" of England are described,⁴⁵ and the first canto of *The Purple Island* deals with the same theme.⁴⁶

The Purple Island contains also an extended passage on the theme of the "ideal day." It opens, in the traditional manner, with an apostrophe

⁴¹ *Poetry of George Wither* (Bullen ed. 1902), II, Eclogue five of *Shepherd's Hunting*, II 151-182.

⁴² See *Poetical Works of William Basse* (London, 1893), note on p. 99, where the editor Richard W. Bond claims that a description of Hymen in Basse's *A Morning After Mourning* is a likely source for l. 125 of *L'Allegro*.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴⁴ *Poems of Phineas Fletcher*, Grosart Ed. (1869), II, 323-324. Another passage in praise of the fisherman's life may be found in *Sicelides A Piscatorie*, III, 51.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 213-215.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, "The Purple Island," IV, canto I, stanzas 28-30, pp. 50-51.

to the happy shepherd, whose life is thereupon contrasted with that of the city.

Thrice, O thrice happy shepherd's life and state!
 When courts are happiness' unhappy pawns!
 His cottage low, and safely humble gate
 Shuts out proud Fortune with her scorns and fawns
 No feared treason breaks his quiet sleep:
 Singing all day, his flocks he learns to keep,
 Himself as innocent as are his simple sheep . . .

Instead of music, and base flattering tongue,
 Which wait to first salute my Lord's uprise,
 The cheerful lark wakes him with early songs,
 And birds' sweet whistling notes unlock his eyes
 In country plays is all the strife he uses,
 Or song, or dance, unto the rural Muses;
 And but in music's sports, all differences refuses

His certain life, that never can deceive him,
 Is full of thousand sweets, and rich content
 The smooth-leaved beeches in the field receive him,
 With coolest shades, till noon-tide rage is spent,
 His life is neither tost in boisterous seas
 Of troublous world, nor lost in slothful ease;
 Pleased and full blest he lives, when he his God can please ⁴⁷

The pastoral work of Nicholas Breton cannot be overlooked, for it was well known to Milton. Breton loved the light octosyllabic couplet, and it is largely for this reason that he is cited as a Miltonic source. Breton handled the theme of the "ideal day," but his "delights" are impersonal and traditional

Who can live in heart so glad
 As the merrie country lad?
 Who upon a fair green balk
 May at pleasure sit and walk,
 And amid the azure skies
 See the morning sun arise

Then follow scenes of hunting, fishing, and love-making ⁴⁸ Breton did another lyric on the joys of the contented life,—a poem much like Dyer's "My Mind to Me a Kingdom Is,"—but here again the pictures of delights are conventional.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, iv, canto xii, stanza 2 ff. Reprinted in E. K. Chambers' *English Pastorals* (New York, 1895), pp. 184-186

⁴⁸ *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical, from Romances and Prose Tracts of the Elizabethan Age* (Bullen Ed 1890), pp 108-110

Thomas Lodge is the last of Milton's predecessors to be considered here. Although he wrote eclogues in the traditional pastoral vein, they contain nothing of note on the theme of the ideal day. But another work of his, *Scyllaes Metamorphosis*, includes a poem "In Commendation of a Solitary Life," which much resembles Milton's twin poems in the combination of autobiographical and pastoral elements. First of all, the author summons his Muse to help him dismiss worldly thoughts. He bemoans the fact that all his former labor has been fruitless—an expression which recalls Milton's similar complaint in the *Lycidas* passage "Alas! What boots it with uncessant care?"—and vows that henceforth he will live "contented wise." But where does content dwell? Surely not in courts or in cities,—and then comes the usual diatribe on town life, which Lodge here used to tell some of his own London experiences.

Ah, world farewell, the sight hercof dooth tell
That true content dooth in the desert dwell

Sweet solitarie life, thou true repose
Wherein the wise contemplate heaven aright .

At peepe of day when in her crimson pride,
The morne bespreds with roses all the waie
Where *Phoebus* coach with radiant course must glide,
The Hermit bends his humble knees to pray .

And so, with the conventional details of the "solitarie life," Lodge's poem continues.⁴⁹ The hermit's day differs little from that of the herdsman, the shepherd, or the fisherman.

It is evident by now that the theme of the "ideal day" was a favorite one with Renaissance English poets. No survey, attempting to cover so long a period of literary history as this paper does, can claim to be exhaustive. Only the chief works of pastoralism have been discussed, the anthologies, song books, and commonplace-books of the Elizabethan age contain many more examples of the theme. But the majority of pastoral lyrics are only an endless repetition of the same material and only echo traditional matter. This paper has been successful if it has demonstrated that Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* are concerned with an ancient and well established pastoral theme, that their personal and melancholy elements are rooted in the tradition of pastoralism, and that their form or organization first received full expression by Virgil.

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⁴⁹ Edward A. Tenney, *Thomas Lodge* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1935), pp. 101-103.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF DRAGOON

The etymologists of the various modern languages are practically agreed in tracing back the word for *dragoon*, usually through the medium of the French *dragon*, to Latin *draco*, *draconem*. The *Deutsches Wörterbuch* of the Grimms has the following definition of *Dragoner*:

leichter reiter, der ein feurgewehr hat und auch zu fuß fechten muß ursprünglich ein fußsoldat der sich des pferds bloß zum schnellen fortkommen bedient franz *dragon*, ital *dragone*, dan. *dragon*, bohm. *dragon dragaun* ohne zweifel findet eine beziehung auf *drache* statt, die aber nicht bekannt ist die *draconarii* des Vegetius, auf deren standarte sich ein drache befand, sollen anlaß zu der benennung gegeben haben . . als die ersten dragoner betrachtet man die landsknechte und fußsoldaten, welche der prinz von Parma, als er 1582 die schlacht bei Gent liefern wollte, auf packpferden mit der reiterei voraus gehen ließ, um die nachhut des feindes anzugreifen andere glauben graf Ernst von Mansfeld habe sie im dreißigjährigen krieg erfunden . .

Grimm does not cite a single early instance of the word. Hans Schulz, in his *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch* (1913) has the following statement:

Dragoner M im 30jahr Krieg aus frz *dragon* entlehnt, zu dem *Tragoner* zunächst nur als Plur. gebildet wurde (so 1627 Erzählung d Schlacht bei Dyrshaw A 2^b. 1633 Konstanzer Belagerung S 7 1634 Überlinger Belagerung S 15. Ens 1636 Postreiter S 27 77 Burster 1647 Schwed. Krieg S 19) Frz *dragon* war eigtl der Name einer Art von Kavalleristen, die mit einer neuen Feuerwaffe (sie hieß frz *dragon* '[feuerspeiender] Drache', vgl Murray) ausgerüstet waren und anfangs auch als Fußtruppe verwendet wurden.

Kluge-Gotze, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, (1934), adopts the statement of Schulz, at the same time adding a single earlier instance, from Wallhausen 1616 *Kriegskunst* 2: "*Dragoens*, sonst auch *Draguner* " The suggestion of Schulz, that the form in *-er* was originally meant as a plural, is likewise accepted by Kluge-Gotze

Franck's *Etymologisch Woordenboek der nederlandsche taal* (second edition, 1912) states that the Dutch word *dragonder* comes from the French, either directly or through the German:

Dragonder znw, sedert de 17 eeuw Of direct van fr *dragon* met een ndl suffix gevormd, evenals hd. *dragoner* m, of met dit laatste ontleend. Het fr. word—*dragon* "draak". de soldaten zijn naar een vaandel genoemd, waarop een draak voorkwam.

In the case of French, practically all etymologists assume a connection between *dragon*, 'soldier' and *dragon*, 'standard'; for example, Oscar Bloch in his *Dictionnaire étymologique* (Paris, 1932):

Dragon . . . le sens de "soldat de cavalerie," fin du xvi^e siècle (*dragon* a passé en ce sens dans les langues voisines), est dû au sens d' "étendard" que *dragon* a eu depuis le xiii^e siècle, d'où "soldat combattant sous cet étendard" . . .

But Bloch—and he alone of French etymologists—adds: "mais l'explication d'après laquelle les dragons ont été ainsi nommés au xvi^e siècle parce qu'ils avaient un dragon sur leur étendard est une simple hypothèse de Voltaire." Bloch is here alluding to lines 240–243 of Voltaire's *Fontenoy*, written in 1745:

Bientôt vole après eux ce corps fier et rapide
Qui, semblable au dragon qu'il eut jadis pour guide,
Toujours prêt, toujours prompt, de pied ferme, en courant,
Donne de deux combats le spectacle effrayant

These lines are cited in various French dictionaries, for example, those of Littré and Bescherelle, Voltaire's note to line 240 reads: "L'opinion la plus vraisemblable sur l'origine du mot *dragon* est qu'ils portaient un dragon dans leurs étendards, sous le maréchal de Brissac, qui institua ce corps dans les guerres du Piémont."

This etymology, as we shall immediately see, is not a mere hypothesis of Voltaire, for Gilles Ménage (1613–92), in his *Origines de la langue françoise* (Paris, 1650), page 784, has the definition:

Dragons Sorte de soldats Les Latins ont usé de *Draconarii* en cette signification Vegece liure I. chap. 20 et liure II chap. 7 *Signiferi qui signa portant, quos nunc Draconarios vocant.*

Antoine Furetière (1620–88), in his *Essais d'un dictionnaire universel* (Amsterdam, 1685), takes exception to this etymology: "Ménage dérive ce mot du Latin *Draconarij*, qu'on trouve dans Vegece dans la signification de Soldats, mais il y a plus d'apparence qu'il vient de l'Allemand *wagen*, ou *draghen*, qui signifie Infanterie portée."

In the 1694 edition of Ménage's *Dictionnaire étymologique*, published after his death by Chastelain, the original definition of dragons was expanded to read as follows:

Dragons. Soldats qui combattent à pié et à cheval Lat *dimichae*, et *dimachi*. De *Dracones*, dit pour *Draconarii*. Végèce livre 1. chapitre 20 et livre 2. chapitre 7 *Signiferi, qui signa portant, quos nunc Draconarios appellamus* . . . Et ces soldats étoient ainsi appelez acause des dragons qu'ils portoient dans leur enseignes Modestin dans son livre de *Vocabulis rei militaris*. *Signiferi, qui signa portant, quos nunc Draconarios vocant: dracones enim per singulas cohortes à Draconariis feruntur ad proelium* Quoyque nos Dragons ne soient pas Porten-
signes, il peut estre qu'ils aient pris leur nom de ces *Draconarii*.

At this place the 1750 edition of Ménage reproduces verbatim the statement of Furetière as above given, with the withering remark:

"*Draghen* ne signifie rien en Alleman Et *tragen*, qui est un mot Alleman, ne signifie point *Infanterie portée*, mais *porter* M "

We thus see that the etymology attributed by Bloch to Voltaire was discussed in French dictionaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And from the words, "l'opinion la plus vraisemblable" we may assume that Voltaire had several etymologies before him, that is, those of *Ménage* and *Furetière*. Grimm's reference to "*die draconarii* des *Vegetius*" perhaps goes back to *Ménage*: where Voltaire got the reference to Marshall de Brissac, is uncertain—perhaps from a dictionary inaccessible to me. The only sixteenth-century instance that I have seen cited is that of Littré (II 1238^e), from the *Satyre Ménippée* of 1594 (p. 114 of the edition of Josef Frank, 1884):

car ces politiques ont des dragons sur les champs, qui prennent tous vos paquets et devinent par art diabolique tous vos chiffres, aussi bien que ceux du Roy d'Espagne et du Pape, tant subtils puissent-ils estre

After *dragon* Littré inserts in brackets the definition: *arquebusiers à cheval ainsi nommés dès 1585*, which, of course, is not found in the original, but goes back presumably to the edition of Charles Read (1876), who has the note: "Argoulets, arquebusiers à cheval, appelés dragons en 1585" (cited by Frank, p. 114, Read's edition is not accessible to me).

In order to determine whether this definition of Littré and Read is borne out by authors contemporary with the *Satyre Ménippée*, I took the trouble to run through several thousand pages of French memoirs and chronicles of the sixteenth century in which military matters are recorded, to find, if possible, the earliest instances of *dragon* in the military sense. The results are as follows:

The terms *hommes d'armes*, *gens d'armes*, and *gendarmerie* are used to designate heavy cavalry in general, that is, cavalry with heavy defensive armor. Light cavalry is designated as *chevaux légers*, *cavallerie légère*, or simply *cavallerie*. For example, Bertrand de Salignac, in describing events of 1553, mentions "une troupe de gendarmerie et cavalerie" (*Nouv. Coll.*¹ VIII 559^a); on page 560^b the corresponding terms are: "hommes d'armes . . . chevaux legiers." François de Rabutin, recording events of 1555–57, writes: "deux mille chevaux de gendarmerie et cavalerie" (*Nouv. Coll.* VII, 511^a), "gendarmerie, cavallerie et gens de pied" (p. 512^b), "six mille chevaux de gendarmerie, cavallerie et reitres," (p. 537^b).

In addition to these general designations there are a number of other terms, referring, as a rule, to some special and characteristic equipment of the soldier in question.

¹ This abbreviation designates Michaud's *Nouvelle Collection de Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de la France*

Lancier (or *lance*) is so widespread that no special examples need be cited, the word designates heavy cavalry, i.e. a soldier provided with defensive armor: originally all *hommes d'armes* and *gens d'armes* were *lanciers*.

Corselet: this term for cuirass is also applied to the soldier who wears it, he belongs, like the *lancier*, to the heavy cavalry. Blaise de Montluc, recording events of 1543, says: "Que si les corselets eussent peu cheminer comme nos arquebusiers, je les eusse deffaits là, mais il n'estoit possible, pour la pesanteur de leurs armes" (*Nouv. Coll.* vii, 50^a)

Salade, 'sallet' designates first a kind of helmet, and then also the soldier equipped therewith; the word is frequent in the *Commentaires* of Blaise de Montluc, describing events of 1543: "et donna vingt cinq salades au jeune Tilladet et au capitaine Ydrou, chevaux legers de ladictie compagnie" (*Nouv. Coll.*, vii, 41^b), "ayant avec luy quinze salades du seigneur Mauré, et vingt arquebusiers à cheval" (p. 49^a), "entre ces trente salades, il y avoit des meilleurs hommes que M de Termes eust en toute sa compagnie" (p. 50^b).

Arquebusiers à cheval, (or *harquebusiers à cheval*) are mentioned by various authors, e.g. by François de Rabutin, describing events of 1551-53: "harquebusiers à cheval" (*Nouv. Coll.* vii, 406^a), "harquebuserie à cheval . . . harquebusiers à cheval . . . l'harquebuz de trois pieds de long à l'arçon de la selle" (p. 409^b); "cinquante harquebuziers à cheval, armez de corselets, morions, brassats ou manches de maille, avec la scopette ou harquebuz propre à meche, ou à rouet" (p. 457^b). After 1600 the term *arquebusier à cheval* is rarely met with, being replaced by *carabin*, or, less frequently, by *mousquetaire à cheval* "Il prit cent cinquante mousquetaires, ou arquebusiers à cheval" (*Mémoires du Marquis de Beauvais-Nangis*, written in 1637 of events of 1577, and published in *Société de l'histoire de France*, Vol. 112, p. 19); "avec des mousquetaires à cheval de notre régiment" (*Mémoires du Comte de Souigny*, written before 1638 of an event of 1622, *Société de l'histoire de France*, Vol. 328, p. 87); "les mousquetaires à cheval du Roi" (*Mémoires de Bassompierre*, in *Nouv. Coll.* xx, 293^a, event of 1629).

Carabins are mentioned by François de Rabutin, recording events of 1552: "quatre cens chevaux, desquels une partie estoit gentilshommes du pays, et le surplus chevaux legers et harquebusiers, que les François ont appellé depuis carabins" (*Nouv. Coll.* vii, 421^b). Gaspard de Saulx, recording events of about 1559, gives a fanciful etymology: "Les arquebuziers à cheval sont necessaires pour couvrir et advertir l'armée . . . Le nom de *carabin* a esté apporté de nos predecesseurs de la guerre sainte: *carra* en turc, c'est à dire soldat, et *bei*, du seigneur" (*Nouv. Coll.* viii, 74^a). Bassompierre, narrating events of the first quarter of the seven-

teenth century, frequently mentions *carabins*, with also one instance of *carabiniers*. "nos quatre compagnies de carabiniers" (*Nouv. Coll* xx, 105^a)

Contemporary with *carabin* is *reitre*, *reistre*, or *rettre*, doubtless applied originally to German cavalrymen, as this term is frequently coupled with *pistollier*, these two words have here been grouped together: "cinq à six mille chevaux, la pluspart reîtres ou pistolliers, avec aucuns gendarmes clevois" (François de Rabutin, *Nouv. Coll* vii, 498^b, the events in this and the following instances from Rabutin are dated between 1554 and 1558), "deux cornettes de leurs reistres" (p. 503^b), "quinze mille chevaux, tant de leur gendarmerie que de reîtres et pistolliers, qui estoit toute leur plus grande force" (p. 537^b), "il fit une reveue generale, tant de la gendarmerie, cavallerie et reîtres, que des gens de pied, françois et allemands" (p. 555^a), "deux troupes d'ennemis, partie reîtres, partie cavallerie, chacune de douze à quinze cens chevaux (p. 599^a), "Bon nombre de pistolliers vindrent encores du camp" (Bertrand de Salignac, in *Nouv. Coll* viii, 537^b, event of 1553), "car ce gros nombre de pistolliers revint de grand furie sur eulx" (p. 538^a), "avec les espées seulement, réservé les reistres qui avoient leurs pistolets" (Jean de Mergéy, in *Nouv. Coll* ix, 570^b, event of 1562), "cinq cents reistres que M. de Bouillon avoit fait lever" (Fontenay-Mareuil, in *Nouv. Coll* xix, 100^a, event of 1615) It appears from these and other examples that the characteristic arm of the *reitre* was the pistol, which could be discharged with one hand,² whilst the longer *carabin* required both hands for its manipulation, in a single instance the *reitre* is armed with an *arquebuse*. "les cinq cents chevaux, qui étoient arquebusiers reîtres" (Bassompierre, *Nouv. Coll* xx, 31^a, event of 1604).

Reviewing the examples occurring in French texts from about 1530 to 1630, we find, in addition to the general terms *hommes d'armes*, *gens d'armes*, *gendarmerie*, *cavallerie*, *cavallerie légère*, and *chevaux légers*, the following special designations of mounted soldiers: *lance*, *lancier*, *corselet*, *salade*, *arquebusier à cheval*, *mousquetaire à cheval*, *carabin*, *carabinier*, *reitre*, and *pistollier*, but not a single instance of *dragon*. A number of instances can be cited from French military texts of the sixteenth century, of a kind of soldier fighting both on horseback and on foot, but these lack, as yet, the name of dragoons, later assigned to such troops. Martin de Bellay, for example, in his *Mémoires* of the year 1543 (*Nouv. Coll*, v, 516^b), describes a troop of soldiers of Pierre Strossy:

² Compare the *Mémoires* of Martin du Bellay, dealing with an event of 1544 "et furent tuez de coups de pistoles, qui sont petites harquebuses qui n'ont qu'environ un pied de canon, et tire'l'on avecques une main, donnant le feu avecques le rouet" (*Nouv. Coll* v, 548^a).

trois cens soldats toscans, tous signalez, ayans esté ou capitaines, ou lieutenans ou enseignes; et estoient armez de corcelets doiez, avecques chacun un cavalin viste et dispost, les deux pars portans la picque, et la tierce l'arquebouze, allans tousjours avecles coureurs, et, s'il estoit besoing de combat ou d'assaillir un fort, ou garder un passage, ou le conquérir soudain, se mettoient à pied, et ne leur faloit nul sergent pour les mettre en bataille, parce que d'eux-mesmes chacun sçavoit qu'il avoit à faire, car ils avoient tous commandé

A similar account is found in the *Commentaires* of Blaise de Montluc, describing an event of the year 1544 (*Nouv Coll*, VII, 68^b):

ce qui fut cause qu'ils prindrent tous les arquebusiers qu'ils peurent à cheval, et vindrent toujours courans si à propos, qu'ils trouverent monsieur d'Anguyen qui suivoit les ennemis, n'ayant un seul arquebusier avec luy Lesquels, mettans pied à terre, se mirent sur leur queue, et ledit seigneur d'Anguyen avec la cavalerie, tantost aux costez, tantost à la teste, poussant la victoire.

Similarly, in the *Mémoires* of St. Auban (*Nouv Coll*, XI, 511^a) there is recorded an event of the year 1587: "soixante harquebusiers à cheval qui avoient mis pied à terre à un bois taillis." In the same way, the Duc d'Angoulême writes (*Nouv Coll* XI, 84^a): "de le soustenir de deux cens chevaux-légers, pied à terre, avec haliebardes." Also, the *Mémoires* of Gaspard de Saulx, written before 1629 of an event of 1570, contain an entry (*Nouv. Coll.*, VIII, 347^b): "M de Guise . . . nous commande de soustenir et attendre la charge de pied coy, sans nous avancer; fait mettre pied à terre à deux cens arquebusiers à cheval, tirez des regiments de gens de pied." The Duc de Rohan, in his *Mémoires* dealing with the years 1620-37, says similarly (*Nouv. Coll*, XIX, 637^b): "Le duc, qui à peine avoit mis pied à terre, part, fait monter à cheval des mousquetaires, et s'achemine en diligence pour secourir La Rive"

In all these instances we see horsemen fighting on foot, or infantry mounted on horseback, but nowhere is there a single instance of the word *dragon*

The same state of affairs prevails in Dutch military chronicles of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: footsoldiers are transported on wagons or on horseback, cavalymen fight on foot, but the word *dragoon* never makes its appearance. The following instances are from Emanuel van Meteren's *Historien der Nederlanden*, extending up to the year 1612, and first printed in 1614:³

met haer beste ghewapende volck ende Ruyters te voet (f. 334^d, event of 1595); met 900 paerden ende ses hondert Schutten te voet, op Paerden met leren Kus-sens gerust (f. 477^e, event of 1604), is Prince Mauritz met 26 Vaendelen Ruyteren,

³ The edition of 1614 is not accessible to me, the references below are to Volume four of the edition of Amsterdam, 1652.

ende drie duysent te voet op Wagens gheset, in der haest over Rijn ghetrocken (f 505^e, event of 1605), met alle de Cavallerije, ende ontrent 24 hondert te voet van verscheyden Natien, die hy dede op Wagenen voeren (f 505^d, event of 1605), met alle zijn Cavalerije, met drie duysent voetvolcks op waghens geladen (f. 506^b, event of 1605), soo heeft den Ritmeester Hassebruyn, met noch een Vaandel Ruyters, elck een Musquettier (Duytschen ende Switsers) achter op sijn paert ghenomen (f 513^d, event of 1606), een goet deel Ruyterije van de Vereenighde Landen mede een deel voetvolcks op Boeren paerden, meynende daer mede te slaen twee Regimenten knechten (f 525^d, event of 1607), ontrent veerthien Cornetten paerden, . . met noch twee hondert Musquettiers met toebereyde Waghenen, om die met der haest op den *Rende-vous* te voeren (f 610^e, event of 1610)

In the first of the above instances we see cavalry fighting on foot; in all the remaining cases the problem was to transport foot-soldiers as quickly as possible to the scene of action: in four cases, wagons were used, in two cases, farm horses were available, and in one instance every cavalryman had a musketeer mounted behind him. But as yet we find no special name for this new kind of soldier, and the word *dragoon* is nowhere used by Van Meteren.

In the same way Anthonis Duyck, whose contemporary *Journal*⁴ describes some of the same events, mentions *lancien*, *lanciers*, *cuirassen*, *cuirassiers*, *carabyns*, *carabyn ruyteren*, *harquebusiers te peert*, and *pistoletiers*, but he does not know the word *dragonder*.

A third Dutch author describing the same events narrated by Van Meteren and Duyck is P. Bor,⁵ who, however, wrote thirty and more years later than Duyck: in the course of these thirty years the word *dragonder* had evidently been introduced into the Dutch language:

heeft den Hertog van Nevers, zijnde tot S. Quintin, 100. Dragonders (dat zijn musquettiers te paerde) elk met een sak buspoeders op haer paerden, gesonden na Chastelet (p 26^a, event of 1595), eenige troupen van Arquebusiers te paerde en Dragonders, die voor yder hoop trokken, om den schermutsel aen te vangen (p. 39^b, event of 1595), van daer vertrekkende met 500 dragoners, of musquettiers te paerde (p. 54^a, event of 1595), en een half man met 400. dragoners (p. 55^a, event of 1595).

The word could not have been very well known at that time, however, as Bor in two of the above instances finds it advisable to add to *dragonder* the definition: "dat zijn musquettiers te paerde" . . . "dragoners, of musquettiers te paerde."

⁴ *Journal van Anthonis Duyck, 1591-1602* Uitgegeven door Lodewijk Mulder, three volumes, 1862 (in *Archieven voor het nederlandsche krijgswesen*).

⁵ *Oorsprongh, begin en vervolg der nederlandsche oorlogen*, Amsterdam, 1679-1684 The citations below are from Bor's fourth volume, written about 1634

Italian dictionaries record no sixteenth-century instances of *dragone*; further negative evidence may be drawn from the fact that Giorgio Basta a cavalry general on the side of the Spaniards in the Dutch wars for independence, makes no use of the word in his treatise *Il Governo della cavalleria leggiera Trattato Originale del Conte Giorgio Basta, Utile a Soldati, Giovevole à' Guerrieri, et Fruttuoso à' Capitani, et Curioso à Tutti . . . In Venetia, MDCXII* ⁶

In this technical treatise, in which the author continually contrasts the several kinds of cavalry, there is no mention of *dragone*—a tolerably certain indication that the word was not current as a technical term in the Italian language of the period

On page 37 the *Arcobugiero à cavallo* is described: "sarà armato di spada corta, et arcobugio di trè piedi almeno lungo, con portata d'vn' oncia di balla", on page 84 the author states his purpose: "solo di trattare della Caualleria leggiera, cioè lancie, et Arcobugieri separati da ogni fanteria", on page 91 *Lancie* and *Arcobugieri* are compared, on page 102 we read: "per combattere contra altra Caualleria leggiera, cioè lancie, et Arcobugieri . . Finalmente faremo vna comparatione delle Lancie alle Corazze", on page 126 we read "nella sua Caualleria in tal proportionc che delle quatro parti, le due fossere Corazze: l'vna di lancie, e l'altra di Arcobugieri", on page 127 we have. "grossi squadroni, e messa la Nobiltà che vi si troua in fronte, guarniti di squadroni di Caualleria leggiera Lancie, et Arcobugieri, sarebbero per fare grandissimo effetto particolarmente in Francia." A most interesting passage is found on page 96: "potendo gl'Arcobugieri metter il piede à terra, quali in niun altra occasione possono dar tanto aiuto alle lancie, quanto in questa de passi stretti, potendo sopra vn dirupo, . . ." Here we have *Arcobugieri* fighting on foot, just as in some of the French and Dutch examples above cited—but the term *dragone* is not used

We now turn to English Under *Dragoon* the *NED* notes first. "A kind of carbine or musket. So called from its 'breathing fire' like the fabulous dragon. Obs." The earliest examples of the word are dated 1622:

A lieutenant of the late invented Dragoones (being not aboue sixtcene inch Barrell, and full Musquet bore) (1622), If the Regiment be but Dragoones, then a Spanish Morian, and no other Armoi, a light Guelding, a good sword, and a faire Dragoone . . one case of pistolls and a dragoone (1637).

The first English instance of *dragoon* as the designation of a species of soldier is likewise from the year 1622:

To these Low Countries haue produced another sort of Horse-men . . . and

⁶ I used the copy of the University of Michigan. Basta died in 1607, five years before the publication of his treatise see *Nuova Antologia* Aug 16, 1928, pp. 459-473

they call them Dragoons which I know not whether I may returne them Foot-Horsemen, or Horse-Footmen.

We now come to German, where the word is in full vigor several years before the date of the earliest English instances. The form *Dragoen*, not recorded at all in the *DWb*, and cited only in a single instance by Kluge-Gotze, is exclusively and abundantly used in Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen's *Kriegskunst zu Pferd* (Frankfurt a M., 1616).⁷ Our author's family name was actually Jacobi, but he is usually called after his native place, Wallhausen, in the Goldene Aue, between Rossla and Sangerhausen. The dates of his birth and of his death are not recorded: most of the facts concerning his life are gleaned from incidental statements made by him in his various military works, which appeared in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. He was at this time an experienced soldier, having learned the art of war in the Netherlands. One might assume, therefore, that Wallhausen had there acquired the term *dragoon*, but neither Dutch dictionaries nor the contemporary Dutch sources consulted yield even a single instance of the word which Wallhausen so abundantly uses in its strictly technical sense:

die *initia* vnd *fundamenta* der Cavallerie, aller vier Theylen als Lantziers, Kuhrissiers, Carbiners vnd Dragoons (*Kriegskunst zu Pferd*, title-page), Der Dragoen oder zu Pferd mit der Musquet vnnnd Pique . . Der Harquebusiers vnd Dragoens *offensua* (p. 2), Du brauchest zu Dragoens halb Mußquetierer, halb Piquenierer (p. 39), Num 1, Ist die *Compagnie* der Dragoens, so 200 Kopff stark (p. 58), Die Dragoens betreffend, diewel sie ihren *effect* zu Fuß, vnnnd nicht zu Pferd verrichten (p. 83), insonderheit, 2. *Compagnien* Dragoens, so ihre Pferd an ein Hauffen gekoppelt (p. 85), bey den 3 *Compagnien* Dragoens 300. Musquetiers (p. 90), Figura 34, Num 1, die Spieß der Dragoens (p. 91), Die Dragoens in die mitten, als Num 3 . . Die Dragoens aber lasse recht in die Mitte . . einsetzen . . Neme die Spiese der dreyen *Compagnien* Dragoens (p. 92); Auff diese 6. Truppen Dragoens Musquetiers [!], folgen der erste *Compagnie* Dragoens ihre Spieß, als Num 13 . . der zweiten *Compagnie* Dragoens ihr halbes Theyl der Spiesen (p. 97), der zweite *Compagnie* Dragoens . . Zuletzt die letzte *Compagnie* Dragoens ihre Spiese, Num 19 . . Num 1, Ist die erste *Compagnie* Dragoens ihre Spiese . . Auff diese folgen die Dragoens Musquetiers in 6 Truppen (p. 98); Num 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, Seyn 6 Truppen Dragoens Musquetiers, iedere 50. Kopff starck (p. 99)

Wallhausen divides cavalry into four kinds: lancers, cuirassiers, carbiners, and dragoons. Concerning the latter it is expressly stated that they

⁷ The copy of Columbia University, which I used, lacks the title-page. In the account of Wallhausen's life in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (xl, 748), the title is given as "Kriegskunst zu Pferd, darinnen gelehrt werden die *initia* vnd *fundamenta* der Cavallerie, aller vier Theylen als Lantziers, Kuhrissiers, Carbiners und Dragoons, was von einem jeden Theyl erfordert wird, was sie prastiren können sampt deren exercitien . . ."

fight as infantry, and not on horseback. They are thus entirely comparable to the Dutch foot-soldiers of the years 1604–1610 who were transported on horses and on wagons,⁸ the one difference being that Wallhausen introduces a special name for this new kind of soldier. It is further to be noted that Wallhausen's dragoons, like the infantry of that period, were not a homogeneous body, but consisted of both musketeers and pikemen, usually in equal parts. In battle array (compare Wallhausen pp. 98, 99) the pikemen of several companies of dragoons are assembled into one unit, whilst the musketeers of the same companies make another unit. There is no mention of a special fire-arm from which the dragoons might have derived their name.

In 1634 a new edition of the *Kriegskunst zu Pferd*⁹ was published, presumably by Wallhausen himself, as there is no mention of another editor. The text follows that of the first edition, the deviations being mostly of a verbal nature. Most interesting for us is the fact that in all but two cases the form *Dragoen* has been supplanted by *Dragoner* and, in one instance, *Tragoner*, for example:

die Fundament der Cavallery, in vier Theilen. Als im Lantzierer, Kuhrissierer, Carabiner, vnd Tragoner (title-page), wie die vier Sorten der Cavallery. Als da seyn, Lantzierer, Kuhrissierer, Harquebusierer, vnd Dragoner, Behoren gearmiret zu seyn (fol. 11^b verso), Ich solte zwar von den Dragonern ein besonder Capitel beschreiben haben, dieweil sie aber ihren Effect zu Fuß, vnd nicht zu Pferd beweisen (p. 29^b), Num. 1 Ist die Companie der Dragoner, so 200 Kopff starck, 100 Spiess vnd 100. Musquetirer (p. 30^a), Die Dragoner Musquetirer, so in der Mitte der Batallien stehen (p. 48^a), Num. 1 Seyn die zween Flügel Musquetirer von den Dragonern (p. 48^b), Auff diese 6. Troupen Dragoner Musquetirer, folgen der erste Compagny Dragoner ihre Spiess, als Num. 13 (p. 49^a).

From these examples it becomes evident that at some time between 1616 and 1634 the form *Dragoen* was supplanted in German by the form *Dragoner*. Schulz, in his *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch*, I, 157, cites one instance of *Tragoner* from the year 1627, which he explains as an *-er* plural formed on *Dragoen*. A more plausible explanation is to consider this *-er* as a sort of suffix of agency, as in *Lantzierer*, *Kuhrissierer*, *Carabiner*, *Harquebusierer*, *Musquetirer*, and *Piquenirer*, with which words *Dragoner* is constantly in juxtaposition in Wallhausen's text. His tendency to at-

⁸ See the instances cited above from Van Meteren.

⁹ *Kriegs-Kunst zu Pferd, Darinnen gelehret werden, die Fundament der Cavallery, in vier Theilen. Als im Lantzierer, Kuhrissierer, Carabiner, vnd Tragoner. Was von einem jeden in Wissenschaft vnd Übung erfordert wird, vnd was sie praestiren können . . .* Durch *Johannem-Jacobum* von Wallhausen, der loblichen Statt Dantzg bestelten Obristen Wachtmeister. Franckfurt am Mayn, bey Wolffgang Hofmann, In Verlegung Wilhelm Fitzers. Im Jahr M DC xxxiv. 4 leaves, 76 pages, 43 plates, folio. Copy in my possession.

tach this *-er* results also in the formation of *Cavalierer*, the ending of which cannot possibly be construed as the *-er* plural. der lobliche Cavalierer Herr Georg Basta (*Kriegs-Kunst zu Pferd*, 1634, fol 1j^a), deß Woledlen, Gestrengen, hochverstandigen, wolerfahrnen Cavallierer, Herrn Dietrichen Dornhoff (fol 1j^b), Der Cavallierer Herr Georg Basta (fol 11j^b)

Some years after the appearance of the form *Dragoner* in German, the *NED* records the forms *dragoon*, *diagoner*, and *dragonier* in English:

The dragooneers . . are commanded by one Colonell Stafford (1639), That the Dragooners be put into Companies (1642), The kynges horsemen or troopers and dragoners Dragooneers . . (ca 1642), Five several kinds of men at Arms for the Horse Service, Lanciers, Cuirasiers, Harquebuziers, Carabiniers, Dragoniers (1672)

The last instance is of especial interest, as the ending of *Dragoniers* is due to the attraction of the preceding forms

The earliest French instances of *dragon* in the strictly technical sense occur in J T de Bry's translation of Wallhausen's *Kriegskunst zu Pferd* (Francfort, 1616).¹⁰

Every instance of *dragoen* occurring in the German original reappears in the translation in the spelling *drageon*:

La premiere partie á quatre chapitres, selon les quatre sortes et especes de Cauallerie a scauoir Lances, Corraßes, Arqueb et Drageons (fol [5]^v), Chap rv. Des Drageons C'est vne lourde et ridicule armature, mais cependant en son lieu fort conuenable, propre et vtile partie de la Cauallerie, inuentée afin que (considerants qu'il y a plusieurs exploicts militaires, qui ne peuvent estre effectuez par la Cauallerie seule) l'infanterie ou partie d'icelle, montée a cheual, avec ses armes requises, secondast prompte et subitement la Cauallerie Or en voyci l'equipage Pour Drageons tu prendras la moytié de musquetniers, et l'autre moytié de picquiers, chascun armé de ses armes propres, comme il est monstré en l'art militaire de l'Infanterie (p. 37), Quand les Drageons vont attaquer l'ennemy apres auoir, comme il est dit, mis pied a terre, ils iettent la bride de leurs cheuaulx sur col de celui de leurs voysins, ainsi qu'ils demeurent tous ioint de file a file, comme ils auoient marché (p 38), Des Drageons Ie debuois icy faire vn chapitre particulier des Drageons mais d'autant qu'ils font leur exploit non a cheual, mais a pied, j'en renuoye le lecteur desirieux, de scauoir leur qualitez, au lurre premier (p 54)

I have given the context of several of these passages in full, in order once more to stress the point that in 1616, when the word *dragoen*, *drageon* made its first appearance, it was applied exclusively to foot-soldiers riding

¹⁰ I used the copy of the New York Public Library, apparently the only one in the United States, in which the missing title is supplied in manuscript from the Catalogue of the British Museum *Art militaire à cheval . . . J J. von Wallhausen*.

on horseback to the scene of battle. Upon arrival, they dismounted, coupled their horses, and then proceeded to fight as infantry, either pikemen or musketeers. It is expressly stated that they had the regular equipment of either pikemen or musketeers, without any special firearm that would have characterized them as "fire-breathers." Wallhausen's dragoons are in the same class with the mounted foot-soldiers described by Martin de Bellay (1543), Blaise de Montluc (1544), Van Meteren (1595-1610), and Rohan (1637). In all these cases foot-soldiers were transported in some way, be it on wagons, farm horses, cavalry horses, or behind regular cavalymen, in order to expedite their arrival at the battlefield, where they dismounted, and fought as infantry. Nowhere, whether in the French or Dutch chronicles of the sixteenth century, or in Wallhausen's manual, is there the faintest suggestion that these troops carried a special fire-arm that would characterize them as "fire-breathing." The one common characteristic of all these troops is the fact that they were transported to the scene of battle, instead of having to march thither. Accordingly Furetière's guess, in 1685, that the word *dragon* signifies "infanterie portée," and is derived from the German *tragen*, or *dragen* (which latter would be the Dutch or Low German form), has some justification.

Later developments in the application and meaning of the word cannot be taken up here. Whether Wallhausen invented the word, or found it in use in the Low Countries, where he learned the art of war, cannot be determined on the basis of the extant material: the Dutch sources hitherto consulted do not know the word.

We still have to discuss the word *Dragoon*, cited by the *NED* from a text of the year 1622 as designating a fire-arm: "A lieutenant of the late invented Dragoones (being not above sixteene inch Barrell, and full Musquet bore)"; the definition: "So called from its 'breathing fire' like the fabulous dragon" is without any basis of fact, and must be ascribed to the fertile imagination of one of Mr. Murray's collaborators. The English source states that the cavalry pistol which it designates as *Dragoon* had lately been introduced: Van Meteren, in recording events of the year 1597, says:

Daer is gebleken dat de Spiessen niet wel geplaciert . . . niet wel houden mogen tegen de furie van groote Pistoletten ofte Cinckroers, en die men noemt Carabins, die de Ruyterye van Prins Mauritz voerden in dese tocht, in stede van Lancien (f 354^a).

That is to say, Prince Maurice, on a certain expedition, found it advantageous to arm his cavalry with pistols or *cinckroers* (I have not found this word recorded), and carbines, instead of lances. Duyck, in his *Journal* (II, 208), gives more definite specifications:

verclarende dat hij voortaan mer drie compagnien carabins begeerde te hebben . . ende dat d'anderen pistolletiers soudén wesen ende gewapent, te weeten elcken ruyter een casket . . Dat elck ruyter sal voeren een roer van 2 voeten lengte volgende het patroen om met een hant te mogen schieten . .

In other words, there were to be only three companies of carbineers, the length of whose weapon is specified on page 209 as "drie groote mans voeten," whilst all the rest of the cavalry was to be armed with pistols two feet long. It was doubtless a weapon of this kind that the English author referred to as *dragoon*. Where did he get this word? I have found no instances of *Dragoon*, 'fire-arm,' in Dutch or German, but I can cite a German word *Drache* which could easily develop, and in one case did develop, into *dragon* in French. This word *Drache*, used frequently by Wallhausen, is a synonym of *Hahn*, 'cock.'¹¹ The following examples are from Wallhausen's *Defensio Patriae Oder Landtrettung* (Frankfurt, 1621):

nemblich mit Luntenschlosser, daß sie also gemacht, daß man mit dem vordersten Finger den Haan, oder drachen auff die Pfan auffzihe (p. 53), wann im anschlagen, vnd Loßdrucken, die Lonthe in der Handt zu kurtz, so fahret die Lunthe auß dem Hanen oder Drachen herauß (p. 75), So er die Lunthen abgeblasen, so bringt er sie zu dem Haan oder Drachen deß Schlosses, ergreiffet denselbigen bey den Kopff, vnden die zwen Finger, der Daum oben auff der Lunthen liegend, dieselbige in den Haan druckent, also, daß die Lunthe fest darinnen sitze, da dann wohl in acht zu haben, daß ein jeder den Haan oder Drachen mit dem Schraubelein so weit auffthue, vnd zuuor gerath gemacht habe, daß die Lunthen in dem Haanen vest mag eingedruckt werden (p. 76), blase die Lunten ab, . . . bringe sie zur Pfan, setze sie in den Haan oder Drachen, als *Numer. 21.* versuche, ob sie in die Pfanne gehe (p. 79).

¹¹ The word *Drache* as a synonym of the military term *Hahn*, 'cock,' is not recorded by the *DWB* or by Kluge-Gotze. Its Italian equivalent, *draghetto*, 'little dragon,' is cited by Alberto Guglielmotti, *Vocabolario marino e militare*, Roma, 1889: "Draghetto s. m. Manuzzi. Quel ferruzzo in forma di drago, mobile al tocco del grilletto, nella bocca del quale si metteva il miccio per allumare le armi da fuoco, prima dell'acciarino a pietra e a ruota." A similar definition is given for *serpentino*: "Quel ferruzzo serpeggiante, che portava in bocca il miccio acceso per dar fuoco agli antichi schioppi. Si distingueva dal Draghetto, non solo per le forme, ma anche perchè questo abbassava pel piede, e quello per la coda." Neither of these two definitions of Guglielmotti can be definitely dated. He further asserts that *dragone*, 'dragoon,' goes back to the fifteenth century, but his examples do not bear him out. In Italian we also find *cane*, corresponding to the French *chien de fusil*.

Serpentin occurs in French, for example in Wallhausen's *L'Art Militaire, pour l'Infanterie*, Leeuward, 1630: "portez y la mesche et la mettez au serpentín, et tout Mousquetaire, premier que de donner le coup, doit auoir compassé la mesche au serpentín, et regardé s'il est trop large ouvert, ou trop estroit . . . car il peut bien presser la mesche dedans, et le serpentín la tient aussi plus ferme" (p. 41), "Soufflez la mesche. Portez la vers le bassinet, mettez la au serpentín . . . Retirez le Serpentín . . . Otez la Mesche du Serpentín" (p. 47).

The *NED* cites "serpentines or cockes" from a text of 1590.

A single example, but an important one, occurs in Wallhausen's *Kriegskunst zu Pferd* (1616), page 7, and is repeated in the edition of 1634, page 4^b, the equipment of the lancer is described as follows:

Neben der Lantzen fuhret er, wo nicht zwo, doch eine gewisse, geladene Pistol, so ein Vntze Pley schiesset, die hanget er fertig mit Ladung, Spannung, vnd auffgesetztem Drachen oder Haan, die Pulverfleschen oder Patrontasch sampt Spanner auff die Hulffter . . .

This is the only fire-arm in the lancer's equipment. In the French translation of the *Kriegskunst zu Pferd* (Francfort, 1616), page 6, the passage reads:

. . vn bon pistol, tousiours prest, tirant enuiron vne once de balle, bien attaché avec la boette ou tasche des patrons, et la cleff ayant le dragon monté, en son fourreau a l'arçon

We have here a cavalry pistol discharged by means of a *dragon*. It is quite conceivable that the pistol itself should get to be called a *dragon*, just as a gun without a hammer is called a hammerless, a gun with a rifled barrel is a rifle, and a pistol with automatic action is an automatic. The further transfer of the name of the fire-arm or other equipment to the soldier that bears it, is readily understood, and has been abundantly illustrated above, for example in the case of *lance*, *corselet*, *salade*, *carabin*, and *pique*

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XXVII

PLUCHE AND DERHAM, NEW SOURCES OF GOLDSMITH

GOLDSMITH'S extensive borrowings from other writers, especially from French writers, have long been known.¹ It has been established that he was heavily indebted to Buffon, Voltaire, Marivaux, Montesquieu, D'Argens, and the *Encyclopédie*. To these French sources of Goldsmith should be added *La Spectacle de la Nature* of the Abbé Pluche,² published in eight volumes in Paris between 1732 and 1751. *La Spectacle de la Nature* is a medley of popularized scientific knowledge, presented in dialogue form. It includes material on zoology, botany, physics, and astronomy, with a strong teleological motivation. Its popularity in England may be seen in the fact that the English translation appeared in 1733, almost immediately after the first Paris edition, and went into an eighth edition between 1754 and 1763. To the English sources of Goldsmith, moreover, should be added William Derham's *Physico-Theology*,³ first published in London in 1713, which includes astronomy, physics, and natural history, and which, like *La Spectacle de la Nature*, promulgates the argument from design.

Both of these works were in Goldsmith's library,⁴ and he used them extensively. But in borrowing from them he altered the material in order to avoid as much as possible the implications of the argument from design.

I. An entry among the duodecimos in the catalogue of Goldsmith's library reads: "Nature displayed, 7 vols. 1757."⁵ This is probably the eighth edition of the English translation of Pluche's *La Spectacle de la Nature*, listed in the British Museum catalogue as having been published in seven volumes duodecimo in London between 1754 and 1763. Since apparently neither the original Paris edition nor the edition in Gold-

¹ The sources of a vast amount of Goldsmith's work have been determined by Mr. R. S. Crane, Mr. A. L. Sells, Mr. J. E. Brown, Mr. H. J. Smith, Mr. Arthur Friedman, Mr. J. H. Pitman, and others.

² Mr. A. L. Sells refers briefly to Goldsmith's use of *La Spectacle de la Nature* for *An History of the Earth and Animated Nature*, 8 vols. (London, 1774). But he substantiates no borrowings and seems to base the assertion only on Goldsmith's statement. See *Les Sources Françaises de Goldsmith* (Paris, 1924), p. 182, n. 4.

³ Mr. J. H. Pitman includes Derham's *Physico-Theology* among the sources of *An History of the Earth and Animated Nature*. But, like Sells, he substantiates no borrowings, apparently basing his statements on Goldsmith's references. See *Goldsmith's Animated Nature*, Yale Studies in English, LXVI (New Haven, 1924), p. 140.

⁴ See the catalogue of Goldsmith's library in James Prior, *The Life of Oliver Goldsmith*, M. B., 2 vols. (London, 1837), II, Appendix, 583, 585. ⁵ Prior, *Life*, II, Appendix, 583.

smith's library exists in the libraries of the United States, I have used the fourth edition of the English translation of *La Spectacle de la Nature*, entitled *Nature Delineated*, translated by D. Bellamy and published in four volumes duodecimo in London in 1739. The phraseology of Goldsmith in his borrowings from Pluche is very close to the phraseology of the fourth edition of the translation, and indicates a close relationship between the fourth edition and the edition in Goldsmith's library.

Goldsmith leaned heavily upon Pluche for material for his *History of the Earth and Animated Nature*. But there is evidence that he knew and used Pluche as early as 1763, when he was writing the preface and introductions to R. Brookes's *A New and Accurate System of Natural History*. The third paragraph of the introduction to Volume II of Brookes on birds is drawn from Pluche.⁶ The paragraph is concerned with the means by which the feathers of birds are made impenetrable to water. The two passages are subjoined.

But as this lightness of the feathers might frequently be impeded by a shower of rain, or any other accidental moisture, by which means the bird might become an easy prey to every invader, Nature has provided an expedient whereby their feathers are as impenetrable to the water, as by their structure they are to the air. All birds in general have a receptacle replenished with oil, something in the shape of a teat, and situated at the extremity of their bodies. This teat has several orifices, and when the bird perceives its feathers to be dry, or expects the approach of rain, it squeezes this teat with the bill, and strains from thence a part of the contained oil, after which, having drawn to its bill successively over the greatest part of its feathers, they thus acquire a new lustre, and become impenetrable to the heaviest rains, for the water rolls off in large drops. Such poultry, however, as live for the most part under cover, are not furnished with so large a stock of this fluid as those birds that reside in the

But as this Oeconomy, so absolutely necessary, might frequently be obstructed by impetuous Rains, the Great Author of Nature has provided an Expedient for them, whereby their Feathers are as impenetrable to the Waters, as by their structure they are to the Air. All Birds in general have a Bag replenish'd with Oil, which in Shape is like a Dug, or Teat, and is situated at the Extremity of their Bodies. This Teat has divers little Orifices, and when the Bird perceives her Feathers to be dry, dirty, wide-gaping, or likely to be wet, she squeezes this Teat with her Bill, strains from thence an Oil, or viscous Humour, which is reserv'd in the Glands. After this, having drawn her Bill successively over the greatest Part of her Feathers, she oils and dresses them, gives them a Lustre, and fills up all the Vacancies with this slimy Matter. When she has thus done, the Water rolls off her Back, and finds all the Avenues to her Body absolutely clos'd. The Poultry in my Courtyard, who live for the most Part

⁶ Repeated in *An History of the Earth and Animated Nature*, v, 4-5, paraphrased.

open air The feathers of an hen, for instance, are pervious to every shower, whereas, on the contrary, swans, geese, ducks, and all such as Nature has directed to live upon the water, have their feathers dressed with oil from the very first day of their leaving the shell Thus their stock of fluid is equal to their necessity of its consumption Their very flesh contracts a flavour from it, which renders it in some so very rancid as to be utterly unfit for food, however, tho' it injures the flesh, it improves the feathers for all the domestic purposes to which they are generally converted ⁷

under a Covert, are not furnish'd with so large a Stock of this Fluid, as those Birds that reside in the open Air And this is the true Reason, why a Hen, when she's wet, makes such a scurvy Figure Whereas, on the contrary, Swans, Geese, Ducks, Morehens, and all such other Birds, as Nature has directed to live upon the Water, have their Feathers dress'd with Oil, from the very first Day of their Existence Their Magazine contains a Stock of that Oil, in Proportion to the Necessity they lie under of consuming it, which is for ever returning Their very Flesh contracts the Flavours of it, and 'tis obvious to the Observation of every one, but such as are perfectly incurious, that they make a constant Practice of oiling their Feathers ⁸

There is also an echo of Pluche in the introduction to the third volume of Brookes on fish. The voracity of fish and their amazing fecundity call forth the optimistic eighteenth-century explanation of the necessity both for prolific propagation and for unceasing destruction in the natural world. According to the explanation, based in part upon premises derived from the philosophy of the chain of being, one species of creature must prey upon another in order that no species be destroyed and no "chasm" exist in the hierarchy of forms constituting the chain of being When Goldsmith is discussing the prodigious numbers of fish as seen in shoals, and the consumption of these fish by other fish, or by man, he writes:

But this consumption, how great soever, only serves to counterbalance their surprising fecundity, which would, otherwise, overstock the element assigned them for their support The number of eggs contained in the roe of a single cod, and computed by *Lewenhoeek*, amounted to nine millions three hundred and forty four thousand; which, if permitted in every individual to come to maturity, would rather obstruct than replenish nature But two wise purposes are answered by this amazing encrease, it preserves the species whatever may happen, and serves to furnish the surviving fish with a sustenance, adapted to their conformation ⁹

⁷ Introduction to R. Brookes, *A New and Accurate System of Natural History*, 6 vols. (London, 1763), II, xii-xiii.

⁸ *Nature Dehneated*, I, 193.

⁹ Introduction to Brookes, III, xvii.

The optimistic explanation of the problem of evil exemplified in the warfare in nature was widespread in the eighteenth century¹⁰ But the phraseology of the concluding sentence in the paragraph quoted is the phraseology of the translation of Pluche. In *Nature Delineated*, the Prior, the chief speaker of the dialogues, explains to the Countess how the prodigious fecundity of fish exceeds their inclination to prey upon one another, and the Countess replies:

'Tis manifest, however, that there is a double intention in this Fecundity, in the first Place, to preserve the Species, whatever Accidents may happen, and in the next, to furnish the surviving Fish with a plentiful and succulent Subsistence¹¹

There is evidence, however, that Goldsmith may have been familiar with Pluche as early as 1759 in his first published work, the *Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning* An ever-recurring allusion of Goldsmith's, drawn from Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle*, praises the admirable qualities of the beaver and the elephant.¹² In discussing the necessity that a state be permanent in order to insure the proper development of art and science, he draws upon Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle*¹³ for a comparison to prove his point.

But permanence in a state is not alone sufficient, it is requisite, also, for this end that it should be free. Naturalists assure us, that all animals are sagacious, in proportion as they are removed from the tyranny of others In native liberty, the elephant is a citizen, and the beaver an architect; but whenever the tyrant man intrudes upon their community, their spirit is broken, they seem anxious only for safety, and their intellects suffer an equal diminution with their prosperity The parallel will hold with regard to mankind¹⁴

Buffon himself repeats the statement whenever he reiterates one of the chief theses of the *Histoire Naturelle*, that the variations in the species of animals are brought about by many external factors, by food, by climate, and by the influence of man.¹⁵ Buffon, however, does not call the beaver

¹⁰ See A. O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (Harvard University Press, 1936), particularly chap. vii.

¹¹ *Nature Delineated*, I, 264. Repeated in *Animated Nature*, vi, 174-175.

¹² Mr. R. S. Crane has traced the recurrence of the statement in the essays, "The Sagacity of Some Insects," and "A Comparative View of Races and Nations," in the introduction to Volume I of Brookes's *Natural History*, and in *An History of the Earth and Animated Nature*. See *New Essays by Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. R. S. Crane (Chicago, 1927), p. 26, n. 1.

¹³ Georges Louis LeClerc, Comte de Buffon, "Les Animaux sauvages," *Histoire Naturelle*, 52 vols. (Paris, 1785-91), II, 11.

¹⁴ *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. J. W. M. Gibbs, 5 vols. (London, 1885-86), III, 469-470.

¹⁵ Buffon, "Le Castor," *Histoire Naturelle*, III, 34-35, "L'Éléphant," *Histoire Naturelle*, IV, 191, and "Discours sur la Nature des Animaux," *Histoire Naturelle*, XXXV, 278-279.

an "architect." But the translator of Pluche does. In fact, the word *architect* in reference to the beaver is clearly emphasized in *Nature Delineated* in the dialogue which introduces the account of the building of the beaver's dam. The Countess enquires of the Prior about an animal which is an "inimitable Architect." The Prior relates the qualities of the field mouse as a builder. When the Countess demurs, the Prior tells of the porcupine. For the third time, the Countess insists that the creature she means "is an Architect from its Birth."¹⁶ The beaver as an "architect" may, therefore, have come to Goldsmith from Pluche. If so, Goldsmith was familiar with Pluche as early as 1759. This probability becomes greater when it is also known that Goldsmith transferred Pluche's account of the building of the beaver's dam to *Animated Nature*¹⁷ in preference to a similar narrative in Buffon. And the emphasis on the beaver as an "architect" immediately precedes Pluche's account of the dam.

When Goldsmith undertook to compile his natural history in 1774, Pluche became one of the main sources of *Animated Nature*. The list of borrowings from Pluche given below is not extensive in actual numbers, but each borrowing is fairly long, and some of them, as the narrative of the beaver's dam and the account of the lion-ant, run to fourteen hundred and to eighteen hundred words respectively.

<i>Animated Nature</i>	<i>Nature Delineated</i>
Advantages of mountains, from "But to leave these" to "fruitless circulation" i, 141-142	III, 101
Water mixed with air, i, 368	III, 202-203
The beaver's dam, from "This dike, or causey" to the end of the section, iv, 161-167	I, 248-252
The turkey hen, from " 'I have heard' " to " 'from danger' ," v, 181-183	I, 189-190
Web of house-spider, from "When a house-spider" to "dies of hunger," vii, 254-257	I, 63-65
The garden spider, from "The garden-spider," to "seen to reside," vii, 257-258	I, 66
Gloves from spiders, from "Thus there is no" to "ordinary manufacture," vii, 262-263	I, 158-159
The lion-ant, from "The lion-ant in" to "catching its prey," vii, 323-330	I, 145-150
The silkworm, from "There are two methods" to the end of the chapter, viii, 51-60	I, 42-50
The wasp, from "As soon as the summer" to "described above," viii, 97-106	I, 78-88

¹⁶ *Nature Delineated*, i, 244-245.

¹⁷ See *Animated Nature*, iv, 161-167, from "This dike or causey" to the end of the section, which is drawn from *Nature Delineated*, i, 248-252.

The gnat, from "The gnat proceeds from" to "if they be red,"
viii, 152-156 i, 134-137

The gall insect, from "This animal is furnished" to the end
of the chapter, viii, 148-150 i, 130-132

II Goldsmith was heavily indebted to Derham's *Physico-Theology* for the introductions to Volumes i, ii, and iv of Brookes's *Natural History*. He later transferred to *Animated Nature* most of the material borrowed from Derham. In the introduction to the first volume on quadrupeds, Goldsmith discusses the anatomical characteristics of quadrupeds in paragraphs 11, 12, 13, and 14. Not only the actual facts in the description of the teeth,¹⁸ the legs and feet,¹⁹ the heads,²⁰ and the stomachs²¹ of quadrupeds, but also the accompanying emphasis upon the admirable adaptation of those characteristics to the animal's needs come from Derham.

In the introduction to the second volume on birds, paragraphs 2, 4, and 9, describing the ways in which the wings,²² the tails,²³ and the legs and feet²⁴ of birds are adapted to birds' needs are also drawn from Derham.

Three fourths of the introduction to the fourth volume on insects is likewise borrowed from Derham. Paragraph 3 describing the first class of insects,²⁵ paragraph 4 on the motion of caterpillars,²⁶ paragraphs 8, 9, and 10, on the anatomy of insects, describing the eyes,²⁷ feet,²⁸ and wings,²⁹ paragraphs 12 and 13, which discuss the means of self-preserva-

¹⁸ Introduction to Brookes, i, xxviii. Paragraph 11. From William Derham, *Physico-Theology or, a Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God, from His Works of Creation*, 2 vols (London, 1798), ii, 22-33 and note (11). Repeated in *Animated Nature*, ii, 315-316.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, xxviii-xxix. Paragraph 12. From Derham, ii, 215-220 and notes. Repeated in *Animated Nature*, ii, 316-317.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, xxix. Paragraph 13. From Derham, ii, 221, notes (a) and (b), and 227-230 and notes. Repeated in *Animated Nature*, ii, 314-315.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Paragraph 14. From Derham, ii, 28-32 and notes. Repeated in *Animated Nature*, ii, 317-318.

²² *Ibid.*, ii, (xi)-xii. Paragraph 2. From Derham, ii, 248 and note (d), 246, 247 and note (c). The material of this paragraph is also paralleled in the article "Aile" in the *Encyclopédie*, i, 211b-212a. See Arthur Friedman, "Studies in the Canon and Sources of Oliver Goldsmith" (Unpublished Ph D. dissertation, Dept. of English, University of Chicago, 1938), p. 54. Derham is probably the source of the information in the *Encyclopédie*.

²³ *Ibid.*, xiii. Paragraph 4. From Derham, ii, 250 and note (f), 251. Repeated in *Animated Nature*, v, 8-9.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, xvi. Paragraph 9. From Derham, ii, 252, note (i). Repeated in *Animated Nature*, v, 12.

²⁵ Introduction to Brookes, iv, vii-viii. Paragraph 3. From Derham, ii, 335-336, note (a).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, viii. Paragraph 4. From Derham, ii, 337-338, note (e).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, ix-x. Paragraph 8. From Derham, ii, 285-288 and notes.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, x. Paragraph 9. From Derham, ii, 289-290 and notes.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Paragraph 10. From Derham, ii, 292-294 and notes, especially (g) and (h).

tion³⁰ and the procuring of food,³¹ paragraphs 14 and 15, which discuss various means of reproduction³²—all have Derham as a source

The argument from design in the interpretation of the facts of natural history is clearly apparent in Goldsmith's introductions to Brookes's *Natural History*, especially in the passages which are traceable to Derham. The long passage from Pluche quoted above also supports the argument from design. But the emphasis, such as it is in the introductions, is far less pronounced than in Goldsmith's sources. The enthusiasm of both Pluche and Derham for the admirable adaptation of animals' parts to their needs is modified by Goldsmith. When he borrows from these two sources, he alters the material in a way which indicates his disinclination to subscribe wholeheartedly to the strong teleological emphasis of both Pluche and Derham.

Most of the concrete facts of natural history in Derham's *Physico-Theology* are contained in the footnotes. It was Goldsmith's habit, in using Derham, to ignore the text, except for the general topic of discussion, and to rely chiefly upon the footnotes for concrete information. His motives were probably two. He thus avoided, perhaps consciously, Derham's enthusiastic praise of the wisdom of Providence at the same time that he threw into relief the interesting details of natural history which the footnotes contained.

The two examples of Goldsmith's alteration given below indicate both of these motives. In the first example, Goldsmith has omitted such phrases as "very well adapted to that service," "a good instance of the Creator's wisdom and design," "that which deserves especial remark, is that peculiar provision," and others. The second example illustrates more clearly than the first Goldsmith's use of Derham's footnotes. In the second passage, Goldsmith has omitted some of the praises of the wisdom of Providence contained in the footnotes. One should compare Goldsmith's statement on the beaver and the bat with Derham's comments in notes (c) and (e) respectively.

I.

Introduction to Brookes, I, xxix.

The heads of Quadrupedes also differ greatly from each other, for in some they are square and large, suitable to their slow motion, food, and abode, in others, slender, and sharp, the better

Derham, *Physico-Theology*, II, 221

It is remarkable, that in man, the head is of one singular form; in the four-footed race, as various as their species. In some, square and large, suitable to their slow motion, food, and

³⁰ *Ibid*, XI Paragraph 12. From Derham, II, 299–301 and notes.

³¹ *Ibid*, XII Paragraph 13. From Derham, II, 303, note (c).

³² *Ibid*, XII–XIV. From Derham, II, 310–312, notes (c), (d), (e) and (f), 320–322, notes (q) and (r).

to fit them for turning up the earth, of which the Hog is an instance. Some Quadrupedes have long necks, and not very strong, serving chiefly to carry their mouths to the ground, in order to feed, in others they are shorter, brawney, and strong, as in Moles and Hogs, thereby the better to turn up its surface, while in general the Quadrupedes that feed upon grass, are enabled to hold down their heads, by a strong tendonous ligament, that runs from the head to the middle of their back, by the help of which, the head, though heavy, may be held down a long while, without any labour, pain, or uneasiness to the muscles of the neck.

abode, in others, less, slender, and sharp, agreeable to their swifter motion, or to make their way to their food (a).

(a) Thus *swine*, for instance, who dig in the earth for roots and other food, have their neck, and all parts of their head very well adapted to that service.

Derham, II, 227-230

From the head pass we to the neck, no principal part of the body, but yet a good instance of the Creator's wisdom and design, inasmuch as in man it is short, agreeable to the erection of his body, but in the four-footed tribe it is long, answerable to the length of the legs (a), and in some of these long, and less strong, serving to carry the mouth to the ground, in others shorter, brawny and strong, serving to dig, and heave up great burdens (b).

But that which deserves especial remark, is that peculiar provision made in the necks of all, or most granivorous *quadrupeds*, for the perpetual holding down their head and gathering their food, by that strong tendonous and insensible *aponeurosis* or ligament (c) braced from the head to the middle of the back. By which means the head, although heavy, may be long held down without any labour, pain, or uneasiness to the muscles of the neck, that would otherwise be wearied by being so long put upon the stretch.

(b) As in *moles* and *swine*, in c. 2. note (a).

[Notes (a) and (c) omitted.]

II.

Introduction to Brookes, I, xxviii-xxix.

The legs and feet of Quadrupedes are admirably suited to the motion and exercises of each animal. In some they

Derham, *Physico-Theology*, II, 214-219

And what is farther observable also is, that the legs and feet are always admirably suited to the motion and

are made for strength only, and to support a vast unwieldy body, as in the Elephant, the Rhinoceros and the Seahorse, whose feet in some measure resemble pillars. Deer, Hares, and other creatures that are remarkable for swiftness, have theirs slender, yet nervous. The feet of some serve for swimming, as the Otter and Beaver, the toes of these animals are joined together with membranes like those of geese and ducks, which is a sufficient demonstration that they are designed to live in water as well as on land. Though toes of the fore feet of the Beaver are not thus united, because they use them as hands. The feet of some are made for walking and digging, of which the Mole is a remarkable instance, and others for walking and flying, as the Bat. The legs of some are weak, and of others stiff and strong, that they may traverse the ice with less danger. The common Goat, whose natural habitation is on the rocks and mountains, has legs of this kind, and the hoof is hollow underneath, with sharp edges, so that when become domestic, it will walk as securely on the top of a house, as on level ground. Many are shod with rough and hard hoofs, of which some are whole, and others are cloven, some again have only a callous skin, and these are composed of toes which supply the place of hands, as in all of the Monkey kind. Many have only short nails, for their more ready and safe running, or walking, while others have sharp and strong talons, as the Lion, and most ravenous beasts to destroy their prey.

exercises of each animal. In some they are made for strength only to support a vast unwieldy body (a), in others they are made for agility and swiftness (b), in some they are made for only walking and running, in others for that and swimming too (c), in others for walking and digging (d), and in others for walking and flying (e). In some they are made more lax and weak for the plainer lands, in others rigid, stiff, and less flexible (f) for traversing the ice and dangerous precipices of the high mountains (g). In some they are shod and with tough and hard hoofs, some whole, some cleft, in others with only a callous skin. In which latter it is observable, that the feet are composed of toes, some short for bare-going, some long to supply the place of a hand (h), some armed with long and strong talons to catch, hold, and tear the prey, some fenced only with short nails to confirm the steps in running and walking.

(a) The elephant being a creature of prodigious weight, the largest of all animals, *Pliny* saith, hath its legs accordingly made of an immense strength, like pillars, rather than legs.

(b) Deer, hares, and other creatures, remarkable for swiftness, have their legs accordingly slender, but withal strong, and every way adapted to their swiftness.

(c) Thus the feet of the *otter* are made, the toes being all conjoined with membranes, as the feet of geese and duck are . . .

Of the *castor* or *beaver*, the *French* academists say, the structure of the feet was very extraordinary, and sufficiently demonstrated, that Nature hath designed this animal to live in the water, as well as upon land. For although it had four feet, like terrestrial animals, yet the hindmost

seemed more proper to swim than walk with, the five toes of which they were composed being joined together like those of a goose by a membrane, which serves this animal to swim with. But the fore ones were made otherwise, for there was no membrane which held those toes joined together, and this was requisite for the conveniency of this animal, which useth them as hands like a squirrel, when he eats. *Memoirs for a Natural History of Animals*, p. 84

(d) The mole's feet are a remarkable instance

(e) The wings of the bat are a prodigious deviation from Nature's ordinary way . . .

(g) The common tame goat (whose habitation is generally on mountains and rocks, and who delighteth to walk on the tops of pales, houses, etc. and to take great and seemingly dangerous leaps,) I have observed hath the joints of the legs very stiff and strong, the hoof hollow underneath, and its edges sharp. The like, I doubt not, is to be found in the *wild goat*, considering what Dr. *Scheuchzer* hath said of its climbing the most dangerous craggs of the *Alps*, and the manner of their hunting it. *Vide Iter Alpin*, III, p. 9

In these passages from Derham, as well as in the passage from Pluche, not every expression of the argument from design has been omitted. But the tendency to avoid the teleological emphasis of both Pluche and Derham is apparent. What Goldsmith thus tends at least to minimize in 1763 is almost completely abandoned in 1774. *Animated Nature* is distinguished among other popular natural histories of his time for avoiding the argument from design. It is true that explicit teleological expressions may be found in *Animated Nature*. As has already been noted, Goldsmith transferred to *Animated Nature* much of the material in the introductions to *Brookes* which he had drawn originally from Derham, and with it the teleological expressions. But these and any other such expressions are so isolated and so lost in the mass of material in *Animated Nature* that their influence is negligible.

The argument from design was one of the strongest appeals in popu-

larized natural history of the eighteenth century That Goldsmith should abandon the argument from design in his compilation of natural history is the more surprising since four of the sources of *Animated Nature* were strongly dominated by a teleological motive These four were Pluche's *Nature Delineated*, T Pennant's *British Zoology*,³³ Derham's *Physico-Theology*, and Jean Swammerdam's *Biblia Naturae* in translation under the title *The Book of Nature, or The History of Insects*³⁴ *British Zoology* was one of the chief sources of *Animated Nature*,³⁵ and Swammerdam was used fairly extensively³⁶ Other popular natural histories of Goldsmith's time were also dominated by a teleological motive John Ray's *The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of the Creation*,³⁷ Dru Drury's *Illustrations of Natural History*,³⁸ George Edwards' *Natural History of Uncommon Birds*,³⁹ Griffith Hughes' *The Natural History of Barbados*,⁴⁰ Benjamin Martin's *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Philosophy*,⁴¹ Gilbert White's *The Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne*⁴² are all conspicuous for the inquiry into the final causes of the facts of natural history in order to demonstrate the wisdom of Providence in the design of the creation. By comparison with such works, Goldsmith's *Animated Nature* abandoned almost completely the argument from design as a popular appeal to readers.

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³³ Four vols (London, 1768-70)

³⁴ Translated by Thomas Filloyd Revised by John Hill, M D (London, 1758)

³⁵ In *Animated Nature*, Goldsmith turned constantly to *British Zoology* for descriptions of and information concerning English beasts, birds, and fish Some of the longer borrowings from *British Zoology* are the following

<i>Animated Nature</i>	<i>British Zoology</i>
Stag hunting, III, 109-112	I, 34-37
English dogs, III, 285-290	I, 49-56
The mole, IV, 93-96	I, 108-111
The swallow, V, 346-353	II, 242-253
The bustard, V, 194-196	I, 214-216
The gannet, VI, 69-74	II, 479-484
The pilchard, VI, 326-328	III, 291-293

³⁶ Some of the longer borrowings from Swammerdam's *Book of Nature* are the following:

<i>Animated Nature</i>	<i>The Book of Nature</i>
Snails in water, VII, 28-29	Part I, p 74
Reproduction of scorpions, VII, 299-300	Part I, p. 42
Dragonflies, VII, 318-320	Part I, p. 98
Metamorphosis of caterpillar, VIII, 27-31	Part II, 19-20
Metamorphosis of ephemera, VII, 362-365	Part I, p 105-108.

³⁷ London, 1691 The work went through its twelfth edition in 1759

³⁸ Three vols. (London, 1770).

³⁹ Four vols in two (London, 1743-51). See the preface.

⁴⁰ London, 1750.

⁴¹ Three vols. (London, 1772-82)

⁴² London, 1789.

XXVIII

EDMUND BURKE AND THE BOOK REVIEWS IN DODSLEY'S *ANNUAL REGISTER*

THE problem of Burke's anonymous writings in Dodsley's *Annual Register* has baffled biographers and critics for nearly a century and a half. Since Burke himself never acknowledged any of these writings, and since no conclusive evidence exists to fix their authorship, it is impossible to make use of them with any sense of security. On the other hand, since the *Register* must contain, even at a low estimate, some thousands of pages of Burke's writing, important both intrinsically and as our principal record of the early development of his mind, we cannot ignore it. Burke's biographers have about evenly divided themselves into those who were willing to take the risk of asserting on their own authority that specific parts of the magazine had been written by Burke, and those who preferred to make no use whatever of the dubious material. Thus Murray¹ boldly assumes that Burke wrote all parts of the magazine from 1758 to 1791, and constantly quotes expressions of opinion in the magazine as Burke's personal expressions.² Magnus³ on the contrary makes no direct use of the *Register's* contents in his biography. Neither those who have assumed Burke's authorship, nor those who have rejected it, have ever informed the public concerning the grounds of their judgment. But, admitting that certainty is impossible, such evidence as exists to make *probable* Burke's authorship of parts of the magazine deserves to be carefully weighed and analyzed.

Although we do not yet know the full story of Burke's association with the *Annual Register*, what we do know about it suggests several likelihoods as to the authorship of certain of the contents. Though Burke for his own reasons never admitted any association with the magazine, we now know beyond question that it was he who launched it successfully in 1758, and that he remained its chief editor from that time until at least the year 1789.⁴ We know also that, at the outset of the venture, Burke alone contracted with the publishers to write and compile the yearly issues, the contract, in Burke's handwriting, has been discovered, and its terms are clear. We have no evidence that any writer other than Burke was engaged upon the work before 1766. Receipts have been dis-

¹ *Edmund Burke*. By Robert Murray (Oxford, 1931)

² Pp 84 f, 92, 121, 146, 257 ff, 288, 305, 385 f.

³ *Edmund Burke*. By Philip Magnus (London, 1939)

⁴ The evidence which concerns Burke's editorial relation to the *Register* has been analyzed by the present writer in "Burke and Dodsley's *Annual Register*," *PMLA*, LIV (March, 1939), 223-245

covered which prove that in the years 1761, 1762, 1763, and 1764 Burke was paid sums which correspond exactly to the payments proposed in the original agreement. The receipts are signed by Burke, they specifically name the work on the *Annual Register*, and they were made at the times which the written contract had proposed. These facts suggest, if they do not prove, that Burke remained the sole writer of the *Register* from its first appearance until the year 1764. In 1766 the first known collaborator appears.

At the time when Burke first contracted with the Dodsleys to bring out the *Register* he was a young man in his late twenties, with some literary reputation but no visible means of support. He had just married and was presumably eager to find a means of livelihood, out of the bare £100 which the Dodsleys allowed him for bringing out the yearly issue, it is not likely that he could spare any part to hire a subordinate worker. The compiling of the *Register* involved a certain amount of drudgery, but not more than an energetic young man could manage to bear. Indeed, once the magazine was launched, the labor of bringing out the yearly issue need not have taken such a worker as Burke more than a small part of his time and energy—perhaps an intensive application of two or three months out of a year. And there is no special reason for believing that Burke would have hired a subordinate even when in 1761 he became private secretary to William Gerard Hamilton. Until Burke entered the British House of Commons in the latter part of 1765, there is nothing in the external aspect of his career that would prevent us from assuming that he was continuing to run the *Register* single-handed. We may call it probable, although not certain, that Burke was author of all parts of the *Register* at least up to the issue for 1765, and that it was the increasing pressure of his political duties which forced him, toward or in the year 1766, to engage his first collaborator.

As regards one department of the magazine, the department of book reviews, this bare recital of probabilities does not completely exhaust the evidence. The *Register* did not review many books—not more than four or five in an average year—and its announced policy was to review only books which it could recommend to the public. Since it was undoubtedly Burke himself who announced this policy, in the Preface of the first issue,⁵ and since it was also he who at least initially carried it out, and made the yearly selections, we might expect to find the department of book reviews reflecting in a particularly personal way Burke's lines of literary interest. If we find on independent investigation that the books

⁵ The Editor says of the books reviewed "We have observed upon none that we could not praise, not that we pretend to have observed upon all that are praise-worthy. Those that do not deserve to be well spoken of, do not deserve to be spoken of at all."

reviewed in the *Register* were books that were in Burke's hands, that he in some instances had opinions of them similar to those expressed in the magazine, that he was frequently acquainted with their authors, and still more frequently with their special lines of interest—if we can establish these facts, for an impressive number of the books reviewed, we shall have measurably increased the probability that Burke wrote the reviews.

It is the intention of the present study to survey briefly these types of evidence as they apply to reviews which appear in the early issues of the *Register*. In general, attention will be paid to reviews which were published before the year 1765, but in some cases there are quite convincing hints that Burke was author of reviews in issues as late as 1773, and in these cases the hints will be recorded. It is hoped that a sufficient amount of evidence exists to make it probable that Burke wrote all the reviews up to and including those in the issue for 1765, and at least one or two reviews in each issue from 1766 to 1773. There is not a very large body of reviews. From 1758 through 1765, the *Register* reviewed in all only forty-one books—never more than seven in one year. In the period from 1766 through 1773 only twenty-seven books were considered, and never more than five in one year. There was a steady decrease in the yearly number of reviews the *Register* chose to publish—which in itself might be an argument for assuming that an increasingly busy man, like Burke, was conducting this department of the magazine.⁶

1. *Evidence of Burke's acquaintance with books which were reviewed.* As Burke systematically concealed every aspect of his connection with the *Annual Register*, it is not surprising if we do not discover him very often engaged in the activities of a literary critic. In the years of his secret editorial labors, he must have cultivated the acquaintance of authors, indulged private enthusiasms for their books, wielded his small power of patronage, in the manner of other reviewers. Only occasional glimpses of such activities have come down to us. The following, however, are suggestive:

(a) When Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* was published in 1759, David Hume as a friend of Smith did what he could to get it a favorable reception among the London critics. He wrote to Smith on April 12 of that year describing his activities:

Wedderburn and I made presents of our copies to such of our acquaintance as

⁶ The exact numbers of the reviews in each volume of the *Register* between 1758 and 1773 are

1758	6	1762	4	1766	5	1770	3
1759	7	1763	5	1767	4	1771	3
1760	6	1764	4	1768	3	1772	3
1761	5	1765	4	1769	3	1773	3

we thought good judges and proper to spread the reputation of the book. I sent one to the Duke of Argyle, to Lord Lyttelton, Horace Walpole, Soame Jenyns, and Burke, an Irish gentleman who wrote lately a very pretty treatise on the Sublime ⁷

And again on July 28 of the same year:

I am very well acquainted with Bourke, who was much taken with your Book He got your Direction from me with a View of writing to you, & thanking you for your Present For I made it pass in your Name. I wonder he has not done it. He is now in Ireland ⁸

The review of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* duly appeared in the *Annual Register* for 1759 (published as was customary, in the spring of the following year).

(b) When Burke's friend and frequent hostess Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu brought out her *Essay on Shakespear* in 1769 its author was supposed to be completely unknown. But apparently Burke was in on the secret—perhaps as the result of some good professional contacts. Mrs. Montagu wrote to her husband in September of that year:

Mr Burke called on me this morning; he seems in health and good spirits He tells me my book is very successful Reynolds the famous Painter laid 5 guineas it was written by Mr Warton who wrote the Essay on the Genius and writings of Pope, but said at the same time the essay on Shakespear was written with more imagination and fire. Reynolds has paid him his five guineas, so dangerous it is to guess at Authors when they dont put their names to their works ⁹

The book was very favorably noticed in the *Annual Register* for the year

(c) In the case of Beattie's *Essay on Truth*, reviewed in 1771, we hear of an interview of Burke's with the author before the review appeared. Beattie wrote in his diary for May 14, 1773:

Called on Mr Langton, who took me to Mr Edmund Burke to whom he introduced me Mr. Burke gave me as kind a reception as I ever received from anybody He says my postscript is one of the most manly and masterly pieces of eloquence he has ever seen ¹⁰

The *Annual Register's* reviews of books for 1771 included the *Essay on Truth*, and made specific mention of its postscript as "one of the finest pieces of writing we remember to have seen." We know from other sources that Burke took an interest in Beattie's reputation. On his visit to France in the spring of 1773, he defended Beattie in the salons against the sneers of the Parisian freethinkers.¹¹

⁷ *Letters of David Hume*, ed J Y T Greig (Oxford, 1832), I, 303

⁸ *Idem*, I, 312 For other evidence that Burke took an interest in the book, see James Prior, *Life of Edmund Malone* (London, 1860), p 369

⁹ *Mrs Montagu, her Letters and Friendships*, ed Reginald Blunt (London, 1923), I, 224

¹⁰ Margaret Forbes, *Beattie and his Friends* (Westminster, 1904), p 75 f

¹¹ C. B Tinker, *The Salon and English Letters* (New York, 1915), p 68

(d) We get an incidental picture of Burke in the rôle of critic and literary promoter in a letter of his old Irish friend Thomas Leland in 1770. Leland was at that time planning to bring out a *History of Ireland*, and Burke had both encouraged Leland to undertake it, and had later supplied him with some important manuscript material. Leland wrote Burke from Dublin, urging him to assist still further the progress of the work.

I must tell you my scheme, for you may do me a little service. I wish to publish two volumes next winter, containing the history of Irish affairs from the first invasion to the final settlement of the kingdom in the reign of James I, and if these should take, to publish a continuation in two vols. more. I should be much obliged to you, if, in some hour of leisure, you would mention this matter to your bookseller, and open a treaty for the two vols. (each of which will be larger than one of Robertson's *Life of Charles*, if printed in the same manner,) but without taking notice of my intention for a continuation. My reasons for desiring this are, that I have conceived some little dissatisfaction with Johnston, my old printer, and you are a person of great figure and consequence, and these fellows will think highly of any thing that Mr. Burke seems to interest himself in. Do for Heaven's sake, puff me, as Charlemont and Flood and Kearney do.¹²

It is obvious from such a letter that its author thought that Burke was willing, and able, to take a protective interest in a book of his friend's.

(e) There are a number of less explicit references to Burke's being engaged in such critical activities as advising authors or encouraging books. When Dodsley was preparing to print his collection of *Fables*, we hear of Burke giving him advice as to typography.¹³ Burke was one of the original subscribers to his friend James Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*. He sent the new edition of Swift's posthumous work to Henry Flood in Ireland.¹⁴ Along with Goldsmith and Johnson, he advised their Italian friend Baretti to bring out his *Manners and Customs of Italy*, which Baretti showed them all in manuscript.¹⁵ All of these books were reviewed in the *Register*.

(f) There are one or two instances of books in which Burke's interest can easily be proved, though we do not find him carrying on any of the particular activities of a critic or reviewer. In his speeches and writings,

¹² *Correspondence of Edmund Burke*, ed. Fitzwilliam & Bourke (London, 1844), I, 223 f. See also *ibid.*, 337 f.; III, 441 f.

¹³ See a letter of Shenstone in *Works of William Shenstone*, 3rd ed. (London, 1773), III, 323, discussing Dodsley's projected book. "Spence, Burke, Lowth, and Melmoth, advise him to discard *Italicks*." ¹⁴ *Correspondence of Burke*, I, 80.

¹⁵ Baretti wrote to his brother in Italy on September 18, 1766: "If Samuel Johnson, Edmund Burke, Dr. Goldsmith, and others among the leading men of letters and gentlemen of this nation do not deceive me, the work should win me an honorable position throughout England, and make them all, ladies and gentlemen alike, eager to know an author who writes their language as I do."—Lacy Collison-Morley, *Giuseppe Baretti* (London, 1909), p. 186.

for example, he makes several comments upon Dr. John Brown's *Estimate of the Manners of the Times*,¹⁶ which was the first book reviewed in the first issue of the *Register*; apparently it had impressed its youthful reviewer. Later on Burke took a particular interest in Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, and went out of his way in writings and speeches to give it praise.¹⁷ The *Register* noticed the *Commentaries* in two separate issues

(g) There is perhaps one other legitimate means of inferring Burke's acquaintance with the books which the *Register* reviewed. There exists a catalogue of Burke's library, compiled when the library was sold after his death.¹⁸ It lists a number of the books the *Register* reviewed in exactly the edition reviewed, as well as two or three which have Burke's name on their lists of subscribers.¹⁹

2. *Evidence of Burke's acquaintance with the authors of books reviewed.* In a small number of cases the *Register's* reviews bear what seems to be internal evidence of the reviewer's friendly partiality for the authors of the books noticed. In these cases it is of some interest that we know that Burke himself was well acquainted with the authors concerned.

(a) *Samuel Johnson* The best examples of this kind are the reviews of

¹⁶ See Burke's *Works*, Beaconsfield ed (London, 1901) I, 457, v, 239, also Cavendish's *Debates in the House of Commons* (London, 1841), II, 106

¹⁷ See *Works*, II, 125, III, 272, XI, 38, 62, 88

¹⁸ Unfortunately this lists some books that were not in the possession of Burke the full printed title of it is *A Catalogue of the Libraries of the Late Rt Hon Edmund Burke, and a near Relative of the late Sir M B Clare, M D* There are copies of this catalogue in the British Museum and the New York Public Library

¹⁹ The following items in the catalogue have some significance for the present study Except 383 and 561 these are the exact editions which would have been in the *Register's* reviewer's hands The exceptions illustrate a connection of Burke with the author or book

- | | |
|--|---|
| 31 Baret's Travels in Italy, 1769 | 476 Shakespeare's Plays, with Notes by Johnson, 8 vol 1765 |
| 33 Brown's Estimate of the Principles of the Times, 1757 | 522 Webb on Painting, 1761 Webb on Poetry and Music, 1769 |
| 171 Anderson's History of Commerce, 2 vol 1764. | 547 Priestley on Vision, Light and Colors, 1772 |
| 312 Marshall's Travels in Holland, &c 3 vol 1772 | 554 Swift's Works, with his Life and Notes by Hawkesworth, 6 vol plates, 1755 |
| 335 Hume's History of England, 6 vol 1762 | 561 Sullivan's Lectures on the English Laws, with a MS Inscription to Burke, 1776 |
| 355 Leland's History of Ireland, 1773 | 617 Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, vol 1, Mr. Burke's Subscription Copy, with the list of Subscribers and the errata, uncut, plates, 1762. |
| 383 Orme's Military Transactions of the British in Hindostan, some passages marked by Mr Burke, 1775 | |
| 384 Ossian's Fingal, by Macpherson, 1762 | |
| 469 Rousseau, Emile, 2 vol. 1762. Rousseau's Emilius, by Nugent, 2 vol 1763 | |

Johnson's *Rasselas* and of Johnson's edition of Shakespeare's plays. Both these reviews show that they were written by a reviewer who deeply admired his author, and indeed who used the *Register's* pages to fight the author's personal battles, and to confer quite personal favors upon him. The review of *Rasselas* in 1759, almost certainly by Burke, since it is only in the second year of the magazine, drops the following pregnant hint on the subject of Johnson's pension:

Though the author has not put his name to this work, there is no doubt that he is the same who has before done so much for the improvement of our taste and our morals, and employed a great part of his life in an astonishing work for the fixing the language of this nation, whilst this nation, which admires his works, and profits by them, has done nothing for the author

And in the review of Johnson's much-criticized edition of Shakespeare in 1765 there is even stronger evidence of a wish to give aid to an old friend. After setting forth at considerable length the difficulties confronting an editor of Shakespeare, the *Register's* reviewer says:

... we are still of the opinion, that notwithstanding the long delay of the work, and his not complying altogether with the expectation of the public, the public will be found considerably indebted to him, at least, till it can be proved, that the delay and deficiency have been owing to any wilful negligence on his part, a charge which it may not be so easy to prove, considering those vicissitudes to which, with regard to study, though not discernible, the mind of man is even more subject than his body is, with regard to labour, and from which the minds of the greatest geniuses are often less exempt than those of the meanest. The most, we think, that can be said of Mr. Johnson on this occasion, is, that he was rather rash in promising than backward in performing. It is, however, happy for the republic of letters that he promised as he did, since, otherwise, we should, probably, never have received Shakespeare through his hands.

(b) *Thomas Leland*. We have already mentioned Burke's Irish friend Dr. Thomas Leland, in whose *History of Ireland* Burke had a part. Both the review of that history and the review of Leland's *Life of Philip of Macedon*, published in the first issue of the *Register*, bear internal marks of the reviewer's partiality for his author: in frequent references to him as the "learned author," in allusions to the high reputation of his previous works, in mentions of the expectations naturally raised, and satisfied, in the scholarly world by the appearance of any book by Dr. Leland, and so forth.²⁰

(c) *Joseph Baretti*. We have also referred above to Joseph Baretti in a

²⁰ For evidence of Burke's acquaintance with Leland, see A. P. I. Samuels, *Early Life of Edmund Burke* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 94; Prior's *Life*, p. 65; Macknight's *Life*, I, 116, *Correspondence of Burke*, I, 109, *Correspondence of Burke and William Windham* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 3.

way that suggests that he might have been a literary protégé of Burke. Both of the *Register's* reviews of works by Baretti would strengthen that conception. In the first of them, the review of his *Manners and Customs of Italy* in 1768, full exposition is made of the book's and the writer's unusual merits—the reviewer's absorption in the latter topic extending to the point of his giving his readers a three-page account of a quarrel that had arisen between Baretti and another writer on Italy, all treated in a manner which highly favored Baretti. The reviewer also, like Burke, felt that Baretti's mastery of English should recommend him to English readers, and referred to it more than once. "There is perhaps a little," he admitted, "it is however but a very little, of the foreign accent, if I may use the word, in his writing: But on the whole, for correctness of language, and manliness of expression, his work would have done credit to the most approved English pen." Again, he speaks of the "wonderful perfection he has attained in our language."

And the later review of Baretti's *Journey from London to Genoa* in 1770 continues in the same vein. Its opening paragraphs begin.

The author of these volumes (whom we have formerly had occasion to make favourable mention of as a writer, from his account of the customs and manners of Italy, published in 1768) is a foreigner, nor will the attentive reader want any proofs of it. Indeed, from the *general* purity and propriety of the diction, we should almost suspect that these little trips in the language were not undesigned, but were left by the author as a sort of mark, to prove his title to the work.

We have mentioned the propriety of the diction—we must do him the honour of owning, that he has attained to that masterly command of the language, that would not discredit the very best of our own writers.

The review of the *Journey from London to Genoa*, like the review of the *Manners and Customs*, is given first place among the reviews for its year.

(d) *Elizabeth Montagu*. We have mentioned Burke's attention to the first launching of Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu's *Essay on Shakespear*. The opening paragraph of the *Register's* review of that book suggests a similar solicitude for the cause of its author. The lady having been a good deal criticized for her "defense" of Shakespeare against foreign critics (many English readers feeling that he needed no defense), the chivalrous reviewer came to the lady's own defense in a diplomatic and deprecatory passage, it is well worth examining as a possible instance of a reviewer's partiality. And if the hand of a friend should be found in it, perhaps a hint of the same hand might be granted in the earlier review of Lord Lyttelton's *Dialogues of the Dead* in 1760—to which collection Mrs. Montagu had contributed anonymously three dialogues. After admitting that some of the dialogues written by Lord Lyttelton himself were lacking in dramatic spirit, the reviewer says:

However, what little of that kind is wanting in these Dialogues, is abundantly made up in the three additional ones, which are by another hand. These are truly dramatic, and not inferior to the best dramatic dialogue.

This certainly could be thought of as a bouquet to a charming and influential hostess who had "discovered" Edmund Burke in the late '50's.

(e) *Other writers.* These four writers, each treated in two reviews, and James Beattie, referred to above, are the best instances of our finding in the reviews themselves reasons to believe that Burke used the *Register* to puff personal acquaintances.²¹ There are of course many other reviews of books written by friends of Burke. Lord Lyttelton as well as Mrs. Montagu was an intimate friend when the *Dialogues of the Dead* was reviewed in 1760, and of course still so when the *Register* reviewed with great fulness his *Life of Henry the Second* in 1767.²² Burke knew Horace Walpole at the time the *Register* reviewed Walpole's edition of Vertue's *Anecdotes of Painting* in 1762 and his edition of the *Life of Herbert of Cherbury* in 1770, perhaps he knew him as early as 1758 when his *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors* was reviewed.²³ We have mentioned David Hume's friendship with Burke as a means of introducing him to Adam Smith's *Essay on Moral Sentiments*; it might also be a reason for his interest in Hume's own *History of England*.²⁴ We have spoken of his giving advice to his friend Robert Dodsley on his collection of *Fables*. Dr. Charles Burney, whose *History of Music* was reviewed in 1773, was a fellow member of the Literary Club.

Inevitably, there are instances where we know that Burke was well acquainted with an author, but are not sure that the acquaintance dates from a period earlier than the *Register's* noticing of that author. He knew William Warburton at some time,²⁵ was it before the review of the *Doctrine of Grace* in 1762? He knew James Stuart well in 1764, did he know him when the *Antiquities of Athens* was reviewed in 1762?²⁶ When

²¹ There is a slight hint of another such puff in the review of Benjamin Stillingfleet's *Miscellaneous Tracts* in 1759, where the reviewer says the merit of the work "will make everyone wish that learned author otherwise employed than in translation."

²² Their acquaintance began around 1757, and soon became intimate. (See Robert Philimore, *Memoirs of Lord Lyttelton*, London, 1845, II, 579, also Prior's *Life of Burke*, p. 65.)

²³ A letter of Walpole to George Montagu in July, 1761—*Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee (Oxford, 1905), v, 86—says "I dined with your secretary [this refers to William Gerard Hamilton] yesterday, there were Garrick and a young Mr. Burk, who wrote a book in the style of Lord Bolingbroke, that was much admired. He is a sensible man, but has not worn off his authorism yet—and thinks there is nothing so charming as writers, and to be one—he will know better one of these days."

²⁴ Perhaps also for his interest in a book which attacked some of Hume's conclusions. William Tytler's *Enquiry into the Evidence Against Mary Queen of Scots*, reviewed in 1760.

²⁵ See James Prior, *Life of Edmund Malone*, p. 370.

²⁶ Burke's friend and protégé, the painter Barry, wrote from London to a friend in Ireland, either at the end of 1764 or early in 1765. "At present I am at a kind of journey

did he meet Adam Smith in the flesh? Was it as early as 1759?²⁷ Did he know Thomas Percy when the *Reliques* were noticed?²⁸

We can perhaps ignore those other writers whom Burke "must have known." He must have known Benjamin Stillingfleet,²⁹ Ferdinando Warner,³⁰ and Francis Sullivan.³¹ We have no indubitable proof

3. *Evidence of Burke's opinions being parallel to those expressed in the REGISTER'S reviews* The evidence of authorship which is supplied by the quotation of parallel passages is almost always difficult to present convincingly. Therefore from a good deal of such it will probably suffice to treat only three or four illustrative instances

(a) *Opinion of lawyers and legal education.* At the time Burke began his labors on the *Register*, he had very recently made up his mind to abandon the study of law. Apparently he had not given up the study without having formed a strong opinion of the narrowness and stupidity of the existing methods of legal education, and a rather low estimate of lawyers as a group. Both opinions, or prejudices, he retained all his life,

work for Mr. Stewart, Hogarth's successor, where I am likely to have a great deal of satisfaction. This was brought about by your friend Mr. Burke." *Works of James Barry* (London, 1809), I, 15. — Barry also makes reference in another letter, after some mention of Burke, "to his friends, Athenian Stewart, to Sir Joshua, to myself, and others" (*Works of James Barry*, II, 538). — We have already referred above to the fact that the copy of Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens* in Burke's library was a subscription copy, which may be another reason for believing that Burke knew the author before the book appeared.

²⁷ Bisset records the fact that Burke and Smith met and conversed (*Life of Burke* [2nd ed.], London, 1800, II, 428 f.), but he does not say when they first became acquainted.

²⁸ He must have known him at least as early as 1768, when Percy became a member of the Literary Club.

²⁹ Burke and Stillingfleet were both frequent attendants at Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu's salons, and certainly had opportunities to meet. (See, for example, a letter of Mrs. Montagu in 1764 referring to a dinner party to which both were invited, though Burke could not come [*Mrs. Montagu, her Letters and Friendships*, I, 89]). A remark of Burke to Boswell (*Private Papers of James Boswell*, ed. Scott & Pottle, privately printed, 1928-1934, xiv, 209) may also be evidence that he was acquainted with Stillingfleet.

³⁰ In the composition of his *History of Ireland*, Dr. Warner made a trip to Dublin, where he applied to the Irish Parliament for permission to use state archives in the compilation of his work. Burke was at that period resident in Dublin where he had gone as Hamilton's secretary to act as a political manager of the Irish Parliament. If it is accepted as probable that Burke wrote the review of Ossian's *Fingal* in 1761, he very likely knew Dr. Warner as early as that, for the review quotes Warner's opinions on the authenticity of *Fingal* and also describes him "as an Englishman unbiassed to Ireland, and as an historian now compiling the history of that country."

³¹ As Burke through life maintained his acquaintance with several of the professors of Trinity College, Dublin, it is quite likely that he met Sullivan, who became Regius Professor of Law there in 1750. Burke certainly knew him by the year 1776, we have already referred to the copy of Sullivan's *Lectures on English Law* in Burke's library "with a MS inscription to Mr. Burke."

they appear repeatedly in his mature speeches and writings³² Part of the reason for his feeling is set forth in a passage of his *Essay towards an Abridgment of the English History*, an early and uncompleted work of his:

Thus the law has been confined and drawn up into a narrow and inglorious study, and that which should be the leading science in every well-ordered commonwealth remained in all the barbarism of the rudest times, whilst every other advanced by rapid steps to the highest improvement both in solidity and elegance, insomuch that the study of our jurisprudence presented to liberal and well-educated minds, even in the best authors, hardly anything but barbarous terms, ill explained, a coarse, but not a plain expression, an indigested method, and a species of reasoning the very refuse of the schools, which deduced the spirit of the law, not from original justice and conformity, but from causes foreign to it and altogether whimsical. Young men are sent away with an incurable, and, if we regard the manner of handling rather than the substance, a very well-founded disgust³³

And Burke added to this a strong distrust of another illiberal practice of legal educators: namely that of putting young men directly to work in attorney's offices without having previously given them a broader background of education. Boswell's *Journal* contains a record of Burke's opinion of this practice:

Burke said that it was a very bad plan to put a young gentleman who was to follow the law first to an Attorney, that considering the law solely as a *lucrative trade*, it might be well to do so, for thus he would form intimacies with Attornies and their clerks, and get sure business. But that it was very wrong to give narrow and contracted notions to men who might one day decide upon the lives and properties of the subjects of this Country, nay, arrive at the highest honours and have a great sway in the state³⁴

It is not hard to show that the *Register's* reviewer felt much as Burke did upon the subject. The choice itself of William Blackstone's *Discourse on the Study of Law* to review in 1758 shows the trend of his interest. The following passage introducing an extract from Blackstone will illustrate the reviewer's and the author's attitude toward the type of legal apprenticeship already mentioned. The reviewer writes:

The author has also the following most useful remarks on certain illiberal notions and practices with regard to legal education.

"The evident want of some assistance in the rudiments of legal knowledge, has given birth to a practice, which, if ever it had grown to be general, must have proved of extremely pernicious consequence: I mean the custom, by some very warmly recommended, to drop all liberal education as of no use to lawyers; and

³² See *Works*, II, 38, *Prior's Life*, p. 355, and for a more general prejudice against lawyers as a class, *Works*, II, 124 f, and III, 286

³³ *Ibid.* VII 477.

³⁴ *Private Papers of James Boswell*, XVII, 100.

to place them, in its stead, at the desk of some skilful attorney, in order to initiate them early in all the depths of practice, and render them more dextrous in the mechanical part of the business. A few instances of particular persons, (men of excellent learning and unblemished integrity) who, in spite of this method of education, have shone in the foremost ranks of the bar, have afforded some kind of sanction to this illiberal path to the profession, and biassed many short-sighted parents in its favour ”

The passage continues in the same strain for half a page. There is a similar passage, but in the reviewer's own words, in the review of Blackstone's *Commentaries* in 1767. It reads in part as follows:

In this situation of things, we must owe no trivial obligation to any gentleman of abilities equal to the task, who will take the pains to remove any part of the obscurity in which our system of laws is involved, and thereby contribute to render the whole more intelligible. It will increase this obligation, if we reflect, that the law has been long looked on as the most disagreeable of all studies, and of so dry, disgusting, heavy a nature, that students of vivacity and genius, were deterred from entering upon it, and those of a quite contrary cast, were looked upon as the fittest to encounter the great difficulties which attended a science, which, however excellent in its principles, lay in such a state of rudeness and disorder.

The review of Francis Sullivan's *Lectures on the Feudal and English Laws* in 1772 also begins in this vein:

Until our own times, the science of our common law lay a vast and confused heap, from whence, with infinite labour and difficulty, the practitioner at the bar only extracted a dry unpleasing knowledge, which, though it might enable him to raise his fortune, tended but little to enlarge his mind, few others attempted a study, which, separated from the interests of a profession, promised so little rational, and so little liberal enterment [sic]

Dr Sullivan, though he has not the honour of being the first who has led his countrymen through a liberal and philosophical road to the study of the laws of his country, which undoubtedly is the palm of Judge Blackstone, has the no small merit of seconding that idea, and, as far as he has gone, of completing it

(b) *Opinion as to the duties of a Member of Parliament* One of Burke's best known opinions after he entered politics was that a Member of Parliament when he had once been elected was not bound to obey precise instructions from his constituents, it was his duty to form his own judgments upon events. As Burke told the voters of Bristol in 1774:

To deliver an opinion is the right of all men, that of constituents is a weighty and respectable opinion, which a representative ought always to rejoice to hear, and which he ought always most seriously to consider. But *authoritative* instructions, *mandates* issued, which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey, to vote, and to argue for, though contrary to the clearest conviction of his judg-

ment and conscience,—these are things utterly unknown to the laws of this land, and which arise from a fundamental mistake of the whole order and tenor of our Constitution

Parliament is not a congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interests, which interests each must maintain, as an agent and advocate, against other agents and advocates, but Parliament is a *deliberative* assembly of *one* nation, with *one* interest, that of the whole—where not local purposes, not local prejudices, ought to guide, but the general good, resulting from the general reason of the whole. You choose a member, indeed; but when you have chosen him, he is not a member of Bristol, but he is a member of *Parliament* ³⁵

It is interesting to note how closely this parallels the argument which is quoted from Bishop Ellys's *Spiritual and Temporal Liberty of Subjects in England*, when the *Register* reviews that book in 1765.

Monsieur Rapin de Thoyras looked upon it to be a considerable defect in our constitution, that the matters to be treated of in parliament are not expressed in the summons, as king John promised they should, and that members of our house of commons have not instructions about them, from the people whom they represent, or, if any such instructions be given them, that they are at liberty not to observe them. The matter of fact, indeed, is true. Our members of parliament are not, by law, obliged either to consult those who have chosen them, nor to have any regard to their instructions, farther than they themselves judge them to be reasonable, for, though a man is chosen by a particular county or burgh, he is, by law, reputed to serve for the whole kingdom. But as these things could not be ordered otherwise, as the state of our nation is at present, so some persons are far from thinking, with Mr. Rapin, that these are circumstances of any disadvantage to our constitution. . .

and Ellys continues to refute Rapin, at great length, in a strain entirely harmonious with Burke's later utterances

(c) *Opinion of Lord Bolingbroke*. Like most of his contemporaries Burke was horrified by the irreligious tendencies of Lord Bolingbroke's posthumous works, and the *Vindication of Natural Society*, Burke's first book published in England, was, as is well known, an ironic attack on Bolingbroke's free thinking. Its preface states very clearly what was Burke's opinion of his opponent:

I cannot conceive how this sort of writers propose to compass the designs they pretend to have in view, by the instruments which they employ. Do they pretend to exalt the mind of man by proving him no better than a beast? Do they think to enforce the practice of virtue, by denying that vice and virtue are distinguished by good or evil fortune here, or happiness hereafter? Do they imagine

³⁵ *Works*, II, 96. See also a remark in his *Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs* (*Works*, IV, 95) "He was the first man who, on the hustings, at a popular election, rejected the authority of instructions from constituents,—or who, in any place, has argued so fully against it." See also *Works*, VII, 74, 99; *Camden Debates*, I, 287 f.

they shall increase our piety, and our reliance on God, by exploding his providence, and insisting that he is neither just nor good?

Burke remained of this opinion till the end of his life. When he was writing on the subject of the French Revolution thirty years later, he showed an even stronger contempt and hatred for Bolingbroke, particularly exulting in the fact that by then his popularity had passed: "Who now reads Bolingbroke? Who ever read him through? Ask the booksellers of London what is become of all these lights of the world."³⁶ And having, by some chance, occasion to quote him, Burke took special precaution against seeming to honor him by the reference: "I do not often quote Bolingbroke, nor have his works in general left any permanent impression on my mind. He is a presumptuous and a superficial writer."³⁷

There are two reviews in the *Register* which will indicate how closely the reviewer's opinions, and his manner of expressing them, approximate Burke's. The first is the review of Swift's correspondence, published in 1765. The reviewer focuses attention on the inconsistency of Lord Bolingbroke in writing Swift, September 12, 1724, a long letter, quoted in full, which condemns as subversive the work of free-thinkers—a position regarded as hypocritical in view of Bolingbroke's strict injunction to Mallet to publish his subversive *Philosophical Works*, after Bolingbroke's death. The letter quoted (with other letters in point printed by the reviewer from the originals) exposes Bolingbroke's lack of consistency in permitting that publication. After seven full pages of such quotation, the reviewer comments:

The publication, however, of Lord Bolingbroke's works though it leaves him without apology, as, whether his notions were erroneous or true, he did what he professes he ought not to have done, has eventually done rather good than harm; it has shown that the world gave him credit for powers which he did not possess, and undeceived those who imagined he had defended Deism, by a series of clear, deep, and solid reasoning; his work is found to be lively, slight, and unconvulsive, its reputation has declined in proportion as it has been known, and the great part of the impression, which was to enlighten the world and enrich Mallet, is now rotting unsold in the warehouse.

The last sentence is strikingly reminiscent of Burke's contemptuous "Ask the booksellers of London what is become of all these lights of the world."

The other review which treats Bolingbroke is the review in 1770 of Thomas Hunter's *Sketch of the Philosophical Character of the late Lord Bolingbroke*. As that book is itself an attack on Bolingbroke, the reviewer expresses his own opinions by his hearty approval of Dr. Hunter's undertaking:

³⁶ *Works*, III, 349.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 398.

... there cannot be a greater service to men than that of exposing the futility and falseness of those bold and bad reasoners, who, like the serpent of old, pretending to raise and ennoble our nature, and to teach us wisdom, carry us away from that humble path of simplicity and obedience wherein it has pleased God to permit and direct that poor creature man to look for his salvation

But the reviewer adds:

While we give every praise to the intention, and allow the merit of the execution of this work, we have still doubts whether these kind of writers, who dignify themselves by the style of freethinkers, are not, especially after a time, best answered with disdain while the weakness of mankind, and their madness for novelty, give a kind of weight to these sorts of works, they seem to call for answers, lest a silence on the side of truth should give confidence to falsehood, but when the novelty is worn off, the less notice is taken of them, the less they are remembered

This is surely reminiscent of Burke's protestation that he did not often quote Bolingbroke, and had been very little influenced by him

The reviewer also speaks scornfully of the style of Bolingbroke, which Burke had parodied:

... there is, however, a pompousness of phrase, a show and affectation of learning, and a sort of glair [sic] of elocution, that seems at least to excuse if not to justify the admiration his works once excited

He also rebukes Dr Hunter for being more tolerant of Bolingbroke's political than of his philosophical works:

Our author, with all his zeal against the philosophical or irreligious writings of Lord Bolingbroke, seems almost of an opinion with his Lordship in his political works, which, however, are fallen nearly into as much disrepute as his philosophical, and possibly not without reason . . .

Burke, according to John Morley, "trained his party to understand and resist" the political thought of Bolingbroke³⁸

(d) *Opinion of Rousseau*. Burke's feelings about Jean Jacques Rousseau were in many respects similar to his feelings about Bolingbroke; and they seem to be reflected very similarly in the *Register's* reviews of Rousseau's books. His interest in Rousseau, like that in Bolingbroke, was made up largely of apprehension and dislike of the subversive elements in his philosophy. In the *Vindication*—though it cannot be proved that Burke had read Rousseau at the time it was written³⁹—we find him arguing Rousseau's own case for a "natural society," though of course arguing it ironically and with the definite purpose of demonstrating its fallacy. After

³⁸ Morley, *Works* (London, 1921), xiv, 47

³⁹ Morley pointed out (*Works*, xiv, 15 f) the nearness in time and also in subject of Burke's *Vindication* and Rousseau's *Second Discourse*. Mr Richard Sewall has presented more fully the case for believing that Burke was familiar with Rousseau's work at the time the *Vindication* was written (See *PQ*, xvii, 97-114)

exploring the possibilities and the dangers of these revolutionary ideas, it is hardly thinkable that Burke should have ignored the rising popularity of Rousseau in England in the years around 1760. The train of his interests, the fact of his being an editor and a book-reviewer, the fact of his having been in France when Rousseau's popularity was at its height—all make it almost impossible to imagine that he did not interest himself in Rousseau's books. We have already noted that two copies of *Emile* were in Burke's library.

Many years later, at the time he was attacking the French Revolution, Burke gave quite fully his opinions of Rousseau's writings. Those tendencies which he disliked and suspected in Rousseau, as well as the merits which he granted him, were very fully stated. It is not possible here to quote fully the several pages of that treatment, but the following passages are perhaps fair samples of its drift.

We certainly perceive, and to a degree we feel, in this writer, a style glowing, animated, enthusiastic, at the same time we find it lax, diffuse, and not of the best taste of composition,—all the members of the piece being pretty equally labored and expanded, without any due selection and subordination of parts. He is generally too much on the stretch, and his manner has little variety. We cannot rest upon any of his works, though they contain observation which occasionally discover a considerable insight into human nature. But his doctrines, on the whole, are so inapplicable to real life and manners, that we never dream of drawing from them any rules for laws or conduct, or for fortifying or illustrating anything by a reference to his opinions. They have with us the fate of the older paradoxes.

Cum ventum ad *verum* est, *sensus* *moresque* repugnant,
Atque ipsa utilitas, *justi* *prope* mater et aequi . . .⁴⁰

. It is not that I consider this writer as wholly destitute of just notions. Among his irregularities, it must be reckoned that he is sometimes moral, and moral in a very sublime strain. But the *general spirit and tendency* of his works is mischievous,—and the more mischievous for this mixture. for perfect depravity of sentiment is not reconcilable with eloquence, and the mind (though corruptible not complexionally vicious) would reject and throw off with disgust a lesson of pure and unmixed evil. These writers make even virtue a pander to vice . . .⁴¹

. . . they [the French who set up Rousseau as a model] infuse into their youth an unfashioned, indelicate, sour, gloomy, ferocious medley of pedantry and lewdness,—of metaphysical speculations blended with the coarsest sensuality.⁴²

The *Annual Register's* reviews, though they do not manifest the violence of feeling which Burke showed after the French Revolution had begun, yet give nearly the same picture of Rousseau's merits and defects. In the

⁴⁰ *Letter to a Member of the National Assembly* (*Works*, iv, 32). ⁴¹ *Idem*, 32 f.

⁴² *Idem*, 31. See also for other expressions of opinions of Rousseau, the *Reflections on the French Revolution* (*Works*, iii, 459). Mr. Reginald Buehler's unpublished Harvard dissertation entitled *Burke and Rousseau* should also be consulted.

review of Rousseau's *Letter to d'Alembert* in 1759, the reviewer says:

None of the present writers have a greater share of talents and learning than Rousseau, yet it has been his misfortune and that of the world, that those of his works which have made the greatest noise, and acquired to their author the highest reputation, have been of little real use or emolument to mankind. A tendency to paradox, which is always the bane of solid learning, and threatens now to destroy it, a splenetic disposition carried to misanthropy, and an austere virtue pursued to an unsociable fierceness, have prevented a great deal of the good effects which might be expected from such a genius. A satire upon civilized society, a satire upon learning, may make tolerable sport for an ingenious fancy, but if carried farther, it can do no more (and that in such a way is surely too much) than to unsettle our notions of right and wrong, and lead by degrees to universal scepticism.

The review of *Emile* in 1762 is in part more complimentary, though it refers to the defects and dangers of Rousseau's thinking. It begins:

To know what the received notions are upon any subject, is to know with certainty what those of Rousseau are not. In its treatise on the inequality amongst mankind, he has shown his man in the natural state, in his *Emilius* he undertakes to educate him.

In this *System of Education* there are some very considerable parts that are impracticable, others that are chimerical, and not a few highly blameable, and dangerous both to piety and morals. It is easy to discern how it has happened that this book should be censured as well at Geneva as in Paris. However, with those faults in the design, with the whimsies into which his paradoxical genius continually hurries him, there are a thousand noble hints relative to the subject, grounded upon a profound knowledge of the human mind, and the order of its operations. There are many others, which, though they have little relation to the subject, are admirable on their own account, and even in his wildest sallies, we now and then discover strokes of the most solid sense, and instructions of the most useful nature. Indeed, he very seldom thinks himself bound to adhere to any settled order or design, but is borne away by every object started by his vivid imagination, and hurries continually from system to system, in the career of an animated, glowing, exuberant style, which points everything with great minuteness, yet with infinite spirit.

There is, it must be acknowledged, one considerable defect in his judgment, which infects both his matter and his style. He never knows where to stop. He seldom can discover that precise point in which excellence consists, where to exceed is almost as bad as to fall short, and which every stop you go beyond, you grow worse and worse. He is therefore frequently tiring and disgusting by pushing his notions to excess, and by repeating the same thing in a thousand different ways.

Allowing for the fact that thirty years separate the unacknowledged reviews from the acknowledged writings of Burke, it must be conceded that the parallels of thought are striking. And when the subject and intent of the *Vindication of Natural Society* are considered along with the

parallels, perhaps the total argument for Burke's authorship of the reviews is strong enough to stand ⁴³

4. *Evidence of parallels between Burke's major interests and those reflected in the REGISTER'S reviews.* As long as Burke remained the sole writer of the *Register's* reviews, and even afterwards, when he may only have been one of those who made contributions to them, we should expect to find that the main directions of the reviewer's interest in picking books to review would parallel what we know to have been Burke's own main directions of interest in the same period

(a) *Political interests* For example, if Burke were the *Register's* reviewer, we should expect a considerable emphasis to be given to matters connected with politics. Actually this is far the strongest emphasis in the *Register's* reviews, and its relative importance mounts steadily during the period we are considering. Not only are political and constitutional history and law treated with great fulness, as might be explainable enough in a magazine like the *Register*, but very specific problems connected with the history of Parliament are given an amount of space that it is hard to imagine being granted them by any reviewer who was not himself a specialist.⁴⁴

(b) *Ireland* The reviewer's interest in Ireland presents a rather similar case. We are not bound to assume that he was Burke just because he re-

⁴³ The *Register's* review of Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society* in 1767 should be considered in connection with the question of Burke's attitude toward Rousseau. The reviewer's own words and a long passage which he quotes from Ferguson parallel strikingly Burke's opinions of the theory of Natural Society.

⁴⁴ The following reviews give evidence of their author's rather special interest in politics, constitutional history, and law

1759 Blackstone's *Discourse on the Study of Law*

Leland's *Life of Philip of Macedon* (containing a four-page extract on the Greek constitution)

Warner's *Memours of Thomas More* (containing the extract already cited on More's defiance of royal power in the name of the House of Commons)

1760 *Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon*
Robertson's *History of Scotland* (with a four-page extract on the Scotch feudal constitution).

Wallace's *Laws of Scotland*.

1761 Hume's *History of England* (extract on its constitutional bearings, and reviewer's comment on the extract)

1763 *Letters of Henry, Earl of Clarendon*

Warner's *History of Ireland* (with Remarks on the early Irish constitution)

Grey's *Debates of the House of Commons*

1765 Ellys's *Liberty of Subjects in England*

1767 Lyttelton's *Life of Henry the Second* (three extracts treating the constitutional aspects of feudalism).

Blackstone's *Commentaries*

Ferguson's *Essay on Civil Society*

Beccaria's *Essay on Crimes and Punishment*

1768 Blackstone's *Commentaries*

1771 Dalrymple's *Memours of Great Britain and Ireland* (with five pages of extracts describing constitutional crises in the reign of James II).

1773 Sullivan, *Lectures on the Feudal and English Laws*.

viewed Irish authors and books upon Ireland.⁴⁵ But when his reviews contain notable parallels to Burke's highly specialized interest in Irish antiquarianism, there is much better reason for believing that the reviewer may have been Burke.⁴⁶

(c) *Aesthetics*. Burke's first thoroughly successful book had been his work on the *Sublime and Beautiful*. In the *Register's* department of book-reviews similar lines of interest are not lacking, though reviews of books in the field of the fine arts are neither extremely numerous nor extremely enthusiastic. They are largely confined to the early years of the *Register*.⁴⁷

(d) *Other directions of Interest*. We may note in the reviewer an interest in commerce surprising in a magazine writer of his period,⁴⁸ and an in-

⁴⁵ The following reviews may be noticed, however, as being either by Irishmen or about Ireland

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| 1758 Leland's <i>Philip of Macedon</i> | 1765 Swift's <i>Works</i> (with a long extract relating to English treatment of Ireland) |
| 1760 Webb's <i>Beauties of Painting</i> | |
| 1762 Webb's <i>Beauties of Poetry</i> . | |
| 1763 <i>State Letters of Henry, Earl of Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland</i> (with extracts of letters on the affairs of Ireland) | 1771 Dalrymple's <i>Memours of Great Britain and Ireland</i> |
| Warner's <i>History of Ireland</i> | 1772 Sullivan's <i>Lectures on Feudal and English Laws</i> |
| 1764 Leland's <i>Christian Revelation</i> | 1773 Leland's <i>History of Ireland</i> |

⁴⁶ Burke's lifelong interest in early Irish customs, laws, and language may easily be illustrated from Prior's *Life*, p. 268, Bisset's *Life*, II, 249 f., the *Letters of David Hume*, ed. Greig (Oxford, 1932), I, 400, the *Private Papers of James Boswell*, XVII, 51, 89-90, the *Works of James Barry*, I, 266, 445, or Burke's own *Works*, VI, 299. The reviewer shows various aspects of the same antiquarian interest in the following reviews

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| 1760 [Macpherson's] <i>Ossian's Fingal</i> (with a six-page discussion of the merits of the "Celtic Homer," comment on the question whether he was an Irish or a Scotch bard, comment on the accuracy of his picture of ancient Irish customs) | pre-historic times) |
| 1763 Warner's <i>History of Ireland</i> (a seven-page review dealing in detail with laws, customs, and manners of the earliest period of Irish historic and | 1766 Rowland's <i>Mona Antiqua Restaurata</i> (a seven page review of this study of Celtic antiquities) |
| | 1773 Leland's <i>History of Ireland</i> (twelve page review, entering into the details of the earliest period of reliable Irish history. Burke's own discovery of new manuscript material in this field is alluded to) |

⁴⁷ The following should be noted

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| 1760 Webb's <i>Beauties of Painting</i> | 1763 Stuart and Revett's <i>Antiquities of Athens</i> . |
| 1762 Webb's <i>Beauties of Poetry</i> | 1764 Algarotti's <i>Essay on Painting</i> |
| Walpole's <i>Anecdotes of Painting</i> . | 1773 Burney's <i>History of Music</i> |

⁴⁸ The six-page review of Anderson's *History of Commerce* is given first place in the *Register's* reviews for 1764. We know that Burke was deeply absorbed in the study of commerce at about this time (*Works*, II, 87.)

terest in India certainly suggestive of Burke,⁴⁹ and with these we may break off our series of parallels.

5 *Evidence of style* It may seem remarkable that we have not hitherto raised the question of literary style. It is not in this instance an unimportant question. On the contrary, it probably has been the determining reason that biographers such as Mr. Murray have felt justified in ascribing to Burke many parts of the *Annual Register*. The book reviews in general "sound like" Burke, and perhaps that is the very strongest evidence we have that they are his.⁵⁰

Judgments of style, even when we can assume them to be highly accurate, depend upon incommunicable feeling. In the case of a writer like Burke, who has very few noticeable personal marks or mannerisms about his writing, explanations of how any given reader arrived at his feeling are almost sure to remain unconvincing. Yet two minor observations relating to style may be made. The first is that there is an unmistakable and steady improvement of the reviewer's style between the first issues of the magazine in the 50's and those of the late 60's and early 70's. The reviews not only increase in length and comprehensiveness with the years, they gain in originality and sureness of expression. Since we know with all but complete certainty that Burke was the writer of the first few years, it is natural to take the reviewer's steady progress toward maturity as evidence that the reviewer did not change his identity.

There is, moreover, one conspicuous interruption to the reviewer's steady improvement. One single review, that of Crantz's *History of Greenland* in 1766, is stylistically so different from all the other reviews of the early years of the magazine that it would seem to be almost certain

⁴⁹ Two reviews reflect this interest

1764 Orme's *Military Transactions in Indostan*

1766 Holwell's *Historical Events Relative to Bengal*.

Burke's interest in India was years in advance of that of most of his countrymen (cf Bisset's *Life of Burke*, I, 63). Burke later showed a thorough familiarity with Holwell (*Works*, IX, 396-493), quoting passages from the *Historic Events* three times in the course of the Hastings trial (*Idem*, 384-385, 389, 391). Orme's history was in Burke's library, "with some passages marked by his own hand."

⁵⁰ In the course of this study I wrote to Mr. Murray to ask him whether he had any evidence besides the internal evidence of style for ascribing so many of the reviews to Burke. His reply read in part, "I am afraid I have no evidence to offer you that Burke wrote the reviews in the 'Annual Register,' though I am perfectly convinced that he did so. After all, what can be stronger than the internal evidence? Edmund Burke is written all over them." Other biographers and critics of Burke have presumably found themselves in Mr. Murray's dilemma, at least they have frequently enough made ascriptions of specific reviews to Burke without citing any external evidence. See Prior's *Life*, p. 65, MacKnight's *Life*, I, 33, 116, 235, also E. J. Payne's *Select Works*, I, 237, 243, 249, 277, 339, 377.

that it was not written by the same person who wrote the others. Its diffuseness (spending over eighteen pages on this comparatively insignificant book), its lack of organization, its mechanical differences from the other reviews (such as the practice, indulged in nowhere else, of embodying long quotations from the author in the review without any use of quotation marks)—all these, not to mention actual incorrectnesses of language, make it quite impossible to think it written by the previous reviewer, whether or not that was Edmund Burke

The date of the Crantz review is of course significant. If it was the pressure of Burke's career in Parliament which first forced him to delegate a part of the responsibility for editing the *Register*, this is precisely the time at which that pressure would make itself felt.⁵¹ Do the crudenesses of the review indicate that Burke at just this time was breaking in a new worker—or perhaps trying a new worker who proved incompetent and yielded to another? That only one review is thus exceptional in style points to a single author elsewhere, and naturally the one who had contracted to do the work, Edmund Burke.

Our case for Burke's authorship of the *Register's* reviews must be broken into two parts at the year 1766.⁵² Up to that year we have no reason to doubt that Burke was writing the magazine single-handed. In that year we find both external and internal evidence that a new writer had begun to take part. Or, putting this in terms of the reviews alone, we may say that the forty-one reviews that appeared in the issues from 1758 to 1765 are *very probably* Burke's, and the twenty-seven which appeared in the issues from 1766 to 1773 are *less probably* Burke's.

⁵¹ Burke wrote years later in the *Letter to a Noble Lord* "The first session I sat in parliament, I found it necessary to analyse the whole commercial, financial, constitutional, and foreign interests of Great Britain and its empire. A great deal was then done, and more, far more, would have been done, if more had been permitted by events. Then, in the vigour of my manhood, my constitution sank under my labour. Had I then died (and I seemed to myself very near death), I had then earned for those who belonged to me, more than the Duke of Bedford's ideas of service are of power to estimate."

⁵² As usual, the date can be only approximate. Burke became secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham in July of 1765, and entered the House of Commons in December of that year, it is possible that he realized at once that he would need another worker on the *Register* and engaged one in 1765. But it is slightly more probable that, still needing his salary from Dodsley, or perhaps unsure of his position as Rockingham's secretary, Burke did not make any change in the *Register's* arrangements until the pressure of his duties had shown him it was absolutely necessary. The *Annual Register* for 1765, which normally would have appeared in the Spring of 1766, was considerably delayed in coming out, for which its Preface apologized. The issue for 1766, containing the questionable review of Crantz's *History of Greenland*, is more likely to have been the first to contain the work of a collaborator. Dr. Donald Cross Bryant, who has presented valuable evidence concerning the matter in his *Edmund Burke and His Literary Friends* (Washington University Studies, St. Louis, 1939, p. 292 ff.) puts the first serious collaboration in the year 1767, which would of course be the calendar year in which the *Register* for 1766 was published.

There are half a dozen of the reviews in the latter period in which Burke's authorship is supported by evidence full enough or striking enough to be almost completely convincing. These may be listed here, along with the types of evidence that connect them with Burke:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1766 <i>Letters of Swift</i> Ed John Hawkesworth.
(Parallels to Burke's opinions of Bolingbroke, striking verbal parallel to Burke's acknowledged writing)</p> <p>1768 <i>Manners and Customs of Italy</i> By Joseph Baretti
(Burke's acquaintance with Baretti, acquaintance with this book in manuscript; a copy in his library, indications in the review of a disposition to puff, interest in "characters" as a literary genre)</p> <p>1769 <i>Essay on Shakespeare</i> [By Elizabeth Montagu]
(Burke's acquaintance with Mrs. Montagu, with this book, copy in his library, indications in review of a disposition to puff)</p> | <p>1770 <i>Journey from London to Genoa.</i>
By Joseph Baretti
(Burke's acquaintance with Baretti, indications in the review of a disposition to puff)</p> <p>1771 <i>Essay on Truth</i> By James Beattie
(Burke's acquaintance with Beattie, with this book, striking parallel between review and Burke's known opinion of the book)</p> <p>1772 <i>History of Ireland.</i> By Thomas Leland
(Burke's acquaintance with Leland, with this book, copy in his library, parallels to Burke's interest in Ireland and Irish antiquities, indications in review of a disposition to puff.)</p> |
|--|--|

These reviews might be ranked with those appearing in the first eight years of the *Register*, and called *very probable* instances of Burke's authorship. There are between 1766 and 1773 eight other reviews which though less striking cases may still be called *probable*. These are:

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|---|---|
| <p>1766 <i>Historical Events of Bengal.</i> By J. Z. Holwell
(Parallels to Burke's interest in India, Burke's [later ?] acquaintance with this book)</p> <p>1767 <i>Life of Henry the Second</i> By George, Lord Lyttelton.
(Burke's acquaintance with Lyttelton, parallels to Burke's political opinions and interests.)</p> <p><i>Commentaries on the Laws of England</i> By William Blackstone.
(Burke's acquaintance with</p> | <p>Blackstone, with this book, parallels to Burke's opinions on law and lawyers, to his political opinions)</p> <p><i>Essay on Civil Society</i> By Adam Ferguson.
(Parallels to Burke's opinions on natural and civil society, copy in Burke's library.)</p> <p>1768 <i>Commentaries on Laws of England.</i> By William Blackstone
(Burke's acquaintance with Blackstone [?], with this book; parallels to political opinions)</p> |
|---|---|

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1770 <i>Character of Lord Bolingbroke</i> By
Thomas Hunter.
(Parallels to Burke's opinions
of Bolingbroke) | 1772 <i>Feudal and English Laws</i> By
Francis Stoughton Sullivan
(Burke's acquaintance with
Sullivan [?], with this book
[later?], copy in his library
[later?], parallels to his opin-
ions on law and lawyers, paral-
lels to his political interests) |
| 1771 <i>Memours of Great Britain and
 Ireland</i> By John Dalrymple
(Parallels to Burke's political
opinions, to his interest in Ire-
land) | |

It is scarcely wise to claim as probable any reviews with less evidence than these. The review of Rowland's *Mona Antiqua Restaurata* in 1766 may reflect Burke's interest in Irish antiquities, the review of Walpole's *Life of Herbert of Cherbury* in 1770 may reflect an acquaintance with the author, the review of Burney's *History of Music* in 1773 may reflect an acquaintance with the author or an interest in aesthetic subjects. But such hints are too slight for grounded argument.

We can say as a conclusion of our study: that Burke all but certainly wrote the reviews of the first three or four years, that he very probably wrote the reviews up to and including the year 1765—or at least there is a good deal of evidence for the assumption and none against it, after 1765 he very probably wrote specific reviews, but it is hard to prove he wrote all that appeared; specific probable cases occur until the issue for 1773, after which there is no clear evidence, and the probability diminishes steadily, from the pressures of Burke's political career.

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XXIX

HEINE'S SYNAESTHESIA

I

THE phenomenon of synaesthesia has been much studied in recent years, both on its psychological and on its literary side ¹ In the strict scientific sense, it consists in the arousing, by the stimulation of one sense, a concomitant sensation in another Thus the man who always felt a pain in a certain tooth when a soprano sang off-key² was a genuine

¹ Of the considerable literature on the subject, the following works have proved most useful in the present study

- Anschutz, Georg, *Kurze Einfuhrung in die Farbe-Ton-Forschung* (Leipzig Akadem Verlagsges, 1927)
- Argelander, Annelies, *Das Farbenhoren und der synaesthetische Faktor der Wahrnehmung* (Jena G Fischer, 1927)
- Downey, June E, "Literary Synaesthesia," *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods*, ix (1912)
- Erhardt-Siebold, Enka von, *Synaesthesien in der englischen Dichtung des 19 Jahrhunderts* Ein asthetisch-psychologischer Versuch, diss, 1919 (*Est*, LIII)
- "Harmony of the Senses in English, German, and French Romanticism," *PMLA*, XLVII (1932), 577-592
- Fischer, Otokar, "Ueber Verbindung von Farbe und Klang Eine literar-psychologische Untersuchung," *Zeitschr f Aesthetik und allgem Kunstwiss*, II (1907), 501-534
- "E T A Hoffmanns Doppelempfindungen," *Archiv*, XXIII (1909), 1-22
- Katz, Moritz, "Die Schilderung des musikalischen Eindrucks bei Schumann, Hoffmann und Tieck Psychologisch-statistische Untersuchungen," *Zeitschr f angewandte Psychologie*, v (1911), 1-53
- Margis, Paul, "Die Synaesthesien bei E T A Hoffmann," *Zeitschr f Aesthetik u allgem Kunstwiss*, v (1910), 91-99
- Ségalen, Victor, "Les synesthésies et l'école symboliste," *Mercure de France*, XLII (1902), 57-90
- Stock, Heinz-Richard, *Die optischen Synaesthesien bei E T A Hoffmann* (Munchen Muller & Steinicke, 1914)
- Wehofer, Friedrich, "'Farbenhoren' (chromatische Phonopsien) bei Musik, Ein Beitrag zur Psychologie der Synopsien auf Grund eigener Beobachtungen," *Zeitschr f angew Psychologie*, VII (1913), 1-54
- Wellek, Albert, "Beitrage zum Synasthesie-Problem," *Archiv f d gesamte Psychologie*, LXXVI (1930), 193-201.
- "Zur Geschichte und Kritik der Synasthesie-Forschung," *ibid*, LXXIX (1931), 325-384
- "Das Doppelempfinden im abendlandischen Altertum u im Mittelalter," *ibid*, LXXX (1931), 120-166
- "Der Sprachgeist als Doppelempfinder," *Zeitschr f Aesthetik u allgem Kunstwiss*, XXV (1931), 226-262
- "Renaissance- und Barocksynaesthesie," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, IX (1931), 534-584.
- "Das Doppelempfinden im 18 Jahrhundert," *ibid*, XIV (1936), 75-102

² Katz, *op. cit*, 2

synaesthetic In such simple forms, modern investigators have shown,³ synaesthesia is a psychological "Urphanomen" and can be traced back to prehistoric times, though it became an object of scientific attention only with Newton's *Opticks* in 1704.

As a phenomenon in literature, however, synaesthesia has hitherto been defined less rigorously.⁴ Instead of concomitant *sensations* of different kinds, the concomitance of an actual sensation with the memory of a different sensation, i.e. with an *idea*, has been recognized: the poet hears a sound and thinks (not sees) a color to go with it. I should prefer to call this pseudo-synaesthesia, since it is a combination of "Empfindung" and "Vorstellung" rather than a true "Doppelempfindung."

It may be that rigorous distinction, however desirable, is not feasible in this field. On the basis of literary records, it is probably impossible, as Ségalen points out,⁵ to draw a hard and fast line between cases where the secondary sensation is so vividly objectified as to be indistinguishable from real perception, and, at the other extreme, cases where the sensation-echo is a mere figment of thought, a pallid idea. The distinction between a genuine synaesthetic and a mere "associator" may after all be a matter of degree of intensity. Most of what passes for synaesthesia in literature is probably simply vivid reproduction.⁶ Strictly speaking, we could not be sure, unless we were able to subject the poet to a laboratory test, whether his synaesthesias were spontaneous and real, or were lifelike "Vorstellungen," or were deliberate analogies and technical expedients. In the work of an imaginative writer, one cannot be sure what is his own experience.⁷ The literary tradition into which he is born, the stock of poetic pictures and concepts he finds ready to his hand, must be reckoned in, especially in the case of a poet like Heine, who was the heir of the German Classicists and early Romanticists.

Granted, however, the impossibility of an ultimate answer, the question of the authenticity of Heine's synaesthesias is worth pursuing as far as we can pursue it, for the light it sheds on his stylistic methods and his poetic character.

A new richness in the poetic expression of sensory experience is manifest in the Romantic literatures of western Europe, above all in German Romanticism. Practically all the Romantic writers, from Wackenroder to Eichendorff, provide evidences of it. The Romantic emphasis on the all-round development of the creative individual, the enthusiasm for the

³ Wellek, *Zeitschr. f. Aesthetik* (1931), 226, Ségalen, *op. cit.*, 59.

⁴ E.g., Wellek, *Archiv* (1931), 327, Erhardt-Siebold, *PMLA*, XLVII (1932), 581.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 62 f. ⁶ Katz, *op. cit.*, 2.

⁷ Cf. the case of Gottfried Keller's alleged "Farbenhören," cited by Fischer, *Zeitschr. f. Aesthetik* (1907), 505.

arts, especially music, and the desire to break down the barriers between them; the general urge toward synthesis that revealed itself in the many Romantic coinages in sym-; the enhancement of the life of the senses, the discovery of ever new refinements and blendings of them; the effort of Romantic critics to reach ever subtler shadings in the communication of aesthetic experience—all these tendencies of the age promoted the recording of synaesthetic phenomena. There was hardly a Romanticist who did not cultivate several arts, and some of them, notably E. T. A. Hoffmann, were multiply gifted geniuses.⁸ But it was not even requisite to be thus gifted; by the time Heine began to write, late in the second decade of the nineteenth century, literary synaesthesia had become well established as a tradition or fad which anyone could imitate, even without inner necessity or experience.⁹ And it would have been strange indeed if the impressionable, changeable Heine had remained unaffected.

The fountain-head of these "tonende Farben und leuchtende Klänge" was Tieck, and beyond him in turn stand Heinse and Jakob Bohme.¹⁰ With his love of misty emotions, his half-lights and half-tones and twilight transitions, Tieck would seem to possess the ideal "Anlage." And in fact the evidence goes to show that he was a real "Synaesthetiker," subject to concomitant sensations of light and sound. A good many of his specific perceptions (there is no proof that they were *not* his), such as "u" as a "dark" sound (to which his gloomy poem *Die Zeichen im Walde* is attuned), of the flute as "blue" and the trumpet as "red" (in his poem *Musik*), and his remarks on the "stream" of music (in the essay *Die Töne*) are all confirmed by modern scientific experimentation.¹¹

E. T. A. Hoffmann, the most many-sided of Germans, the ideal of the Romantic "Allkünstler," was in every period of his career poet, composer, and sketcher, and in others in addition painter, conductor, and stage-manager and technician.¹² His musical, pictorial, and literary gifts supplemented each other as channels of expression, and their phenomena seem often to have merged in him in synaesthetic fashion. Not only because of his indubitable gift in the fields of music and pictorial art, but because the observations in his works and, even more significant, his letters, tally with those of modern investigators,¹³ we may regard Hoffmann as a true synaesthetic.

There is every reason to believe that his own experiences are conveyed

⁸ Cf. Herbert Gunther, *Künstlerische Doppelbegabungen* (München: Heimeran, 1938),

11 ⁹ Cf. Fischer, *Archiv* (1909), 2

¹⁰ Cf. Fischer, *Zeitschr. f. Aesthetik* (1907), 534

¹¹ See the results of Argelander, Katz, and Wehofer, also Fischer, *Zeitschr. f. Aesthetik* (1907), 526 f. ¹² Gunther, *Doppelbegabungen*, 77 ff.

¹³ E. g., Fischer, *Archiv* (1909), 7, Margis, *op. cit.*, 91 ff., Stock, *op. cit.*, 11 f., 19 f.

through his Kapellmeister Kreisler, who wears a coat of a startling "Cismoll" color, mitigated by a collar of "E-durfarbe,"¹⁴ and earnestly assures us: "Es ist kein leeres Bild, keine Allegorie, wenn der Musiker sagt, dass ihm Farben, Dufte, Strahlen als Tone erscheinen und er in ihrer Verschlingung ein wundervolles Konzert erblickt" (Ho I, 433) In a confession that bears every mark of truth, he relates:

Nicht sowohl im Traume als im Zustande des Delirierens, der dem Einschlafen vorhergeht, vorzüglich wenn ich viel Musik gehört habe, finde, ich eine Übereinkunft der Farben, Tone und Dufte Es kommt mir vor, als wenn alle auf die gleiche geheimnisvolle Weise durch den Lichtstrahl erzeugt wurden und dann sich zu einem wundervollen Konzert vereinigen mußten —Der Duft der dunkelroten Nelken wirkt mit sonderbarer magischer Gewalt auf mich, unwillkürlich versinke ich in einen traumerischen Zustand und höre dann wie aus weiter Ferne die anschwellenden und wieder verfließenden tiefen Tone des Bassethorns¹⁵

On the whole, Hoffmann's synaesthesias possess a more definite visual and corporeal quality than Tieck's evanescent "Doppelempfindungen"; richer and more vivid, they give an even deeper impression of authenticity.

That Heine felt the influence of these two great predecessors and of the literary tradition they had established, cannot be doubted. To be sure he writes, in his Paris period, disdainfully of those Schellingian "Faselhänse" who, like whirling dervishes, pivot about their own subjectivity until they see the invisible and hear the inaudible, "bis sie Farben hören und Tone sehen"¹⁶ But this does not acquit him of indulging in such antics; it only raises the suspicion that he did so without inner conviction. Had synaesthesia been merely a state of mental confusion and giddiness, it would never have interested him, for his art is eminently self-possessed.

Heine's sensory equipment was of a high order. Extraordinarily, nervously sensitive, he might be said to have lived by moments and the perceptions they brought him, hence he was a person of endless contradictions, and the great forerunner of modern impressionism. In his consciousness, brightly colored visual impressions competed for attention

¹⁴ Hoffmann's *Samtliche Werke*, histor.-krit. Ausg. von C. G. von Maassen (München u. Leipzig: Müller, 1912 ff.), I, 387 (this edition is hereafter cited as "Ho" in the text). Cf. the synaesthesias of other musicians, e.g., Liszt to his Weimar orchestra: "O bitte, meine Herren, ein bisschen blauer!" or "Das ist ein tiefes Violett, ich bitte, sich danach zu richten!" (*Neue Berliner Musikzeitung*, Aug. 29, 1895), and similar sayings by Hans von Bülow and Schumann.

¹⁵ Ho I, 66. Cf. also "Farben, Dufte, Strahlen als Tone," *ibid.*, I, 433, the triple synaesthesia of color, sound, and fragrance (*Werke*, ed. Ellinger-Bong, xrv, 105), and the examples given by Margis, *op. cit.*, 93 ff., and Fischer, *Archiv*, 15 ff.

¹⁶ *Heinrich Heines Samtliche Werke*, hrsg. v. Ernst Elster (Leipzig: Bibliog. Inst., [1887-1890]), IV, 287. All subsequent references for Heine are to this edition.

with complex auditory and poignant olfactory ones. For him, as for Hoffmann,¹⁷ smell was an important sense, "übelriechend" is one of his characteristic adjectives. He uses odors for their "Stimmungswert", they recall persons and situations to him,¹⁸ he speaks of "parfümierte Erinnerungen," and sums up his life by saying:

Ich habe gerochen alle Gerüche
In dieser holden Erdenkuche (I, 416)

He recalls the "faulen Schellfischseelenduft" of Hamburg traders, and the Cologne dialect, "eine Mundart, die wie faule Eier klingt, fast riecht" (VII, 487)—cases of strong olfactory association, rather than of synaesthesia in the strict sense

Heine was, moreover, of a decidedly visual type of mind, not to say visionary. Like Tieck, he was readily stimulated by, and to, visual sensations. A late but revealing hint of this is his complaint to visitors in Paris in 1850 that he must now dictate, instead of doing his own writing as he was wont, he has counted on his eye as well as his ear, for German, he says, is a plastic language, and he thinks it significant that the German calls comprehension "Einsicht," the Frenchman, "entendement."¹⁹

This visual endowment would help to qualify Heine as a synaesthetic, for a visual "Veranlagung" is generally considered by modern investigators to be of primary importance. "Farbenhörer," like Tieck, for example, are, according to Argelander,²⁰ simply high-grade visualizers. The commonest form of synaesthesia is synopsis, i.e., the stimulation of the visual sense by some other (auditory, olfactory, tactile, or gustatory) primary stimulus. The commonest variety of synopsis, in turn, is chromatic (Farbenhören, audition colorée).

Another indispensable prerequisite for true synaesthesia is a highly developed receptiveness to tone-impressions, an unusual sensitivity to music. Investigators have found that "color-hearers" were invariably very musical persons (though not necessarily trained musicians).²¹ On this count, Heine's qualification as a synaesthetic is not so clear. That he had a fine sense for rhythm and melody in language is obvious to any reader, but how much music meant to him is hard to say. One of his most striking traits as a boy was a hypersensitivity to noise, which for him in-

¹⁷ E.g., "Blumen und Blüten dufteten um ihn her, und ihr Duft war wie herrlicher Gesang von tausend Flotenstimmen" (Ho I, 243), "der Geruch, den sie [die Blumen] verbreiteten, stieg aus ihren Kelchen empor in leisen, lieblichen Tönen" (*ibid.*, 298), "die wunderbare Musik des Gartens tonte zu ihm herüber und umgab ihn mit süßen lieblichen Düften" (*ibid.*, 300)

¹⁸ As Helene Herrmann has pointed out in *Studien zu Heines Romanzen* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1906), 91 ff.

¹⁹ H. H. Houben, *Gespräche mit Heine* (Frankfurt: Rutten & Loening, 1926), 742 f. (hereafter cited as "*Gespr.*")

²⁰ *Op cit.*, 151.

²¹ Cf. Wehofer, *op cit.*, 50.

cluded piano-playing, he is said to have had no sense for music, and he never learned to dance ²² His mother made him take violin lessons, but they seem to have been of a vicarious nature, the teacher playing while the boy lay day-dreaming on the sofa. There is hardly any reference to music in Heine's earlier works save the singing of the stock Romantic nightingale ²³

In later life, also, Heine never evinced any great craving for music, scarcely ever attended concerts or operas, and, when he did, seemed decidedly distressed (*Gespr.* 397). There are various reports of his "musikalische Unwissenheit"; ²⁴ what he says of contemporary composers (e.g. VI, 441 ff, VII, 301 ff) is not very penetrating, and certainly his enthusiasm for Le Grand's drumming and Methfessel's compositions (VII, 222 f), his preference of Polish speech to "Mozartsche Klimpercién" (VII, 201), and his horror of Beethoven (VI, 261) do not argue a deep understanding of music. Rather, it seems to have been to him an alien, uncomprehended, and often fearsome realm (cf. VI, 259, 261).

What he wrote to musicians was dictated by various moods and personal considerations ²⁵ In such letters, and in extended discussions (IV, 540-561), one finds many bright aperçus, but these are rather the notions of a supremely intelligent outsider than of one initiated ²⁶ Ferdinand Hiller, who was a good musician, saw a great deal of Heine in the early 1830's in Paris, yet Heine never asked Hiller to play for him. He never was much moved by music, according to Hiller. The latter once asked him whether music ever really interested him, and Heine replied: "Only in its representatives" (*Gespr.* 209 f).

II

The most revealing passage in Heine for our present purpose is the one in *Florentinische Nächte* (IV, 342-348) in which, in the person of Maximilian, he describes his reactions to Paganini's playing on the violin, it has been justly called one of Heine's greatest prose passages, a marvel-

²² Georg Brandes, *Heinrich Heine* (Hamburg u. Berlin: Hoffmann & Campe, [1922]), 35 ²³ H[ermann] Walter, *Heinrich Heine* (New York: Dutton, 1930), 197 f

²⁴ *Gespr.*, 213 f, 389, Hugo Bieber, *Heinrich Heine. Gespräche* (Berlin: Welt-Verlag, 1926), 78 f

²⁵ He writes, e.g., to a composer of his distress at the lack of a piano on which to have his compositions played (*Heinrich Heines Briefwechsel*, hrsg. v. Friedrich Hirth (München u. Berlin: Müller, 1914 ff), III, 171 (hereafter cited as "Briefw.")—yet he could never abide the instrument! Here and elsewhere, his interest in music seems that in an aid and embellishment to his poetry

²⁶ The boy Heine's angry exclamation on being disturbed by his mother in the reverie above "the music gives me ideas—and now they are gone!" seems significant (cited by Louis Untermeyer, *Heinrich Heine* (New York: Harcourt & Brace, [1937]), I, 18). Hiller, *Gespr.* 209, also confirms this intellectual relationship of Heine's to music.

lous example of stylistic virtuosity.²⁷ As Paganini plays, the listener, thanks to his alleged "musical second sight," his gift of seeing, for every note he hears, its adequate "Klangfigur,"²⁸ sees pass before his eyes, in audible picture-writing, various figures and situations, "allerlei grelle Geschichten . . . ein farbiges Schattenspiel" (342-343) which constitutes a narrative in pantomime.

Paganini is transformed in person, attire, and setting. Beside him appears a woman, singing, but her song is inaudible, it can only be inferred from Paganini's playing, which also voices his own feelings for her, "die entzucktesten Melodien, die aus Paganinis Violine hervorstrahlten" (344). But then the jealous virtuoso murders his beloved. In a new transformation he appears as a galley-slave, behind him stands the Devil, to whom he has given his soul in return for superhuman dexterity. The notes of his violin, "immer schmerzlicher und blutender," conjure up visions of fallen angels, of witches, of the Last Judgment.

Under a new "Transfiguration der Töne" (345), Paganini appears to the listener as a solitary brown-clad monk, a demonic figure fiddling on a rocky promontory in a blood-red sea. The sky takes on a deathly pallor, black stars appear, the monk becomes a demon of destruction, his playing releases the monsters pent up in the ocean depths: fantastically misshapen they rise to the surface, clawing at the monk, while the red waves tower toward the pallid heavens and almost lap the coal-black stars with their bloody foam, and the world seems to burst asunder in a furious hurricane of sound (346). To save himself from madness, Heine has to stop his ears and shut his eyes, thereupon the visions vanish, and he sees again the actual Paganini on the stage, bowing to the applauding audience.

As soon as he resumes playing, the miraculous "transfiguration of tones" begins again, though no longer so brightly colored and plastic (347), in a majestic cosmic vision, Paganini appears as a human planet suspended in space with the universe revolving about him to the music of the spheres. In the dim distance move colossal pilgrim forms bearing white staves, the golden tips of these, that seemed stars afar off, glow ever brighter as the tones of the violin strike them, and they move about the player singing heavenly chorales, now scarcely audible, like a mysterious whispering on the waters, then again swelling "sußschauerlich wie Waldhorntöne im Mondschein," and ending in a triumphant crescendo of exultant harps (348).

This is a vision of Miltonic grandeur, but it is not, in my opinion, synaes-

²⁷ H. G. Atkins, *Heine* (New York: Dutton, 1929), 161.

²⁸ On the "Klangfiguren," first discovered by Chladni in 1785, and the contrivance for producing them, see Wehofer, *op. cit.*, 41 f.

thesia We can trace the source of enough of it to cast doubt upon all of it as inspired specifically by a musical experience To begin with, some of it may be plain literary reminiscence The concept of "radiant" tones ("Melodien, die aus Paganinis Violine hervorstrahlten," 344) is very frequent in Hoffmann, for example in *Der goldene Topf* "als strahlten die holden Kristallklänge durch das Zimmer" or "jeder Laut strahlte in das Gefangnis hinein"²⁹ The picture of sea-monsters clawing at the monk is like one in Hoffmann's *Don Juan*: "ich sah aus tiefer Nacht feurige Dämonen ihre glühenden Krallen ausstrecken—nach dem Leben froher Menschen, die auf des bodenlosen Abgrunds dünner Decke lustig tanzten" (Ho. I, 90), or one in the *Kreisleriana*. "Seht, er greift mit glühender Krallen nach meinem Herzen!—er maskiert sich [like Paganini] in allerlei tolle Fratzen—als Freijäger—Konzertmeister—Wurmdoktor—ricco mercante . . . Siehst du es lauern, das bleiche Gespenst mit den rotfunkelnden Augen—die kralllichten Knochenfauste aus dem zerrissenen Mantel nach dir ausstreckend?"³⁰

Hoffmann, as he listened to music, saw figures detach themselves from the background and stride towards him³¹ There is more than one instance in Hoffmann of the synaesthetic conception of music as a turbulent river or sea (Ho. I, 23, II, 15) The picture of changeful shapes emerging from watery depths under the influence of music occurs in a notable passage in Tieck,³² and he, as well as Hoffmann, often describes the effect of music in terms of monsters and apparitions.³³ There are also in Heine's passage (341, 345) possible traces of Goethe's *Faust* and of Hoffmann's Capuchin Friar, while the pictures of waves and rock may be reminiscences of Heine's own seaside experiences and poems (e.g. the "Runenstein" setting)

²⁹ Ho. I, 300, 319 Similarly, all in the same volume "nun strahlte die glockenhelle Stimme empor" (45), "alle Töne spruhen wie funkelnde Salamander blitzend empor dass sie wie in einer Feuergarbe zum flammenden Bilde werden" (47), "glühende Strahlen" and "strahlt das prächtige Thema," of Beethoven (57, 60), "leuchten wie glühende Blitze die Töne" (90), a "Terzett das in rein glänzenden Strahlen zum Himmel steigt" (92), "die goldenen Strahlen brennen in glühenden Tönen" (335), "hell und glanzend die herrlichsten Töne auffunkelten" (388), "ein einziger Ton, aus heiliger Glut seinen Strahl schiessend," and "die Melodie sich entzündete" (389), "in herrlicher Musik hervorstrahlen" (415), "entzündeten sich Töne" (421)

³⁰ Ho. I, 393, cf. *ibid.*, 388 "die von dämonischen Krallen zerrissene blutende Brust" (of the unhappy musician)

³¹ "Aber in solch eine Oper gehe ich immer und immer wieder, und klarer und leuchtender wird es im Innern, und alle Gestalten treten heraus aus dem düstern Nebel und schreiten auf mich zu," etc (Ho. I, 415, cf. also *ibid.*, 23, 57, 59, 60, 62–63, 64).

³² *Die Töne*, cf. Wackenroder's *Werke und Briefe*, ed. v. d. Leyen, I, 296 For examples of this phenomenon in Hoffmann, see Margis, *op. cit.*, 96 f

³³ Examples from Tieck and Hoffmann in Katz, *op. cit.*, 37 f

The most damaging consideration, however, is that the first part of the "vision" is quite clearly a reflection of the facts and myths of Paganini's life, which were unquestionably in Heine's mind, because he rehearses them just before this (iv, 340): the unhappy love-affair³⁴ ending in murder, the convict life on the galley, and the pact with the Devil. Contemporary portraits and accounts³⁵ show in the real Paganini many of the extravagant traits that impressed Heine, in fact, so much of the mythology Heine uses was in the air at the time that Heine might have written his description of Paganini without ever hearing him play.³⁶ According to Lewald (*Gespr.* 154), Heine evinced great interest in Paganini when the violinist was in Hamburg for his concert, indeed seemed somewhat jealous of the immense stir he caused, and resolved to "write him up." It is consistent with Heine's interest in musical personalities rather than music—which we have noted—that Paganini should appeal to him primarily as a literary opportunity. It is significant, furthermore, and not at all characteristic of synaesthesia, that Heine's visions never get away from Paganini; he remains the central figure of each scene.

What we have in this remarkable passage, I should say, is not synaesthesia, but simply reverie induced and accompanied by music, a sort of inverse melodrama, no doubt further elaborated in the writing down, for Heine was no addict of the "erster Wurf." If we may trust the report of Heine's niece Maria Emden-Heine (*Gespr.* 7), Heine at the age of ten was inspired to poetic composition by hearing violin-playing, we may picture the boy on the sofa lost in the same imaginative reverie as that inspired by Paganini—the child is father of the man. Surer evidence of this bent is contained in Heine's early poem *An eine Sangerin* (I, 51 f.), where we see him, while listening to a singer, go off into a dream of chivalry, from which he is awakened by the applause of the audience. Since we do not know what was being sung—any more than we know what Paganini played—we cannot tell how far Heine's mind wandered from the music; but in any case it was a wandering, the day-dreaming of one not conversant with music, a drifting on the stream of inner visions.

Goethe's experience was similar. He complained to Eckermann (January 14, 1827) that he could not read much into (unterlegen) modern music, and added: "Doch das Allegro [of music just heard] hatte Charakter. Dieses ewige Wirbeln und Drehen führte mir die Hexentanze des

³⁴ Such a definite detail as the priest under the bed (344) could not be inspired by music alone. Heine gives himself away here.

³⁵ Cf. Lillian Day, *Paganini of Genoa* (New York: Macaulay, 1929).

³⁶ Grillparzer seems to have heard Paganini on this same tour, and received a similar demonic impression of him, see his poem "Paganini" (1828), *Sämtl. Werke*, ed. Sauer, 5th ed., I, 180.

Blocksbergs vor Augen, und ich fand also doch eine Anschauung, die ich der wunderlichsten Musik supponieren konnte." That is to say, Goethe, like Heine, is "lost" in a concert unless he can engage in pictorial-poetic revery. But this is not synaesthesia, it is association, music here, as in Otto Ludwig's celebrated "confession," is merely a spring-board into a visual-chromatic "Fülle der Gesichte" in which the poet, whose gift is "Anschauung," is truly at home

This holds especially for Heine, who is strikingly visionary. He sees things with his inward eye, rather than with that physical vision which brought to other poets the teeming richness of the outer world. For all his personal susceptibility to his environment, Heine's poetic world is not "naturhaft"; it has the brilliance and the unreality of dreams. It is not chance that his pages abound with accounts of dreams. He is not a realist in the full sense. He may start with a real person or situation, but from this he soon passes to those dream-visions with which he began and ended his career, and which run as a hidden stream all through it.³⁷

* * *

When one considers in detail the briefer "synaesthesias" scattered through Heine's verse and prose, one cannot resist the impression that they are not "erlebt," but "angelesen," chiefly from Hoffmann. Least open to doubt, perhaps, are his olfactory combinations, in view of the manifest keenness of his sense of smell. When he speaks of

Worte, süss wie Mondenlicht
Und zart wie der Duft der Rose (I, 182),

Die Worte klingen wie Musik
Und duften wie die Rosen (II, 33),

Und ein Krauterduft erhebt sich,
Wie'n Konzert von Wohlgeruchen (II, 398)

we are inclined to assume a basis of personal experience.³⁸ But with his radiant sounds and resonant colors he is on triter ground, and it is not

³⁷ It seems to me that a similar striking passage on Liszt's piano-playing (IV, 559) involves the same mental procedure as that on Paganini, i.e., not a synaesthetic reaction but merely a train of thoughts and images with which the poet accompanies, and strays from, the course of music which he does not understand. A like passage dealing with "Klangfiguren" (III, 395), is clearly validated, in the immediately preceding words, as imaginative revery.—Professor Weigand has since called my attention to a similar observation on the Paganini and Liszt passages in E. A. Boucke's edition of Heine (Berlin: Wegweiser-Verlag, n.d.), IX, 372.

³⁸ Pronounced smell-impressions, a comparatively rare phenomenon in synaesthesia, are found in Hoffmann also (see Note 17, above), and triple sight-sound-smell synaesthesias occur in his works. Examples in Fischer, *Archiv* 22, and Margis, *op. cit.*, 93 ff.

difficult to find precedents for a good many of his effects³⁹ He speaks of "ein Blumenregen von klingenden Strahlen und strahlenden Klängen" (III, 71) and "harmonische Strahlen und strahlende Harmonien" (v, 415) —arrangements suspect in their very symmetry; of Rossini's "klingende Strahlen goldene Tone melodische Lichter . . . funkelnde Schmetterlingstraume" (III, 250), of Paganini's radiant notes (iv, 344) and the sun's resounding rays (III, 43).

We find such phrases as

Die Lihe soll klingend hauchen
Ein Lied von der Liebsten mein (I, 68),
Spruhn einmal verdacht'ge Funken
Aus den Rosen (I, 218),

Noch brennt mir im Herzen die tonende Glut (I, 283),⁴⁰

"Tone der Musik . . . drangen in sein Gemut wie Flammen, lodernnd, verzehrend, grauenhaft" (vi, 83),⁴¹ and "klingende Flammenströme des Gesanges" (III, 430).⁴² The striking figure of the human voice, like a nightingale's, "eine schöne, seidne Stimme, ein süßes Gespinnst der son-nigsten Tone" (III, 133), has a forerunner in Tieck's nightingale that spreads out her notes like a garment:

Hub und breitete ihr Lied aus
Wie ein Kleid von süßem Wohllaut,
Deckte Wald mit und Gefilde⁴³

The conception of a face as melodious: "Ich schwelge in den Melodien ihres Antlitzes" (III, 137), is like Tieck's "schwingt sich wie Musik der Bau der Glieder" and "alles an ihr, Gebärde, Gang und Stimme, erklingt wie Musik."⁴⁴ Or it might be a reminiscence of Byron's "Music breathing from her face" (*The Bride of Abydos*, I, 178), a conceit which, defended as it was by a footnote reference to a synaesthetic passage in Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne*, may especially have struck Heine's attention

The auditory-chromatic synaesthesia in the *Harzreise*, "so daß alle Farben einer Gegend wie leise Musik ineinander schmelzen" (III, 25), is

³⁹ See examples in Note 29, above.

⁴⁰ Cf. Brentano's "Abendständchen". "der Tone Licht," and Tieck's *Die Tone*. "Siehst du nicht in Tönen Funken glimmen?"

⁴¹ Eduard Thörn, *Heinrich Heines Beziehungen zu Clemens Brentano* (Berlin: Ebering, 1913), 172, cites parallels in Brentano and Hoffmann Hoffmann on occasion felt unpleasant tones as daggers, cf. Fischer, *Archiv*, 14

⁴² Cf. Tieck "lasst erglänzen eure Stimmen," *Gedichte* (Dresden, 1821-23), II, 15

⁴³ *Ibid.*, I, 97.

⁴⁴ Cited by Alexander Pache, *Naturgefühl und Natursymbolik bei Heinrich Heine* (Hamburg u. Leipzig, 1904), 133.

again Hoffmannesque, reminding one specifically of "eine wunderherrliche Landschaft, auf der Baum, Gebusch, Blume, Berg und Gewasser wie in lautem, wonnigem Klingen sich regten und bewegten" (Ho III, 125) The fact that Heine mentions Hoffmann in the lines immediately following increases the probability that this is an actual borrowing. A similar figure occurs in Goethe's Romantically colored *Divan* "ein erklingend Farbenspiel" (*Wiederfinden*, 30).

Synaesthetic language is used in several descriptions of French paintings: "das Scheffersche Gemalde ist eine schone, musikalische Komposition, die Farben klingen darin so heiter trube wie ein wehmutiges Fruhlingslied" (iv, 32), another painter is so appealing "dass seine Bilder mir nur wie buntes Echo der eignen Herzensstimme erschienen, oder vielmehr, dass die wahlverwandten Farbentone in meinem Herzen wunderbar wiederklangen" (iv, 40); the coloring of another painting is characterized as "jene deliziose Farbenmusik, die zwar komisch, aber doch harmonisch klingt" (iv, 45). But much of this is well within the range of accepted "Kunstjargon." In just this field, synaesthetic phrases have become commonplaces: we speak of color-harmonies, of warm reds and cold blues, of sour notes, of loud colors, "schreiende Farben," or "couleurs criardes" without realizing that we are speaking a Romantic language that was already a convention in Heine's time.

The expression "keine schwarzdumpfen Glocken, sondern rotjauchzende Trompetentone" would seem at first glance to be genuine synaesthesia, but on closer view we may suspect that Heine has taken the color from the palette of Jan Steen, whom he is characterizing as the apostle of bright "Weltfreudigkeit" in contrast to the "trubkatholisch" spirit, for "katholisch" connotes to Heine gloom and muffled bells, as we see in his boyhood memories of the "dumpfkatholische Klosterschule" (III, 26). Or it may be a purely literary borrowing from Hoffmann,⁴⁵ or from Tieck,⁴⁶ or even from Madame de Stael, who seems to have "picked up" synaesthesia during her first sojourn in Germany and her association with A. W. Schlegel—Heine's later mentor—and who devoted a good deal of attention to it in her writings,⁴⁷ which of course Heine knew well.

A slightly confused musical-pictorial comparison in *Lutezia*: "Die Oper von Monsigny mahnte mich unmittelbar an seinen Zeitgenossen, den

⁴⁵ Cf. "wie ein jauchzender Frevel klang mir die jubelnde Fanfare im siebenten Takte des Allegro" (Ho I, 90).

⁴⁶ Lohmann, *Die Störungen der Sehfunktionen* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1912), 6, quotes a parallel from Tieck.

⁴⁷ Cf. Erhardt-Siebold, *PMLA*, XLVII (1932), 585 ff. She was also specifically interested in the case cited by Locke in his *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690): a man, born blind, who had the sensation of scarlet on hearing a trumpet.

Maler Greuze," etc (vi, 460), seems again not synaesthesia but rather association of ideas, a recognition of the parallelism of the arts which we have come to accept, but which had its inception in such Romantic intuitions as Tieck's:

Zu jeder schonen Darstellung mit Farben gibt es gewiß ein verbrudertes Tonstück, das mit dem Gemalde gemeinschaftlich nur eine Seele hat. Wenn dann die Melodie erklingt, so zucken gewiß noch neue Lebensstrahlen in dem Bilde auf . . . und Ton und Linie und Farbe dringen ineinander und vermischen sich mit inbrunstiger Freundschaft in eins.⁴⁸

III

A device by which Heine sometimes produces the effect of synaesthesia—as well as other effects—is the simple device of transfer. "Ein Meer von blauen Gedanken" might seem on the face of it a record of synaesthetic experience, but when we examine its context:

An deine blauen Augen
Gedenk' ich allerwärts,—
Ein Meer von blauen Gedanken
Ergießt sich über mein Herz (I, 211),

we see that it is nothing more than a shifting of the quality of "blue" from eyes, where it is common, to thoughts, where it is novel. So it is with "die blauen Geheimnisse des Himmels" (vii, 46). When Heine speaks of his father's "himmelblaue Heiterkeit" (vii, 486), he transfers less directly, from the idea "für ihn war der Himmel stets blau," and gets a result that suggests synaesthesia, but is radically different from a real synaesthetic's sensation of blue, for example, when a flute is played.⁴⁹

In "unwahre Naturempfindung und dergleichen grüne Lügen" (iii, 304) green-ness is transferred from Nature to pretended feelings about Nature. A further step is "erlogene Grünlichkeiten" (*ibid.*), where the color is raised to the status of a comical abstraction. Green grasses tell each other "green tales" (iii, 51), and the green spring scene even enters dreams as a "green echo" (I, 218).

"Die Vernunftigen . . . werfen wohlbewiesene Bomben" (iii, 183) means that the reasoners throw bombshells of well-proved arguments. This quality of "Vernunft" is transferred from the Berliners to their windows, and we get the apt rearrangement: "die alten, aufgeklärten Fenster der gesunden Vernunftstadt [= die Stadt des gesunden Menschenverstandes]" (iii, 216). There are the Protestant churches, "wo . . . das Licht so frech durch die unbemalten Vernunftscheiben hineinschießt"

⁴⁸ *Die Farben*, cf. Wackenroder's *Whe u. Bfe*, ed v d Leyen, I, 267.

⁴⁹ Cf. Tieck's poem "Musk," in which the Flute sings. "Unser Geist ist himmelblau," an equivalence confirmed by modern tests.

(III, 243). And, by the same process: "manch dummes, aberglaubisches Gebaude," "alte, skeptisch philosophische Hauser" (III, 216), "protestantisch vernunftige Nasen," "dunne, denkgläubige Beine," "aufgeklärte Bauche" (III, 388).

Instead of saying that the Cathedral of Milan is undeniably made of marble, Heine avers that it is made of undeniable marble, "unwiderlegbarem Marmor" (III, 272). He endows the gods, consistently but incongruously, with "unsterblichem Husten" (I, 168). A troublesome person who asks superfluous questions is given an "überflußiges Gesicht" (III, 36). By a more remote borrowing we get "ein süßlich zerquetschtes, eingemachtes Gesicht" (VII, 451).

The effect of such transposition is often very descriptive and, one might say, impertinently pertinent. The Progressive nightwatchman's slogan is applied to his legs: "Nachtwachter mit langen Fortschrittsbeinen" (I, 304, alluding to Dingelstedt). We are made to see the Kantian Rationalist Dr. Ascher, "mit seinen abstrakten Beinen, mit seinem transzendentalgrauen Leibrock" (III, 39), whose pursuit of a positive doctrine brings him finally to a cold, "positive" grave (III, 40). In "lachelnde Beinchen" (VII, 185) and "lachelnder Gang" the shift is from face to legs. "Duftende Rosen erzählen sich Marchen" becomes

Heimlich erzählen die Rosen
Sich duftende Marchen ins Ohr (I, 69).

In a dream, the poet hears "eine niedlich duftende Veilchenstimme" (III, 253). This is not, as would appear, an acoustic-olfactory synaesthesia, but a mere transfer of the attributes of prettiness and fragrance from a humanized violet to its voice. The same thing is done in

Die jungen Blumen schauen mich an
Mit bunten, duftenden Augen (I, 180).

The already fanciful assertion "die dunklen Hauser stehen wie Traumgestalten" is heightened to

Wie dunkle Traume stehen
Die Hauser in langer Reih' (I, 128).

London is called "dieser steinerne Wald von Hausern" (III, 438)—a wilderness of stone houses, or a petrified forest of houses, with a sense of the vastness and, to Heine, forbidding coldness of London and its people. This hovering, multivocal, suggestive effect attained by shifting a word to a new position, while retaining the lingering effect of its old position, and withal the economy of killing several birds with one stone—all this

is after Heine's own heart. As a writer he strives for brevity and concentration ⁵⁰ Brandes called Heine's poems veritable résumés ⁵¹

This transfer-technique, then, is in keeping with Heine's prodigious economy, his desire to achieve the maximum effect with the minimum means. Art, he declares, is symbolical, and "wer mit den wenigsten und einfachsten Symbolen das meiste und bedeutendste ausspricht, der ist der grösste Künstler" (iv, 43). He says the same thing, by implication, in the *Harzreise*: "Eben wie ein grosser Dichter, weiss die Natur auch mit den wenigsten Mitteln die grössten Effekte hervorzubringen" (iii, 25). Like a thrifty builder, Heine does not bring in new material when he can use some already on the spot.

Thus the descriptive color in "dunkles Lied" (I, 174) is apparently taken over from the singer's raven locks, the illuminating "hoflich" is removed from formal society to its cuffs: "weisse, hofliche Manschetten" (I, 151). In the same way we obtain "demokratisch schwarze Fracke" (vi, 297), "geistreiche Huften," and "dummster Kattun" (iii, 247). The white snow telling its woes to the winds is effectively transposed into

Und den fuhllos kalten Winden
All sein weisses Elend klagte (ii, 387).

A woman's breasts are described as "zwei schweigende Blumen . . . die wie weisse Poesie hervorleuchteten," her eyes as "zwei schwarze plotzliche Augen" (iii, 314). Piety is transferred from the simple mountain-folk to their habitations: "die frommen Hutten" (I, 151).

Thoughtlessness becomes more impressive when extended from youth to sticks: "die Jugend . . . schlägt zu mit ihren gedankenlosen Stocken" (iv, 369), and priestly shrewdness more apparent when incorporated in chapels: "bei jenen Quellen, die das Heidentum als göttlich verehrte, baute der christliche Priester sein kluges Kirchlein" (iv, 409). The swallows are shrewd builders, too:

Sie wohnen in klugen Nestern
Wo Liebchens Fenster sind (I, 97).

One of Heine's deliberate aims as a writer was to produce novel, striking effects. He does it by means of unheard-of rimes; he does it through the "Sturzbad" of irony at the close of many a poem; and he does it, most easily of all, by mere verbal "Umstellung." There is a piquant flavor of illegitimacy in his combinations. A reviewer of 1833 speaks aptly of Heine's "Adjektive, die mit den Substantiven in wilder Ehe leben."⁵² He

⁵⁰ The prolixity that invades some of his late poems, such as "Schlachtfeld bei Hastings" and "Vitzhputzli," is all the more striking in its lapse from his normal terseness

⁵¹ Brandes, *Heine*, 74

⁵² Quoted by Elster, v, 210

likes to startle, he likes to turn suddenly from the commonplace to the "frappant", he achieves the "epithète rare" without even needing to reach for rarity, simply by rearranging the ordinary. He vivifies the instruments of the Spanish Absolutists and orthodox religionists by lending to these things the party titles: "das absolute Beil und das orthodoxe Feuer" (iv, 500). By shifting an adjective or adverb he gets a weird picture: "wo die Blutzeugen ein rasches Schafott fanden oder den jubelnden Holzstoß" (iii, 421). Similarly, "um sich langsame Schätze zu erknißern" (vii, 239), "aufs traumerische Polster hinstrecken" (vii, 278), "ein schnelles Universalreich improvisierte" (vii, 281). An adverb becomes an adjective: "wenn man eben seinen vergnügten Kaffee getrunken" (iv, 539), "in den Händen tragen sie nachlässige Waffen" (iv, 41), "die Turken . . . streichen ihre ernsthaften Barte" (iii, 37).

In the "kleines, kicherndes Herz" of the little Chinese princess (v, 307), and the "kleine, horchende Herzen" of children (i, 164) we have a transfer from persons to hearts. Catharine in *Henry V* has "kleine, weisse, neugierige Hände" (v, 419), and the poet thinks of the time when he was little as "jene kleine Zeit" (vii, 304). In "aschgraue Betrachtungen" (ii, 70) the color is transplanted from the seasick poet's face to his thoughts. The same disagreeable hue is assigned to the detested Duke of Wellington, "eine aschgraue Seele in einem steifleinenen Körper" (iii, 492). An innkeeper hastening about is said to wear "einen hastig grünen Leibrock" (iii, 255), which lends an uncommon animation to his person.

In "die Waisenkinder mit . . . ihren lieben, unehelichen Gesichtchen" (iii, 77), a special force of appeal is derived from the shifting of the second adjective: we are reminded, as Heine was, that these faces are just as dear as legitimate ones. Instead of saying "die abgedankten Ratsherren gingen so langsam umher," Heine says "die Ratsherren gingen so abgedankt und langsam umher" (iii, 146): out of a lifeless adjective recording a past action he has made a brand-new adverb that vivifies a present action. Or again: "ihr Gang war . . . nicht mehr so seufzend entsagungsselig . . . sie trat siegreich einher, jeder Schritt ein Trompetenton" (iii, 408). One of Heine's sharpest adjectives is sharpened further by such transfer: "ein ubelriechendes Lächeln spielte um den Mund" (iii, 220).

In the "kurzes, angstlich violettes Seidenkleidchen" of a pathetic little Mignon-figure in Italy (iii, 249), the trait of timidity is obviously transferred from wearer to garb, but it adds an extraordinary descriptive value to the pale color of the dress and to the whole consistent and adroit portraiture. Though no new element is added in such cases, the whole somehow becomes greater than the sum of its parts.

The cold mists of autumn might fancifully be thought of as Nature's

dreams; but of this can be made the more striking "cold dreams": "Spathernstnebel, kalte Traume" (I, 221). In "die jetzige kaltfeuchte Prosa von England durchfroste mich" (IV, 61), the character of the English weather is made to stand for the prosaic atmosphere of contemporary England. In "ein schwarzes, missmutiges Gebaude" (III, 455), Heine's own moroseness is attributed to the Old Bailey, and in "gahnende Strassen" (IV, 359) his *ennui* is flung back at the London streets which caused it.

In the phrase "diese seidenen, schaurigen, verblutenden Tone" (III, 264), which again looks like true synaesthesia, the "seidenen" may well be taken from the singer's dress, and the "verblutend" from the preceding lines in which she is likened to a dying nightingale. Similarly, in "so bittend, so flehend, so verblutend" (IV, 511),⁵³ and "so schmelzende, so verblutend süße Klage-tone" (VI, 263), the chief attribute seems borrowed from the context,⁵⁴ just as in "Tone, die immer schmerzlicher und blutender aus der Violine hervorquollen" (IV, 345), it is suggested by the "bleeding heart" of the despairing Paganini.

Heine's pseudo-synaesthetic description of the performance of a German singer in Paris: "dieses ruhige Ausseufzen des Gemutes, diese blauäugigen, schmachtenden Waldeinsamkeits-töne, diese gesungenen Lindenblüten mit obligatem Mondschein" (VI, 265), is another clear instance of association. The blue eyes are either the singer's or the typical German ones, and the song suggests to Heine certain popular aspects of German Romanticism, which he re-attaches in his wonted fashion. "Seufzende Farben der Sehnsucht" (III, 265) is an equally transparent rearrangement and improvement of the personified abstraction "seufzende Sehnsucht".

Sometimes, on the other hand, a personal quality is made into an abstraction, as in the "feiste Ironie" of Italian priests (III, 387) or the "wohlhabende Sinnlichkeit" of Hamburg women (IV, 99).⁵⁵ "Schöne Frauen sahen mich . . . an mit so bleichem Schmerze" (IV, 421) involves a similar change.⁵⁶ "Ein feinhöriger, spitzaugiger Priester mit lauschender Nase" (IV, 58) interchanges properties of various organs without destroying the essential characterization, yet with arresting effect. "Eine Person mit weissen Haaren und blonden Zähnen" (IV, 93) is another startling interchange of the usual, and by the same process a

⁵³ Of a flute, as in Brentano's "Abendständchen" "Hor, es klagt die Flöte wieder. holdes Bitten, mild Verlangen".

⁵⁴ Or from the "bleeding heart" of the sympathetic listener, as in one of Heine's early reviews (VII, 165), where he speaks in like terms of the dialogue in a play.

⁵⁵ Goethe's "des Knaben lockige Unschuld" ("Das Gottliche") is an example of this by no means uncommon practice.

⁵⁶ By a like extension, Otto Ludwig says of Christiane in *Zwischen Himmel und Erde* "ihre Stimme klang bleich" (*Samml. Wke*, ed. Merker, III, 112).

stinging as well as comic point is made in "der arme Mann, ein Schneider von Nation und seines Handwerks ein Deutscher" (iv, 533)

Often what seems synaesthesia is simply borrowed from the context. Thus "schneidend blau" (iv, 105, of the sky) is suggested by a piercing wind just mentioned, and the synaesthetically spurious "kaltrot" (*ibid*) is due to the wintry landscape and mood which Heine is aiming at here. An "unbeschreibbar eiskalter Schmerzlaut" (iv, 106) is found to come from swans imprisoned in ice, Heine has transferred the iciness from their actual environment to their cries, and gained a suggestion of the "chill" that the listener feels "Liszt . . . lieferte eine seiner brillantesten Schlachten. Die Tasten schienen zu bluten" (iv, 365 f.) is an evident extension of the idea of "blutige Schlacht." Just so the bell-shape of mushroom suggests the further idea of a bell-sound: "hohe Pilze wie goldene Glocken wachsen klingend empor" (v, 287).⁵⁷

Attributes are shifted about among persons and things, and abstractions take on new life; for example: "gelblederne Magd" (iii, 19), "losch-papierener Eindruck" (iii, 27), "schnurrbartige Liebenswürdigkeit" (iii, 38), the "holzerne, steifeinige Gespräche" of hibernating bathing-machines (iii, 107), "staatspapierene Herrlichkeit" (vii, 195), "pergamentene Staatsarchivare" (iii, 228), "lachelndes, frisierendes und duftendes Gewerbe" (v, 37 f.), "grünangestrichener Winter" (iii, 246), "schweinslederne Witze" (vii, 674), "tanzende Moralität" (vi, 298), "lachender Nymphantanz" (iv, 223), "große, katholische Augen" (iii, 243), "spuckende Gewissenhaftigkeit" of portraiture (iii, 229, cf. Schiller's "Wie er rauspert und wie er spuckt"), "nasskalte Besorgnisse" (*Briefw.* I, 632), "schon gekammte, frisierte Gedanken" (vii, 452), "weiche baumwollene Gedanken" (vii, 185), "tonsurierte Gedanken" (v, 271, of Friedrich Schlegel's Catholicizing lectures), and the dirty rabble's "schmutzige Symposien" (vi, 41). The Royalists shed "die legitimsten Tränen" (vi, 288), the loyal Germans bind up their "treue Wunden" (v, 20); but these good-natured people will at last revolt "und die gutmutigste Scharpie von den alten Wunden abreissen" (v, 92).

The phenomenon which we have been observing in Heine is not unknown to other writers. Jean Paul speaks somewhere of "eine feingekleidete Frage" and "ein plattgemachter Herbsttag." In Goethe's *Dwan* occur the lines.

Und, smaragden durchs Gestrauche
Tausendfaltiger Karfunkel (*Vollmondnacht*),

where "smaragden," ostensibly an adverb, is really an adjective removed

⁵⁷ Cf. Hoffmann "es war, als ertonten die Blüten wie aufgehängene Kristallglockchen" (*Ho* I, 241), a comparable extension.

from "Gestrauche": the red light of the full moon, low on the horizon, is breaking through the green foliage. Brentano does the same thing in his *Abendlied*:

Schlank schaut auf der Felsenwand
Sich die Glockenblume um,

where also the displaced adjective (from "die schlanke Glockenblume") gains a new emphasis through its position and its pseudo-adverbial aspect⁵⁸ Tieck's lines:

Wie die Tone sich entzunden
In des Mondes goldnem Schweigen (*Genoveva*),

show how trite elements like silence and golden moonlight can be enhanced by transposition.⁵⁹

Such things, then, can be found elsewhere; but their frequency in Heine argues a close organic connection with his poetical character. His quest for novelty and striking effects, his poetic economy, have already been noted. There is also his wit, which is of a cold, cerebral sort, lacking the warmth that one ordinarily associates with German humor. An intellectual delight in the incongruous, in absurd notions, in ludicrous juxtapositions, in short, what Untermeyer has called "the fun of displacement,"⁶⁰ in large part motivates Heine's transfer-technique.

Heine was one of the most conscious artists, not to say artificers, in the whole range of German literature, a master of intelligent calculation. He saw visions, but he did not dream dreams, at least not in the metaphysical, Romantic sense. He never lost himself in the "Nachtsseite der Natur," and it plays no part in his works.⁶¹ Dreams were for him not the mysterious "Hereinragen" of another world, as they were for Schubert and Kerner and Hoffmann, but an entirely explicable psychological fact and, beyond that, a rewarding literary device.

Synaesthesia and transfer were other such devices, deliberately employed by a writer who never lost sight of his public, and who had about him much of the actor: the instinct for the impressive, the love of *mise en scène*, the ability to change character and costume and move his auditors with feelings to which he is only momentarily or vicariously subject.

If synaesthesia had been an integral part of his personal experience,

⁵⁸ In C. F. Meyer's poem "Das tote Kind," "die blaue Winde klettert schlank empor" is a less startling displacement.

⁵⁹ Incidentally, another precedent for Heine's conception of music as flame. Cf. also Brentano's *Godwin*: "Leise, wie ein Lied des Dankes, zündete sich Eusebios Stimme am Monde an." ⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, I, 307.

⁶¹ Ilse Weidekampff, *Traum und Wirklichkeit in der Romantik und bei Heine* (Leipzig: Mayer & Müller, 1932), 28.

we should expect to find at least traces of it in his private letters. But even in the few oases that dot the sandy wastes of this correspondence we find nothing that could be called synaesthesia. When he speaks of "susse, rosige, leuchtende Bulbul-Sprache" (*Briefw* I, 282) he is pretty certainly transferring qualities from the speaker (an imaginary Persian beauty) to her speech;⁶² and in "wir . . . haschten nach . . . blauen Blumengeruchen" (*Briefw* II, 567) the color is simply slipped from flower to odor. In a letter from Norderney he speaks vaguely of an amorous adventure on the moonlit strand, in which no word was spoken, "nur . . . der Mond machte die Musik dazu" (*Briefw* I, 428). This suggests a light-sound synaesthesia, but even more, it suggests an element of melodramatic theatricalness such as Barker Fairley has pointed out in Heine's work.⁶³ This is, one suspects, a stage moon, and the whole incident is stagey and unconvincing.⁶⁴

If then we attach credence to that which shows through in Heine's letters, and doubt that which does not, we may conclude that the habit of transfer was germane to Heine's nature, and synaesthesia was not. This and the other evidence we have considered, circumstantial though it all needs must be, goes to show that Heine did not really experience synaesthesia, but employed it as he employed other literary devices in the course of his changeful career.

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⁶² So he has Shakespeare's Helena speak "in rosigsten Scherzen" (v, 396), and he does the same with Portia: "wie blühend, wie rosig, wie reinklingend ist all ihr Denken und Sprechen" (v, 459).

⁶³ "Heine's Vaudeville," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, III (1934), 185-207.

⁶⁴ Cf. also "obligater Mondschein" in VI, 265, and a similar obligato in *Briefw* I, 537. Tieck describes nightingales singing in the woods, keeping time "mit der Musik des Mondscheins", see *Schriften* (Berlin, 1828 ff.), XVI, 84.

SOURCES FOR POE'S ARTHUR GORDON PYM,
"HANS PFAAL," AND OTHER PIECES

IT is probable that much yet remains to be understood about Poe's interest in science, in the South Pole, and in stories of the cosmic-voyage type, an interest manifested as early as "Hans Pfaal" and as late as *Eureka*. The sources proposed in this article throw light on this interest.

I ARTHUR GORDON PYM

That Poe drew upon a large number of sources in the construction of *Arthur Gordon Pym* has been demonstrated. The opening chapters are generally believed autobiographical. Once Pym is at sea, the narrative concerns mutiny, shipwreck, and famine. Professor McKeithan demonstrated the large extent of Poe's indebtedness for this part of his voyage to *The Mariner's Chronicle*.¹ He demonstrated also that the portion which deals with the South Seas is taken largely from Morrell's *A Narrative of Four Voyages*.² Poe mentions Captain Cook's *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, from which he drew details.³ Professor Rhea has pointed out the extent of Poe's indebtedness to J. N. Reynolds's speech in the House of Representatives.⁴

Poe's indebtedness to these sources is chiefly for piecemeal development, or elaboration of details. None of them indicates the whole plan of the novel or suggests what Poe may have had in mind for the unfinished portion. Professor Almy, however, has demonstrated a connection between *Arthur Gordon Pym* and Symmes's theory of the hollow earth.⁵

¹ D. M. McKeithan, "Two Sources of Poe's 'Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym,'" *Texas Studies in English*, No. 13 (July 8, 1933), 116-137. ² *Ibid.*, p. 137.

³ Robert Lee Rhea, "Some Observations on Poe's Origins," *Texas Studies in English*, No. 10 (July 8, 1930), 135-146. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁵ Robert F. Almy, "J. N. Reynolds: A Brief Biography with Particular Reference to Poe and Symmes," *The Colophon*, New Series, II, No. 2 (Winter, 1937), 227-245. Symmes's theory made a good deal of noise in the 1820's. In 1818 Captain John Cleves Symmes of Ohio issued a circular to institutions of learning in Europe and America stating that the earth is hollow and open at the poles. In 1823, he petitioned Congress to send an exploring expedition to test his theory, and got twenty-five affirmative votes. With James McBride as collaborator he published in 1826 *Symmes Theory of Concentric Spheres*. In 1827 he lectured at Union College, where he met Jeremiah N. Reynolds and converted him temporarily to the theory.

Symmes believed the earth is composed of five hollow, concentric spheres, with spaces between each, and habitable upon both convex and concave surfaces. At the North Pole, he supposed an opening four thousand miles in diameter, at the South, six thousand. The sea extends through the openings, and seals, whales, and fish pass through. Around each opening is a hoop of ice, but within the hoop the climate is mild and even hot. Ocean

Professor Almy did not suppose a fictional source. Most probably Poe did have general acquaintance with Symmes's theory. But a great many parallels show that his specific source for the Symmesian material was a novel, *Symzonia*, by Captain Adam Seaborn.⁶ This novel, erroneously described in most bibliographical references⁷ as a burlesque on Symmes's theory, was published in 1820, before Symmes's theory was widely known, it is not a burlesque, but a utopistic development⁸ of Symmes's theory, describing an adventure into the hollow interior of the earth.

Whether Poe meant to follow *Symzonia* by taking Pym into the interior of the earth must remain conjecture, with, I think, more evidence *pro* than *con*. But parallels between *Symzonia* and *Arthur Gordon Pym* demonstrate that Poe was using *Symzonia* as a source. Over and over again, *Pym* promises scientific discoveries that will amaze the world. *Symzonia* opens with this promise.⁹ Poe refers to Cook to substantiate

currents flow into the openings, volcanoes fringe the openings in some places, the Aurora Borealis appears in the south. Sunlight is refracted into the hollow earth because of the inclination of the poles.

The connection with Poe (says Almy) seems to be through Reynolds and Poe's brother Henry. In 1827, Symmes and Reynolds went out together on a lecture tour. They soon separated, and Reynolds went on to Baltimore and lectured there. Edgar was not there but Henry was Almy, on the basis of these facts, conjectures that Henry, excited by Reynolds's lectures, probably in turn excited Edgar. Henry may have communicated with Edgar in Boston in 1827 or have talked with him in 1829.

After Symmes died in 1829, Reynolds apparently gave up Symmes's theory, but he continued to be interested in exploration of South Polar regions. In 1834 he addressed Congress. Poe reviewed the address. The address was fifteen hundred words long, Poe used seven hundred of them in *Arthur Gordon Pym* (see Rhea, *op cit*). Reynolds was often engaged in controversy, and Poe wrote much in defense of Reynolds, especially an article in *Graham's Magazine* in 1843 not yet collected in Poe's *Works*, see "A Brief Account of the Discoveries and Results of the United States' Exploring Expedition New Haven B. L. Hamlen," *Graham's Magazine*, xxiii, No. 3 (Sept., 1843), 164-165. Reynolds practised law in New York after 1841 during the time Poe lived there. Whether they met personally is not known, though a good deal of conjecture has been based upon the fact that Reynolds's name was the last upon Poe's lips as he lay dying. See also John Wells Peck, "Symmes' Theory," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, xviii (1909), 28-42.

⁶ Captain Adam Seaborn (*pseud*? perhaps Symmes himself), *Symzonia; A Voyage of Discovery* (New York: J. Seymour, 1820). A relationship between *Symzonia* and *Arthur Gordon Pym* was first suggested, though not fully developed, by Professor Theodore Hunt in *Le Roman Américain* (Paris, 1937), pp. 82-83.

⁷ See, for instance, the Library of Congress catalogue card.

⁸ Probably the first full-blown American utopia. See Nelson F. Adkins, "An Early American Story of Utopia," *Colophon*, New Series, I, No. 1 (Summer, 1935), 123-132. This article says that [Mrs. Mary Griffith's] "Three Hundred Years Hence" in *Camperdown; or, News from our Neighbourhood* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard, 1836)—is the first American utopia. *Symzonia* is sixteen years earlier.

⁹ P. 13—the opening page of the narrative.

certain findings in the South Seas. *Symzonia* refers to Cook for exactly the same purpose.¹⁰ As *Pym* comes to a close, distant volcanoes are described. *Symzonia* describes no volcanoes, but the land discovered just inside the rim is mountainous, and islands on the rim are volcanic in origin.¹¹

When Pym is on board the *Jane Guy*, Captain Guy sails southward in search of some islands called the Auroras, reported to have been discovered in 1762 and since seen by several navigators. Their precise location is given in the fifty-second parallel of latitude. On the other hand, various other navigators have visited the spot and reported that no islands were there. Determined to find out, Captain Guy sails over the exact spot and sights no land of any kind.¹² After this disappointment, he then sets out to look for some other islands similarly in dispute in latitude sixty. He cruises for three days over the spot, but finds no traces of any islands.¹³ Poe's reason for interrupting his story to describe these searches is obscure. But *Symzonia* provides the key to what Poe was doing at this point. When Captain Seaborn sails over the rim of the earth without telling his officers where he is going, they figure the latitude and find themselves not where they thought, but quite far to the north.

November 21st, 1817, [says Seaborn] the sun's altitude corrected for refraction placed us in a more northern latitude than we had left, which my officers considered as evidence of our having passed the pole and made some progress northward, and they accordingly congratulated me on the occasion. I knew better, and was perfectly aware that if the poles were open, of which I had no doubt, we must necessarily change our apparent latitude by observation very fast, and on turning the edge of the opening have a vertical sun, an equal division of day and night, and all the phenomena of the equator.¹⁴

In *Symzonia*, when Captain Seaborn is on the rim near latitude ninety, the first mate is positive they are in latitude twenty-eight. Poe seems to be preparing a mystification, with the intention of later coming upon the very islands that were not there in the very latitude that Guy had explored. The explanation might eventually come out that they had gone over the rim of the world and that the navigators originally reporting the islands had almost discovered the internal world—without knowing it.

In *Pym* just before the *Jane Guy* reaches the island of black natives, the voyagers pick up:

. . . the carcass of a singular-looking land-animal. It was three feet in length, and but six inches in height, with four very short legs, the feet armed with claws of

¹⁰ P. 38

¹¹ See pp. 83-84, 99, and 217

¹² James A. Harrison, ed., *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell and Co., 1902), III, 162-164. Hereafter I shall refer to this edition as *Works*.

¹³ *Ibid.*, III, 165.

¹⁴ P. 76

a brilliant scarlet, and resembling coral in substance. The body was covered with a straight silky hair, perfectly white. The tail was peaked like that of a rat, and about a foot and a half long. The head resembled a cat's, with the exception of the ears—these were flapped like the ears of a dog. The *teeth* were of the same brilliant scarlet as the claws.¹⁵

Captain Seaborn likewise discovers the carcass of a strange animal on the land he reaches just before he goes over the rim. The difference between the imaginative fecundity of Poe and Seaborn¹⁶ is indicated in the commonplace nature of the carcass in *Symzonia* as compared with that in *Pym*. The carcass is simply:

. . . some enormous bones, possible of a whale, which . . . might at some former period have got on shore in this high latitude, after the fashion of the other visitants from the internal world. As they were very large I called them mammoth bones of course, had them all carefully taken on board, and packed in boxes, as an invaluable acquisition to the scientific world.¹⁷

Similarly, just before Pym and his group get to the island of the black natives they discover:

. . . half-buried in a pile of loose stones, a piece of wood, which seemed to have formed the prow of a canoe. There had been evidently some attempt at carving on it, and Captain Guy fancied that he made out the figure of a tortoise, but the resemblance did not strike me very forcibly.¹⁸

This discovery parallels one that Seaborn makes on the first land he reaches in the internal world:

I found part of the frame of a vessel of some sort, of about one hundred tons burthen, the form of which satisfied me that it was no drift from the external world. The stem raked inwards, instead of out, as we construct them, giving the forward part of the vessel the form of a double ploughshare . . . But the most singular part was a piece of planking, which remained attached to the frame, and which was actually sewed on with a white elastic wire.¹⁹

In this instance, the discovery in *Symzonia* is stranger than that in *Pym*, but Poe probably intended his major wonders to come later.²⁰ But both items are prows; both focus upon a loose piece of wood with something strange about it.

In *Pym* Captain Guy plans to sail on southward from the island of

¹⁵ *Works*, III, 179–180

¹⁶ In general, except for its one bold imagination of a world inside the earth, *Symzonia* is bare and matter-of-fact. One may surmise that Poe was struck by the possibilities in the basic idea, but that he had to go elsewhere (see the sources cited *supra*) for details to create the emotional reality he desired.

¹⁷ P. 69.

¹⁸ *Works*, III, 177.

¹⁹ P. 87.

²⁰ See the many promises of wonders to come, *Works*, III, 109, and *passim*.

black natives, but to leave part of his crew there to prepare a cargo of *bêche de mere*. Houses are erected for this crew to spend the winter; Captain Guy plans to return for the men and the cargo. In *Symzonia* Captain Seaborn leaves a crew on the island at the entrance to the internal world to engage in sealing. He builds them houses for the winter; and when he returns he picks them up along with the enormous number of seal-skins they have acquired.

In *Pym*, after the massacre of Captain Guy and his party, the black islanders attack and burn the ship. They ignite the gunpowder, and there is a terrific explosion. It frightens them beyond all damage done—which is enormous. They set up a shout of "*Tekeli-li! Tekeli-li!*" which Poe later says applies to all things white and seems to refer to a land beyond the point where the novel breaks off. The blacks discover the carcass of the strange animal (presumably, even without the suggestion of *Symzonia*, from the land beyond), exhibit abject fear of it, stake out a circle around it, and scream, "*Tekeli-li! Tekeli-li!*"

A passage in *Symzonia* suggests an explanation for this strange behavior. The white Internals had set up a Utopia by driving away members of their society who exhibited anti-social traits. These exiles had departed to the lands at the rim of the internal world, where, because they were exposed to constant sunshine, they had become black. The white Internals kept them in fear by means of a great flying machine that produced intense flames and threw them, like flame-throwers, for half a mile. To the extent that Poe planned to follow *Symzonia*, the flaming explosion followed by the discovery of the strange carcass suggested to the black natives (who correspond to the blackened exiles of *Symzonia* at this point) the flame-throwing apparatus of the Internals—and the carcass, apparently from the inner world, clinched the identification.

Another parallel is that Captain Seaborn stops his story for several pages to describe in picturesque detail a colony of penguins. He describes their cities and the nests in the cities, with regular streets between the nests. He describes the appearance of the penguins in detail. He describes how they walk:

... bolt upright, with a firm step like a grenadier, and have the appearance, when formed in squadrons, of soldiers, in a uniform of black coats, white underdress, and black gaiters . . . they parade in regular order. They then march off, two abreast, and in close order, preceded by a leader, to the diving place

He describes how some of them keep watch, while others swim and dive. When the leader lands, they form in regular order, march to the square, in the same manner as they left it, divide into squadrons, and file off to their respective stations to relieve guard.

Poe likewise stops his narrative to describe the penguins. His description includes albatrosses, and he evidently uses an additional source for details. But the following portion of the description seems to echo a figure of speech from *Symzonia*:

At the same time a crowd of penguins are to be observed, some passing to and fro in narrow alleys, and some marching with the military strut so peculiar to them, around the general promenade ground which encircles the rookery.²¹

According to Symmes's theory, the verge of descent into the interior of the earth comes, at the South Pole, at about ninety degrees of latitude. Pym and Peters escape from the black natives into a latitude exceeding eighty-four degrees.²²

In *Symzonia*, beyond a hoop of ice, the polar regions are warm. Seaborn's sailors even complain of the excessive heat of the region at the polar opening.²³ Poe goes to great pains to show that Captain Morrell and others found the Antarctic Circle warm, especially beyond the sixty-fifth latitude.²⁴ The farther south they went, the warmer the temperature became.²⁵ After Pym and Peters leave the island of black natives, they experience increasingly warm weather.²⁶ Below latitude eighty-four even the water is warm.²⁷ At the very end of the story, "the heat of the water was extreme, even unpleasant to the touch."²⁸ And finally, "the hand could no longer be endured within it."²⁹

²¹ The digression describing the penguins takes up pp. 30-34 in *Symzonia*, it takes up *Works*, III, 155-157, in *Arthur Gordon Pym*. Poe did not follow Seaborn's phrasing and evidently did not rely upon Seaborn for details. The "cities" differ. Seaborn described only penguins, their nests, and their habits, Poe described both penguins and albatrosses, the latter nesting in the same "city" as the penguins. It seems likely that Poe got his idea for the digression and a figure of speech from *Symzonia*, but got his details elsewhere. In general, Poe's use of *Symzonia* suggests that he read the book and held its story in mind, but did not consult it for phrasing. The unimaginative flatness of the style, the absence of anything like emotional color in the book may have both stimulated Poe to follow the story and turned him away from its phrasing. The imaginative possibilities in the basic idea may have excited Poe to tell the same story, but to tell it more vividly. His adding of the albatross (of romantic connotation) to the penguin-colony seems typical.

²² Cf. [Jeremiah N. Reynolds?] "A Review of 'Symmes's Theory of Concentric Spheres . . . By a Citizen of the United States,'" *The American Quarterly Review*, I, No. 1 (March, 1827), 235-253 (attributed to Reynolds by Robert F. Almy, *op. cit.*), and *Works*, III, 236.

²³ P. 84.

²⁴ *Works*, III, 169.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 177.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 236.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 238.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 240.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 241. In both Symmes's theory and Reynolds's address to Congress strong ocean currents are indicated (Rhea, *op. cit.*, p. 137). In *Pym*, a noticeable current, "setting southwardly at the rate of half a mile per hour" is encountered in latitude eighty-one, it soon increases in rate to three-quarters of a mile per hour (*Works*, III, 175). A little later, soundings show it to be a mile per hour (*Works*, III, 179). After Pym and Peters leave the island, they are caught in a "very strong current." (*Works*, III, 238.) A little later they find themselves "hurrying on to the southward, under the influence of a powerful current." (*Works*, III, 240).

Another characteristic of the region that Pym and Peters approach is the curious whiteness—the milky water, the white flakes that fall into it, the snow-white birds, the black man's fear of everything white, and finally the great white mist and the vast white figure. Mrs. Mozelle Allen traces this contrast of black natives and the white land beyond to a passage in Voltaire that states it as a law of nature that white and black are eternal enemies.³⁰ We need not look to Voltaire for the source of this idea. In *Symzonia* the inhabitants of the internal world are extremely white, their buildings are white and their garments are white. Seaborn says that:

I am considered fair for an American, and my skin was always in my own country thought to be one of the finest and whitest. But when one of the internals placed his arm, always exposed to the weather, by the side of [the inside of my arm, (which was always excluded from the sun,)] . . . the difference was truly mortifying. I was not a white man, compared with him.³¹

The cloth of their garments, "being exquisitely white . . . corresponds admirably with the delicate complexions of the people."³² Poe apparently gets the whiteness from *Symzonia*, but he adds something mystic to the "realism" of that book: white mists, white volcanoes, milky water.³³

³⁰ "Poe's Debt to Voltaire," *Texas Studies in English*, No. 15, pp. 68-69.

³¹ P. 110, the phrase inside brackets is taken from an earlier position in the paragraph.

³² P. 160.

³³ As Pym and Peters were drawn southward, they approached a region of white vapor that flared up in "all the wild variations of the Aurora Borealis." And then we come to the very end of the book:

The darkness had materially increased, relieved only by the glare of the water thrown back from the white curtain before us. Many gigantic and pallidly white birds flew continuously now from beyond the veil, and their scream was the eternal *Tekel-hi!* as they retreated from our vision. . . . And now we rushed into the embraces of the cataract, where a chasm threw itself open to receive us. But there arose in our pathway a shrouded human figure, very far larger in its proportions than any dweller among men. And the hue of the skin of the figure was of the perfect whiteness of the snow. (*Works*, III, 238 and 242.)

Here I believe Poe is making use, at least in part, of the Magellanic clouds described in Symmes's theory:

They are three in number, of an irregular shape, and observed by night in the South Atlantic, and the south-east parts of the Pacific oceans, (reversed from New-Holland and New-Zealand,) but never visible in the eastern parts of the Indian ocean: their colour is like that of far-distant mountains, on which the sun is shining. . . . They are stationary, appearing perpetually fixed at a certain height, and in a particular situation. ([Reynolds?], *op. cit.*, p. 252)

Symmes said that these Magellanic clouds are

. . . the reflections in the sky of New Zealand, New Holland, and Van Diemen's land seen *across the rim!* As the planets reflect light, so do these great continental islands. They are located just about on the southern verge or rim. To one . . . looking across the verge or polar opening the reflections of these lands in the sky present the phenomena known as the Magellanic clouds. (Peck, *op. cit.*, p. 37.)

These resemblances show that Poe used *Symzonia* as a source. They suggest to me very strongly that the sources previously cited were sources for elaboration of details, but that Poe's general plan was based on *Symzonia*.

In the foregoing, I sought to exclude conjecture and to draw only that conclusion clearly indicated by the evidence. But Poe's use of *Symzonia* suggests some tentative conclusions—or surmises—for which explicit evidence is lacking.

It seems likely that several times during the construction of *Arthur Gordon Pym* Poe changed the direction of his story according to the source he was following at the moment, but that his basic intention was always to follow the plan of *Symzonia* by taking Pym into a world inside the earth. Evidence of change of plan is everywhere through the book. Originally Poe planned for Pym and Augustus (not Peters) to adventure together. At the point in the story describing how Pym escaped from the hold of the ship, it is said that Augustus heard Pym when he dropped a bottle and came to his rescue. But Poe writes:

Many years elapsed, however, before I was aware of this fact. A natural shame and regret for his weakness and indecision prevented Augustus from confiding to me at once.³⁴

But "many years elapsed" makes no sense, for Augustus is dead within a few months. When Augustus is dead, Peters becomes Pym's companion. This is not the original plan, for Peters is at first characterized as half-insane, queer, and frightful. Later he is resolute, wise, and commonplace—apparently the rôle intended for Augustus. At the time Poe wrote of the islands reported by some ships, but unable to be found in the given latitude, he said nothing of a region of mist—and apparently had not planned it. Peters and Pym drift alone into the southern ocean on the wreck of their ship. Then there is an interlude in two parts—the peaceful part in which they are picked up by the *Jane Guy*, followed by the violent part that destroys everybody in the party except Peters and Pym and leaves them again as they were, drifting alone to the south. The change of plan occurs where Pym and Peters are picked up and (following *Symzonia*) Captain Guy prepares to sail into the polar regions, leaving men behind to collect *bêche de mere* among the peaceful black natives; then the plan returns to Pym and Peters alone.

These changes are apparently related to the sources Poe was using for the elaboration of details. The book opens, like *Symzonia*, in a matter-of-fact tone, but as Poe reads the *Mariner's Chronicle*, it seems to get out of hand with unreal horrors. Then apparently as Poe reads Morrell and

³⁴ *Works*, III, 64.

Reynolds, he brings the novel back to the matter-of-fact—and proceeds along the route of *Symzonia*, somewhat embellished. The black natives are peaceful, sub-Utopian people.³⁵ Then Poe reads *Arabia Petraea* and apparently in excitement about the Hebrew passage forbidding entrance to Edom³⁶ gets an idea for something mystic. The peaceful black natives change character to savages who massacre all the party except Pym and Peters. They escape in a cave, where they discover the “Arabic” writing Poe may plan to take Pym and Peters into the internal world (of *Symzonia*) to discover the civilization suggested by the “Arabic” symbols,³⁷ but he abandons the plan.³⁸

Internal evidence strongly suggests that Poe meant to take his adventure on into the inner world. The title page promises “Incredible Adventures and Discoveries still Further South” than the island of the black natives. The Preface states that Pym has been reluctant to write because “the incidents to be narrated were of a nature so positively marvellous, that . . . they would not be believed.”³⁹ The narrative itself states that the adventures in the south occupied nine years. Pym speaks of:

. . . the thousand chances which afterward befell me in nine long years, crowded with events of the most startling, and, in many cases, of the most unconceived and unconceivable character.⁴⁰

Actually, the length of the time covered in the book is nine months, from June, 1827, till March, 1828. When Pym died, according to Poe’s “Note” at the end, only two or three chapters remained to be written. He had

³⁵ See footnote 8, *supra*

³⁶ See *Works*, x, 81–85, 178–181, and xvi, 63–66.

³⁷ It is possible to surmise (rather wildly?) that Poe thought for a while of finding the Lost Tribes of Israel in the internal world. The title of the ruler of the islands is Tsalemon (*Works*, iii, 239). The “Arabic” writing, misleadingly discussed by Poe in his “Note,” contains the Arabic for *Zahara* (“reddish-white, brown” or “Sahara” Desert), and the “*Tekela-li*” may be corrupt Arabic for “Trust to me.” There are other evidences of his interest in the Jews at this time. Using material from Rees’s *Cyclopaedia*, he wrote an essay on Palestine at about the time he may have been writing this part of *Pym* (*Works*, xvi, 1–5). In the preparation of this essay, Poe consulted at least fifteen articles in the *Cyclopaedia* and quoted from them *verbatim* (See my article, “Poe’s ‘Palaestine,’” *American Literature*, xiii [March, 1941], 44–58). He may have read also the article on the “Jews,” which speaks of the Lost Tribes as divided into the Black Jews and the White Jews, who would correspond to Poe’s black natives and the white internals suggested by *Symzonia*. The *Cyclopaedia* says: “The White Jews look upon the Black Jews as an inferior race, and not as of a pure cast.” See Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopaedia* (Philadelphia: Bradford, Murray, Fairman, and Co., n.d. [1810–1824]), the article on “Jews,” xix, unpaginated. Though not evidence, all these coincidences are suggestive.

³⁸ Perhaps through exhaustion, confusion, or need of money? Perhaps the present ending is a symbol suggested by Jehovah’s interdiction against Edom? ³⁹ *Works*, iii, 1

⁴⁰ *Works*, iii, 109.

covered one-twelfth of the time and had merely got in sight of the "positively marvellous" toward which the book was moving—and yet says only two or three chapters remain!

Pym is full of promises of something to come. Poe apologizes for devoting a long digression to the penguins, saying, "I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of the penguin and albatross,"⁴¹ but he does not. In describing Dirk Peters, early in the book, he says that the

. . . latter portions, will be found to include incidents of a nature so entirely out of the range of human experience, and for this reason so far beyond the limits of human credulity, that I proceed in utter hopelessness of obtaining credence for all that I shall tell, yet confidently trusting in time and progressing science to verify some of the most important and most improbable of my statements.⁴²

Such predictions run through the book,⁴³ especially promises to open the eye of science to "one of the most intensely exciting secrets which has ever engrossed its attention."⁴⁴ *Pym* promises a "vast chain of apparent miracles with which I was destined to be at length encircled."⁴⁵ But the "vast chain" does not appear, and could not appear in two or three chapters.⁴⁶

Though the book at no point *says* the adventures will occur in the interior of the earth, these promises of marvels of interest to science, together with Poe's use of *Symzonia* as a source, strongly suggest this destination.

II "HANS PFAAL"

Poe's sources for "Hans Pfaal" are complex. Poe turned to a variety of sources in both science and fiction for material used in this story. Professor Campbell has pointed out that Poe wove information from Brewster's *Letters on Natural Magic* into "Hans Pfaal."⁴⁷ Professor Posey has pointed out Poe's indebtedness to Herschel for scientific information;⁴⁸ he pointed out also that Poe used Rees's *Cyclopaedia*.⁴⁹

But Posey indicated that he believes Poe's main source to be a review of Tucker's *A Voyage to the Moon*. In his "Note" appended to "Hans Pfaal" in 1840, Poe mentions a "criticism" of a voyage to the moon published in the third volume of the *American Quarterly Review*. This

⁴¹ *Works*, III, 155. Perhaps the white birds flying through the mist at the very end of the book adumbrate some use planned for the albatross.

⁴² *Works*, III, 53.

⁴³ See, for instance, *Works*, III, 170.

⁴⁴ *Works*, III, 178.

⁴⁵ *Works*, III, 187.

⁴⁶ See the promise of further adventure, *Works*, III, 223.

⁴⁷ Killis Campbell, "Poe's Reading," *Texas Studies in English*, No. 5 (October 8, 1925), 187.

⁴⁸ Meredith Neill Posey, "Notes on Poe's *Hans Pfaal*," *MLN*, XLV, No. 8 (December, 1930), 501-507.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 507.

"criticism" is a review-and-summary of *A Voyage to the Moon* by "Joseph Atterley," a pseudonym for Professor George Tucker of the University of Virginia.⁵⁰ Posey finds many of the ideas in "Hans Pfaal" in the review and concludes that this review is the main source of the story.⁵¹

But I believe not the review, but Tucker's book, to be Poe's main source.⁵² The review, twenty-seven pages long in small type, quotes profusely from the book. The review contains much of the material used in "Hans Pfaal." I believe, however, that the book itself is the source because I found items common to both Tucker's book and Poe's story, but not in the review. The review makes no reference to the following incident in Tucker's book:

About 11 o'clock it was necessary to get a fresh supply of air, when my companion cautiously turned one of the stop-cocks to let out that which was no longer fit for respiration, requesting me, at the same time, to turn the other, to let in a fresh supply of condensed air, but being awkward in the first attempt to follow his directions, I was so affected by the exhaustion of the air through the vent now made for it, that I fainted, and having, at the same time, given freer passage to the condensed air than I ought, we must in a few seconds have lost our supply, and thus have inevitably perished, had not the watchful Hermit seen the mischief, and repaired it almost as soon as it occurred.⁵³

Poe develops, apparently from this suggestion of fainting at the loss of air, an elaborate episode of several pages describing Hans's suffering before he gets his condenser set up. The following extracts illustrate Poe's use of this idea:

I began to find great difficulty in drawing my breath. My head, too, was excessively painful, and, having felt for some time a moisture about my cheeks, I at length discovered it to be blood, which was oozing quite fast from the drums of my ears. . . . I was suddenly seized with a spasm which lasted for more than five minutes, and even when this, in a measure, ceased, I could catch my breath only at long intervals, and in a gasping manner,—bleeding all the while copiously at the nose and ears, and even slightly at the eyes. . . . [After letting blood.] The difficulty of breathing, however, was diminished in a very slight degree, and I found that it would soon be positively necessary to make use of my condenser. . .

⁵⁰ New York: Elam Bliss, 1827. The review was written by Professor Robley Dunglison of the University of Virginia (so Dean James Southall Wilson of the University of Virginia informs me by letter), though it was not signed.

⁵¹ Posey, *op cit*, p. 501. That Poe did know the contents of the review, at least by 1840, is clear from the fact that his "Note" for the 1840 edition of "Hans Pfaal" discusses books compared, in the review, with Tucker's book.

⁵² Poe's "Note" to the 1840 edition refers to the review, but not to the book. Perhaps Poe wished partly to conceal his source by making only this oblique reference to it. He seems insincere in his citation. He was able to cite the volume number of the magazine in which the review appeared, but he says he does not remember the title of the book, which is simply *A Voyage to the Moon*.
⁵³ P. 48.

At a quarter past eight, being able no longer to draw breath without the most intolerable pain, I proceeded, forthwith, to adjust around the car the apparatus belonging to the condenser ⁵⁴

The review makes no mention of an incident even more strikingly parallel between Tucker's book and "Hans Pfaal." After the *bouleversement*, Atterley looks through the wrong telescope and is startled because what he takes to be the earth is really the moon:

The earth's appearance I found so diminished as not to exceed four times the diameter of the moon, as seen from the earth, and its whole face was entirely changed. After the first surprise, I recollected it was the moon I was then regarding, and my curiosity was greatly awakened.⁵⁵

Hans makes the same mistake, though Poe develops his surprise into melodramatic shock:

What, therefore, must have been my amazement, on awaking from a brief and disturbed slumber, on the morning of this day, the seventeenth, at finding the surface beneath me so suddenly and wonderfully *augmented* in volume. . . I was thunderstruck! No words can give any adequate idea of the extreme, the absolute horror and astonishment, with which I was seized, possessed, and altogether overwhelmed . . . [Etc., etc] . . . The latter [earth] was indeed over my head, and completely hidden by the balloon, while the moon—the moon itself in all its glory—lay beneath me, and at my feet ⁵⁶

Just after Atterley reaches the moon, he briefly sketches the geography of the moon. Then the book contains the following item, of which no mention is made in the review:

This brief sketch must content the reader for the present. I refer those who are desirous of being more particularly informed, to the work which I propose to publish on lunar geography, and, in the mean time, some of the most striking peculiarities of this people, in opinions, manners, and customs, will be developed in this, which must be considered as my *personal narrative*.⁵⁷

Just after Hans reaches the moon, at the end of "Hans Pfaal," Poe likewise promises revelation of scientific data, "... intelligence for the private ear of the States' College of Astronomers,"⁵⁸ and likewise defers any discussion of these data for personal reasons: "I am pining for a return to my family and to my home."⁵⁹

Tucker's book, but not the review, discusses the fact that there is no absolute darkness on the moon, because the earth, ten times (he says elsewhere twelve times) bigger than the moon, reflects "as much light as we terrestrials have a little before sunrise, or after sunset."⁶⁰ As Hans does

⁵⁴ *Works*, II, 70-75.

⁵⁵ Tucker, *op cit*, p. 84.

⁵⁶ *Works*, II, 93-94.

⁵⁷ Tucker, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁵⁸ *Works*, II, 99.

⁵⁹ *Works*, II, 100.

⁶⁰ Tucker, *op cit.*, p. 107.

not describe spending any time on the moon, he does not get a chance to include this item, but he prepares to do so. On the way to the moon, he describes how the earth becomes a pale yellow and shines with a brilliance painful to the eye.⁶¹ Later the earth becomes a great shield of light.⁶²

Evidently, then, Poe did use Professor Tucker's *A Voyage to the Moon* first-hand as a major source for "Hans Pfaal."⁶³ But, as I have pointed out above, Poe's sources were complex. I have another source to suggest for a detail in "Hans Pfaal." Professor Almy has pointed out that the long entry in Hans's diary for April 7 is clearly a reference to Symmes's theory concerning a hollow earth.⁶⁴ I have pointed out above, in discussing *Arthur Gordon Pym*, Poe's use of the novel *Symzonia* in this connection. Apparently Poe drew upon *Symzonia* not only for *Pym*, but for an important detail in "Hans Pfaal." To get to the moon, Tucker's voyager discovered a metal that was anti-gravitational—that is, it tended to fly off the earth toward the moon. He used it to propel his car to the moon. Hans Pfaal used a balloon filled with gas made from "a quantity of a particular metallic substance, or semi-metal which I shall not name, and a dozen demijohns of a very common acid."⁶⁵ Posey believes that Poe's use of a "particular metallic substance, or semi-metal" indicates indebtedness to the review of Tukier's book.⁶⁶ It does not indicate primary indebtedness to Tucker, for Poe definitely rejected the *principle* Tucker employed.

But in *Symzonia*, the inhabitants of the internal surface of the hollow earth fly enormous cylindrical balloons. Seaborn says that they are filled "with an elastic gas, which was readily made by putting a small quantity of a very dense substance into some fluid, which disengaged a vast quantity of this light gas."⁶⁷ Here is Poe's principle. For "a small quantity of a very dense substance" he says "a quantity of a particular metallic substance"—perhaps through suggestion that Tucker had used a metal—and for "fluid" he says "a very common acid."

These similarities indicate that we must add to the already accepted sources for "Hans Pfaal" Professor Tucker's *A Voyage to the Moon* and,

⁶¹ *Works*, II, 89

⁶² *Works*, II, 99

⁶³ Whether Poe saw Tucker's manuscript while at the University of Virginia or came across the book while visiting Elam Bliss, the publisher of both Tucker's book and Poe's *Poems* of 1831, or found it in a bookstore or library is a matter for conjecture

⁶⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 227-245

⁶⁵ *Works*, II, 52.

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 501. Posey says "But the most significant detail which the two possess in common is that of the employment, as a means of overcoming resistance to aerial travel, of a metal, spoken of in the earlier story as *lunarium* and described by Poe as a *particular metallic substance or semi-metal*. Poe's metal is one of the materials for making the gas in the balloon, whereas *lunarium*, being lighter than air, itself had lifting power."

⁶⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 114.

for an important detail, Seaborn's *Symzonia*. The sources so far discussed are concerned with the edition of 1835, published in the *Southern Literary Messenger*. In the edition of 1840, Poe made a number of changes, and for these changes still another source (or complex of sources) is indicated.

Among the Poe manuscripts in the possession of Mrs. W. M. Griswold were four and a half pages of pencil-written notes in Poe's handwriting, signed with several scribbled signatures of Poe in ink. In another handwriting, these notes were labeled "Notes on Eureka." In publishing them, Harrison stated: "Apparently they are outgrowths of Poe's studies for 'Hans Pfaal' or 'Eureka,' with probability inclining to the latter."⁶⁸ Posey suggests that these "Notes" were taken from Rees's *Cyclopaedia*, but he does not positively trace them to the *Cyclopaedia*, and he does not positively connect them with "Hans Pfaal"—rather than *Eureka*.⁶⁹

Margaret Alterton, however, in *Origins of Poe's Critical Theory*,⁷⁰ uses parallel columns to demonstrate that these "Notes" were prepared for the 1840 edition of "Hans Pfaal." She points out that the passage in "Hans Pfaal" beginning "He observed the moon, when two days and a half old . . ." and running for five sentences to " . . . 5376 feet" is taken *verbatim* from the "Notes." She might have continued the parallelism through the following:

From the "Notes":

At an occultation of Jupiter's satellites, the third disappeared after having been about 1" or 2" of time indistinct, the 4th became indiscernible near the limb, this was not observed of the other two
Phil. Trans. Vol. 82 pr. 2 art 16⁷¹

From "Hans Pfaal":

My ideas upon this topic had also received confirmation by a passage in the eighty-second volume of the Philosophical Transactions, in which it is stated that, at an occultation of Jupiter's satellites, the third disappeared after having been about 1" or 2" of the time indistinct, and the fourth became indiscernible near the limb.⁷²

She points out also that "Another long passage in Poe's notes, beginning 'Hevelius writes that he has several times found, in skies perfectly clear. . . ' appears, too, in the form of the author's notes, in the later (1840) form of 'Hans Pfaal'."⁷³ Yet another footnote in "Hans Pfaal," not indicated by Margaret Alterton, is taken from the "Notes":

⁶⁸ *Works*, xvi, 354

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 507

⁷⁰ *University of Iowa Humanistic Studies*, II, No. 3 (Iowa City, 1925), pp. 134-138

⁷¹ *Works*, xvi, 349-350

⁷² *Works*, II, 96.

⁷³ Cf. *Works*, xvi, 351-352, and *Works*, II, 96-97. This comparison will indicate that "Hans Pfaal" has *maculae* and *Cassini* where the "Notes," as Harrison edits them, have *macula* and *Cossini*. Rees's *Cyclopaedia* (discussed below) has *maculae* and *Cassini*. The discrepancy may be due to Harrison's misreading of Poe's handwriting.

From the "Notes"

The zodiacal light was probably what the ancients called Trabes Emicant trabes quos docos vocant Pliny Lib 2, p 26⁷⁴

From "Hans Pfaal," footnote:

The zodiacal light is probably what the ancients called Trabes Emicant Trabes quos Docos vocant Pliny lib. 2, p 26⁷⁵

The passages parallel with the "notes," both those cited by Margaret Alterton and those given above, are not in the 1835 edition of "Hans Pfaal." They appear for the first time in the 1840 edition. It seems that these "Notes" must have been prepared as a part of Poe's work on "Hans Pfaal." They may have been prepared for the 1835 edition, but not used *verbatim*. Or they may have been prepared for the 1840 edition, possibly as part of a plan to continue this "unfinished" story into a second part. Almost certainly they were not prepared for *Eureka*, for there is no evidence that Poe had thought of *Eureka* at the time he quoted from the "Notes," that is, in 1840. That the "Notes" were prepared for "Hans Pfaal" rather than for *Eureka* likewise seems clear from their contents. The "Notes" are almost altogether about the moon; so is "Hans Pfaal." *Eureka* is not primarily about the moon. I find no item in the "Notes" that fits into *Eureka*, but could not fit into "Hans Pfaal," especially as the "second part" of the story that Poe said he had intended to write⁷⁶ may reasonably be conjectured.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ *Works*, xvi, 353

⁷⁵ I do not have the 1840 edition at hand. This version is what I make out from Harrison's collation, *Works*, II, 344. But the Latin, as Harrison reprints it from the Griswold edition, reads "*Emicantet trabes quas docos vocant*" (*Works*, II, 64). Here is a curious puzzle, for the original in Rees's *Cyclopaedia* (discussed below), under "Zodiacal Light," reads "Some have supposed, that this phenomenon is the same with that which the ancients called *trabes* . . . thus Pliny (lib. II) says, *emicant trabes, quos docos vocant*." The "Notes" apparently follow the *Cyclopaedia*, but how did Poe get the "p 26"? The "p 26" is correct. Perhaps Poe found the whole passage, with the "p 26" included, elsewhere in the *Cyclopaedia*. (Over and over, articles in Rees quote and paraphrase one another.) The versions differ from one another, but all differ from Pliny, who has "*Emicant et trabes simili modo, quas δόκους vocant, . . .*" C. Plini Secundi, *Naturalis Historiae*, Lib. II, 26 (London, 1826), I, 398-399.

⁷⁶ In an article on Richard Adams Locke, *Works*, xv, 135. In the closing pages of "Hans Pfaal" Poe indicates this intention, though the "promise" here is in a piece of fiction.

⁷⁷ The "Notes" discuss the appearance of the moon to indicate the presence of an atmosphere, and a method for computing its height, the altitude of the tides on the moon; the fact that the same face of the moon is always toward the earth, a scientist's statement that the asteroid Juno has a variable atmosphere, the size of spot on the moon visible through a telescope magnifying 1000 times, a citation that an astronomer discovered a lunar edifice resembling a fortification and roads, a scientist's conjecture about a great city on the moon, canals, and fields of vegetation, with a remark that another scientist disputes this conjecture, the construction of instruments to see whether the moon is inhabited, with a discussion of what was wrong with Herschel's telescope; the relative gravity of the earth and the

Poe's source for the "Notes," then, is to some extent his source for the 1840 edition of "Hans Pfaal." Margaret Alterton uses parallel columns to demonstrate that seven of the eighty-eight sentences (or fragments) in the "Notes" were taken from the *Transactions of the Royal Society* and that two of the sentences were taken from Dr. Dick's "The Celestial Scenery."⁷⁸ No doubt the nine sentences she cites do ultimately derive from the sources indicated. But I doubt whether Poe found them in these sources.

Posey suggests⁷⁹ that Poe made his "Notes" from Rees's *Cyclopaedia*, but he does not offer detailed evidence. Close examination reveals that a large proportion of the "Notes" were taken almost *verbatim* from Rees. Rees, in turn, is based upon scientific writings of all kinds, the fact that Rees quotes extensively from the *Transactions* may explain Margaret Alterton's find of seven of Poe's sentences in the *Transactions*.

If fragmentary jottings are counted as sentences, the "Notes" contain eighty-eight sentences. I have found that sixty of these sentences were taken *verbatim*, or nearly so, from various articles in the *Cyclopaedia*, but chiefly from the article "Moon" and its sub-articles. Of the remaining twenty-eight, some are fragmentary jottings of titles to be consulted, some seem to summarize material from the *Cyclopaedia* without quoting *verbatim*; and some I have not yet found. The following five sentences (sentences 40-45 of the "Notes") illustrate Poe's use of the *Cyclopaedia*:

From Poe's "Notes":

40) As the earth turns round its axis, the several continents, seas, and islands appear to the moon's inhabitants like so many spots of different forms and brightness moving over its surface, but much fainter at some times than others, as our clouds cover or leave them.

From the Cyclopaedia

As the earth turns round its axis, the several continents, seas, and islands appear to the moon's inhabitants like so many spots of different forms and brightness, moving over its surface; but much fainter at some times than others, as our clouds cover or leave them

moon, the area of the moon and the eccentricity of its orbit, transition from light to darkness on the moon as it looks to lunar inhabitants, and phosphorescent substances on the moon that afford a twilight. There is the note: "Make the invisible half of the moon our hell" (*Works*, xvi, 349-350). The "Notes" go on to discuss how the Lunarians, inhabitants of the moon, measure time by the earth's rotation into days of twenty-four hours, the point of *bouleversement* between the earth and the moon, a peculiar phenomenon that makes the moon sometimes invisible when stars are visible, whether there is an inconstant, dense matter around the moon; the height of the mountains on the moon; the appearance of the heavens to a Lunarian, a scientist's attempt to establish the existence of an atmosphere on the moon; the discovery of volcanic eruptions on the dark part of the moon, and the appearance of the volcanoes, and the force of gravity on the moon with reference to bodies projected from the moon.

⁷⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 135-138.

⁷⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 507.

41) By these spots the Lunarians can determine the time of the earth's diurnal motion, just as we do the motion of the sun, and perhaps they measure their time by the motion of the earth's spots, for they cannot have a truer dial
 42) Their day would then be 24 hours
 43) Her real day and night taken together are as long as our lunar month—a fortnight day, do night.

44) Dr Hooke, accounting for the reason why the moon's light affords no visible heat, observes that the quantity of light which falls on the hemisphere of the full moon is rarefied into a sphere 288 times greater in diameter than the moon, before it arrives at us, and, consequently, that the moon's light is 104,368 times weaker than that of the sun

45) It would, therefore, require 104,368 full moons to give a light and heat equal to that of the sun at noon.⁸⁰

By these spots the Lunarians can determine the time of the earth's diurnal motion, just as we do the motion of the sun, and perhaps they measure their time by the motion of the earth's spots, for they cannot have a truer dial

[I find no *verbatim* source]

. her day and night taken together are as long as our lunar month

Dr Hooke, accounting for the reason why the moon's light affords no visible heat, observes that the quantity of light, which falls on the hemisphere of the full moon, is rarefied into a sphere 288 times greater in diameter than the moon, before it arrives at us, and, consequently, that the moon's light is 104,368 times weaker than that of the sun.

It would, therefore, require 104,368 full moons to give a light and heat equal to that of the sun at noon⁸¹

The "Notes," then, were evidently made from Poe's reading of various articles in Rees's *Cyclopaedia*. These "Notes" were apparently prepared before 1840, for some use was made of them in the 1840 edition of "Hans Pfaal."

In the foregoing, I sought to exclude conjecture and to draw only those conclusions clearly indicated by the evidence. But this re-examination of "Hans Pfaal" suggests some tentative conclusions—or surmises—for which explicit evidence is lacking.

⁸⁰ *Works*, xvi, 350

⁸¹ These items are from the article "Moon" and its sub-articles, such as "Moon, Phenomena of the," Rees, *op cit*, xxv, unpag. The items taken for the "Notes" are not consecutive in the order of the *Cyclopaedia*. But I have been able to find the sentences of the "Notes" in the *Cyclopaedia* as follows: Sentences 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 (a citation) under "Moon"; 8 not found; 9 under "Moon"; 10 not found; 11 under "Moon"; 12 and 13 not found, 14 and 15 under "Planet"; 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21 not found, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 (not *verbatim*), 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, and 34 under "Moon"; 35 ("Make the invisible half of the moon our hell") not found, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, and 41 under "Moon"; 42 not found, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, and 67 under "Moon"; 68 and part of 69 under "Volcano"—the last part of 69, a long sentence, not found, 70, 71, 72, 73, and 74 not found, 75, 76 (a Latin quotation), and 77 (citation of Pliny) under "Zodiacal Light"; 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, and 88 not found, 84–88 are citations of titles of books, charts, or articles in the *Cyclopaedia*

A. It seems likely that the central portion of "Hans Pfaal," describing the trip to the moon, was written earlier than the date usually supposed, 1835 Mr Latrobe, one of the judges who awarded Poe the *Saturday Visitor* prize in July, 1833, before the *Messenger* was founded,⁸² interviewed Poe immediately after the award. He stated in 1877.

Of this interview, the only one I ever had with Mr Poe, my recollection is very distinct, indeed . . . I asked him whether he was then occupied with any literary labor. He replied that he was then engaged on *A Voyage to the Moon*, and at once went into a somewhat learned disquisition upon the laws of gravity, the height of the earth's atmosphere, and capacities of balloons, warming in his speech as he proceeded. Presently speaking in the first person, he began the voyage . . . leaving the earth and becoming more and more animated, he described his sensation as he ascended higher and higher . . . where the moon's attraction overcame that of the earth, there was a sudden *bouleversement* of the car and great confusion among its tenants. By this time the speaker had become so excited, spoke so rapidly, gesticulating much, that when the turn upside-down took place, and he clapped his hands and stamped with his foot by way of emphasis, I was carried along with him . . . When he had finished his description he apologized for his excitability, for which he laughed at himself.⁸³

Professor Woodberry discredits Latrobe's account because Latrobe says Poe mentioned the *Messenger*, not founded until later. We may suppose that Latrobe, after forty years, might forget which magazine Poe mentioned.

Poe himself contradicts Latrobe's statement. "Hans Pfaal" was published in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for June, 1835, along with a review of *The Infidel* and apparently other notices by Poe totaling thirty-four columns. Editor White sent Poe \$20. Poe wanted White's favor, he wanted a job. He usually expressed gratitude and remarked that he felt well paid. But this time he wrote:

Look over Hans Pfaal [*sic*, the first of four spellings Poe used], and the Literary

Margaret Alterton finds Sentence 14 in Dr. Dick's "The Celestial Scenery." The complete sentence is not in Rees's article "Planet." As various articles in Rees contain identical, *verbatim*, or paraphrased material, the complete sentence may be in some other article in the *Cyclopaedia*—or it may not. Poe's source may, indeed, be a first-hand consultation of Dick. Miss Alterton finds sentences 68, 69, 70, and 71 in Vol. xvi of the *Philosophical Transactions*. Sentence 68 (not quite *verbatim*) and a part of 69 are in the article "Volcano" in Rees; I have not found sentences 70 and 71 in Rees. Miss Alterton finds sentences 72, 73, and 74 in Vol. xvii of the *Philosophical Transactions*, I have not found these sentences in Rees. Perhaps Poe did consult the *Transactions* at this point. Miss Alterton finds sentence 79 in Dick's "The Celestial Scenery"; I have not found sentence 79 in Rees.

⁸² The prospectus was dated May 1, 1834, see David K. Jackson, *Poe and the Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond: Dietz Co., 1934), p. 16.

⁸³ Hervey Allen, *Israfel: The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1927), I, 350-351.

Notices by me in No 10, and see if you have not miscalculated the sum due me.

Hans Phaál cost me nearly a fortnight's hard labour and was written especially for the *Messenger* ⁸⁴

Yet it may be more reasonable to believe Latrobe than Poe ⁸⁵ Poe says "nearly a fortnight," but if he had worked only two weeks he should have been pleased with \$20, for he was later glad to get work on the *Messenger* at \$10 a week. Perhaps his pride would not let him confess to White that he had worked on this tale seriously—and conferred with Kennedy about it ⁸⁶—for some time, that is, for two years or more, if we accept Latrobe's statement. His egoism would make him shorten the time, as he later did in his well-known assertions about "The Raven." But on the other hand, his sense that he was wronged and underpaid with \$20 for a story he had treasured for a long time would not let him be silent.

And if we look at Latrobe's statement, it seems to bear the marks of truth—even after forty years. He says his recollection is very distinct indeed. Poe's source was Tucker's *A Voyage to the Moon*, and that is the title Latrobe says Poe gave for his own story. Poe's dramatics must have amazed Latrobe. If Latrobe's statement is true, Poe must have had the story written (or planned in some detail) by 1833, except the facetious enveloping plot.

B It seems likely that the facetious "enveloping plot" of "Hans Pfaál" is an afterthought, either suggested to Poe by J. P. Kennedy after Kennedy had read (or heard) the central narrative and somewhat disapproved of it as "extravagant," or invented by Poe after a talk with Kennedy. Poe grossly violates his own principles of unity. The tone of the central narrative is serious, the tone of the envelope is facetious. The outer unit discredits the core of the story.

Several reasons may be surmised for Poe's violation of unity and depreciation of his tale. Perhaps, needing money, he had to round off the story somehow and get it to an editor. But evidence suggests another reason, the advice of Kennedy. In this later discussion of Richard Adams Locke, Poe says that the advice of a friend induced him to give a facetious tone to "Hans Pfaál." He says that he talked about "Hans Pfaál" with Kennedy. ⁸⁷ The story was published in June, 1835, and in September an extant letter from Kennedy advises "some farces after the manner of the French Vaudevilles" ⁸⁸ Again on February 9, 1836, a letter from Kennedy advises Poe to write in a more facetious vein, saying:

⁸⁴ Letter of July 20, 1835, in *Works*, xvii, 12.

⁸⁵ I call to mind Poe's frequent, incorrigible "mystifications"

⁸⁶ See discussion below, and Poe's statement, *Works*, xv, 128

⁸⁷ *Works*, xv, 128 ⁸⁸ *Works*, xvii, 19.

Your fault is your love of the extravagant Pray beware of it . . . Some of your *bizarrerries* have been mistaken for satire—and admired too in that character They deserved it, but *you* did not, for you did not intend them so I like your grotesque—it is of the very best stamp, and I am sure you will do wonders for yourself in the comic, I mean the *serio tragi comic* ⁸⁹

It seems likely that Kennedy read "Hans Pfaal" (or heard Poe read it?) and, with kind intentions, crushed Poe to earth with ridicule⁹⁰—and lifted him up with advice to ridicule it himself, and market it

If we suppose it unlikely Poe would abandon a serious design on the advice of Kennedy, we may remember Poe's extravagant reliance upon Kennedy, indicated in: "I am wretched and know not why. Console me—for you can . . . Persuade me to do what is right" ⁹¹ Kennedy had done just that from 1833 onward. It would seem easy for Kennedy to persuade Poe that a voyage to the moon was wild and childish. To the good intentions of Kennedy, then, may be due Poe's abandonment of a serious plan to describe the moon and its inhabitants (as promised in the story) and the employment of a facetious envelope that discredits a central story serious in tone ⁹²

⁸⁹ *Works*, xvii, 28.

⁹⁰ Compare Poe's reaction to criticism of a story written while at the University of Virginia, Allen, *op cit*, i, 174-175

⁹¹ John H. Ingram, *Edgar Allan Poe His Life, Letters, and Opinions* (London John Hogg, 1880), i, 128 In this connection, it would seem that Poe looked upon Kennedy somewhat as a father and felt awe of him When Poe was a boy, Allan had crushed his extravagancies He even had "peculiar notions of what Edgar should read" J. H. Whitty, *The Complete Poems of Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston and New York Houghton Mifflin Co., 1917), "Memor," pp. xxiii-xxiv Poe still felt awe for "Dear Pa," a man of common sense, authority, worldly wisdom In 1835 he had no "Pa" except Kennedy

⁹² All the sources so far found have concerned the central narrative, none has been suggested for the facetious envelope It is possible to surmise, where evidence is lacking, that Poe may have written this envelope as disguised autobiographical allegory Poe used Tucker's *Voyage* as his inspiring source. Tucker must have been writing his book in 1826, for he published it in 1827 There is no evidence whether Poe heard of Tucker's book in manuscript, though Hervey Allen conjectures "Poe not infrequently visited the faculty at home and such things as lunar voyages may have been discussed It was a topic upon which Edgar would love to enlarge" (*Op cit*, i, 175) Poe makes no reference to Tucker by name, and Tucker none to Poe But in discussing Locke's moon hoax, Poe later said "A grave professor of mathematics in a Virginia college told me seriously that he had *no doubt* of the truth of the whole affair" (*Works*, xv, 134) Tucker did not teach mathematics, and any remark that anybody made about the "moon Hoax" had to be made after "Hans Pfaal" was published, but the fifty-one-year-old chairman (and oldest member) of the faculty may have seemed very grave to Poe (once "questioned" by the faculty), and the "no doubt of" the "grave professor of mathematics" may be an oblique reference to Tucker's having written a voyage to the moon.

Latrobe said Poe told his tale in the first person. The years 1831-35 were Poe's starving years, following the failure of the *Poems* of 1831 to attract attention Perhaps Poe's hero

C.⁷⁷ It seems likely that Poe's original plan for "Hans Pfaal" was not to describe a trip to the moon, but to describe life on the moon as viewed through a telescope. Writing to Kennedy on September 11, 1835, Poe comments on Locke's "Discoveries in the Moon," by means of a telescope, saying: "It is very singular, but when I first purposed writing a Tale concerning the Moon, the idea of *Telescopic* discoveries suggested itself to me."⁹³ Years later, in writing about Locke, he repeats the idea: The theme excited my fancy, and I longed to give free rein to it in depicting my day-dreams about the scenery of the moon—in short, I longed to write a story embodying these dreams. The obvious difficulty, of course, was that of accounting for the narrator's acquaintance with the satellite, and the equally obvious mode of surmounting the difficulty was the supposition of an extraordinary telescope.⁹⁴

Poe goes on to say that Kennedy persuaded him to give up the idea of a telescope—but if we credit Latrobe's account, we see that he gave up the telescope before he ever met Kennedy. He wrote to Kennedy about the telescope *after* he had published the story. Kennedy's advice, therefore, concerned another matter, probably the extravagance of the whole scheme.

Whether Poe did originally intend to use a telescope may rest on more solid evidence. There was a telescope on Allan's balcony, and Poe liked to gaze through it at the moon. Further, Poe's "Notes" for "Hans Pfaal" contain speculations about a telescope.⁹⁵ It seems likely, then, that Poe

(who is "I" in the central narrative) may be pronounced "Hans Fail" in sardonic reference to himself. Hans writes that, in despair at the failure of his business of bellows-mender and pursued by creditors, he meditated suicide. Poe was pursued by creditors and arrested for debt. But Hans took a new interest in life when, at a bookstall, he came across a treatise on speculative astronomy written by a foreign professor. This treatise "in conjunction with a discovery in pneumatics, lately communicated to me as an important secret by a cousin from Nantz" (*Works*, II, 50) gave him an object of unceasing pursuit. Perhaps Hans's occupation of bellows-mender is facetious for Poe's work as hack-writer and critic. Perhaps the treatise in a bookstall is Tucker's book. Perhaps the discovery in pneumatics communicated by a cousin from Nantz is *Symzonia* (containing the formula for the gas) communicated to Edgar by brother Henry from Baltimore (while Edgar was in Boston). Tucker's *Voyage* had used a machine for condensing air to make it breathable on the way to the moon. Hans used the same device, invented by a man named Grumm. Perhaps Grumm is a reference to Tucker, chairman of the Virginia faculty and (perhaps) the "grave professor of mathematics."

These surmises are only hypothetical, but Poe's tendency to write autobiographical allegory has been noticed in *Pym*, "Usher," "William Wilson," and "The Literary Life of Thingum Bob."⁹³ Woodberry, *op cit*, I, 140. ⁹⁴ *Works*, xv, 127-128.

⁹⁵ *Works*, xvi, 348-349. This fact would suggest that the "Notes" were prepared for the 1835 edition, though not quoted until the 1840 edition. It may also be noted, though it is *ex post facto*, that inhabitants of the future in "Mellonta Tauta" view doings on the moon through a telescope.

did first intend to use a telescope. If the story uses a telescope, there is *no trip* to the moon; the whole story concerns what is seen on the moon. Then what we have is only a preface to the story Poe originally planned.

D. It seems likely that Poe gave up with reluctance a plan to describe life on the moon and during the rest of his life contemplated returning to "Hans Pfaal" to write a "second part." The story promises a sequel, and as late as 1846 Poe refers to the possibility that he will write it. The text of 1835 says that disclosures of scientific interest would be made, as none were made, Poe revised the 1840 edition to cut out the reference.⁹⁶ The 1835 edition states that astronomical knowledge and "some of another kind, came afterwards in the course of an eventful period of five years."⁹⁷ In the 1835 edition, Poe had written that Hans had to retain ballast in his balloon "for reasons which will be explained in the sequel."⁹⁸ As there was no sequel,⁹⁹ Poe substituted in 1840 a somewhat trumped up reason for keeping the ballast. Furthermore, when Hans arrives on the moon, he writes: "But my adventures remain yet to be related."¹⁰⁰ Commenting on Richard Adams Locke in 1846, Poe said:

The first part of "Hans Phaall," occupying about eighteen pages of "The Messenger," embraced merely a journal of the passage between the two orbs, the second part will most probably never appear, I did not think it advisable even to bring my voyager back to his parent earth.¹⁰¹

Poe had kept his "Notes"; he still thought it possible to write his "second part," but by 1846 he conceded that it would "probably never appear."

III OTHER PIECES

The impression made upon the mind of Poe by *Symzonia* and Tucker's *A Voyage to the Moon* seems to be reflected in several other pieces, though the evidence of parallel passages is lacking.

A. It seems likely that "MS. Found in a Bottle" was an early experiment in following *Symzonia* toward adventure inside the earth. In that story, the mariner drifts farther to the south than any previous navigator and he is amazed at the warmth of the region. Then he is caught in a current that sweeps him still farther south past barriers of ice. He gets onto a phantom ship that I shall not attempt to explain—and the story ends with the phantom ship: ". . . plunging madly within the grasp of the whirlpool—and amid a roaring, and bellowing, and thundering of ocean and of tempest, the ship is quivering, oh God! and—going down."¹⁰² "Going down" does not mean sinking, for the ship is light and porous. It

⁹⁶ *Works*, II, cf. pp. 59 and 335.

⁹⁷ *Works*, II, 333.

⁹⁸ *Works*, II, cf. pp. 68 and 336.

⁹⁹ No reasons are explained in the latter part of the published story.

¹⁰⁰ *Works*, II, 99.

¹⁰¹ *Works*, XV, 135.

¹⁰² *Works*, II, 14–15.

may be going inside the earth through the Southern Pole. The story seems a fragment of something larger and unfinished—worked on in the mind, but not worked out.

B. It seems likely, in the absence of any other proven source for Poe's most startling theory in *Eureka*, that his source for a conception of an anti-gravitational force is an idea found in Tucker's *A Voyage to the Moon* and also in Symmes's theory of a hollow earth. Poe states that the science of *Eureka* rests upon Von Humboldt's *Cosmos*. But the *Cosmos* does not describe a repulsive or anti-gravitational force sustaining the heavenly bodies. *Eureka* hypothesizes two principles, of gravitational attraction and anti-gravitational repulsion. In *A Voyage to the Moon* Tucker says:

There is a principle of repulsion as well as gravitation in the earth. It causes fire to rise upwards. It is exhibited in electricity. It occasions water-spouts, volcanoes, and earthquakes.¹⁰³

Or Poe may have got his idea from Symmes's theory:

Space is filled with microscopically invisible hollow spheres of aether—which by their elasticity hold the planets of the universe in place. In other words we live in a sort of rubber ball universe in which the elastic hollow spheres of aether are so pushed by their elasticity to hold in place the heavenly bodies. This expansive quality in the molecules which constitutes the aerial fluid creates a *pushing* instead of a *pulling power* which is the real principle of gravity.¹⁰⁴

Eureka has a great deal that develops the ideas in these quotations, as follows:

Discarding now the two equivocal terms, "gravitation" and "electricity," let us adopt the more definite expressions, "*attraction*" and "*repulsion*." The former is the body; the latter the soul. The one is the material, the other the spiritual, principle of the universe. *No other principles exist. All phaenomena are referable to one, or to the other, or to both combined.* So rigorously is this the case—so thoroughly demonstrable is it that attraction and repulsion are the *sole* properties through which we perceive the Universe—in other words, by which Matter is manifested to Mind—that . . . we are fully justified in assuming that matter exists only as attraction and repulsion.¹⁰⁵

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¹⁰³ P. 34.

¹⁰⁴ Peck, *op cit*, p. 32.

¹⁰⁵ *Works*, xvi, 213-214.

THE NATURALISTIC THEORIES OF LEOPOLDO ALAS

ONE of the most interesting chapters in the literary career of Leopoldo Alas (*Clarín*) deals with his advocacy of naturalism and the creation and defense of his most famous original work, *La Regenta*. Early in his literary life Alas placed himself in the forefront of the Spanish followers of Emile Zola and for many years was one of the most vigorous advocates of naturalism in Spain. He came to the movement with abundant enthusiasm, defended it in many fiery polemics, but maintained throughout his life very definite reservations which reveal a Leopoldo Alas scarcely ever recognized by his contemporaries.

To his friends, and doubly so to his enemies, *Clarín* was a rash and tempestuous man who wielded his cutting pen in the vanguard of every literary innovation and who peered disdainfully with his myopic eyes at every conservative who crossed his path. Such opinions are always relative and depend on the point of view of the moment. Below the superficial aspects of his character and writings Alas was a somewhat different, if not totally distinct, person.

As early as 1876, when he seemed but little short of bearding the devil and was horrifying his father's conservative political friends and the much shocked clergy, he outlined in brief his philosophical *Weltanschauung*,¹ which, if carefully analyzed, reveals a very serious and none too radical young man. He admonished the youth of the nation to pause in their headlong flight after new and dubious knowledge and to look back to see whether or not they were not losing something infinitely more valuable. He revealed a fundamental attitude characteristic of him throughout his life—a vague distrust of science and an essentially conservative philosophical outlook. In the three following paragraphs one does not find the slightest prognostication that a few years later Alas will be vigorously defending naturalism.

Esta juventud que hoy crece en España, ávida de ejercicio intelectual, casi avergonzada de nuestro retraso científico, busca, con más anhelo que discernimiento, las nuevas teorías, la última palabra de la ciencia, temerosa, más que del error, de quedarse atrás, de no recibir en sus pasmados ojos los más recientes destellos del pensamiento europeo. El positivismo, ó lo que por tal palabra se significa vulgarmente, ese conjunto de teorías que, tal vez opuestas entre sí, convienen en rechazar la posibilidad de toda ciencia de lo absoluto y comunicación con lo metafísico, va ganando terreno entre nosotros, y aun los que han comenzado sus estudios filosóficos en las escuelas más exageradamente idealistas,

¹ Part of the research represented by this article has been made possible by the grant of the Albert Markham Fellowship by the University of Wisconsin.

buscan conciertos y relaciones con esa tendencia experimentalista que amenaza hacerse universal . . .

Sin embargo, antes de dejarnos arrastrar definitivamente por esa vía, debemos mirar atrás y ver si á nuestra espalda queda algo grande, sublime, que con nuevas voces y energía inesperada nos llama y detiene y nos dice que vamos al abismo

Y sí que veremos y oiremos algo digno de atención y admiración profunda, que por lo menos nos hará contener el paso y meditar, con planta inmóvil, en medio del camino ²

These calm, analytical paragraphs outline two of the reservations which Alas brought to the acceptance of naturalism. His doubts about positivism had their roots in his lack of knowledge of science, and as he grew older the doubt and the lack complemented each other. His lack of scientific knowledge led him to accept, partially at least, the vulgar notion of evolution and he attributed the common people's instinctive dislike of the theory as he understood it to "nuestra antipatía á los monos" ³ Even while he conceded, when the *cuestión palpitante* had him much on the defensive, that the Darwinian *Bible* was a book of much recondite "piety" ⁴ and that man's greatness might have its origin in the animal, he pointed to the noumenological possibilities as an alternative explanation.

In discussing Alas's attitudes toward naturalism it must be kept in mind that he never was, in the most latitudinous concept of the term, a man of science. In his university lectures he revealed no scientific preparation nor interest and in his private conversation he often ridiculed scientific endeavors. It pleased his fancy to call the work of the sociologists the "tortilla sociológica," ⁵ and in his writings he fought the introduction of the sciences into the school system. Utilitarian subjects, he branded them, that ought not usurp the time devoted to the humanities. ⁶ Such an attitude naturally fed his latent fear that science might destroy what he considered the ineffable values of civilization, and it kept alive and made more definite his opposition to positivism.

Whatever Alas's attitude toward naturalism was to be, it never in the slightest sense indicated his acceptance of any of the positivistic doctrines of the naturalists. The world of phenomena was never enough for him; noumena must exist in reality and, so, in art. Metaphysics, in its most exact Greek sense, must be considered a reality. In 1876, as we have seen,

² Leopoldo Alas, *Solos de Clarín* (Madrid, 1891), pp 90-91. 2d edition

³ *Ibid*, p. 84.

⁴ Leopoldo Alas, *Galdós* (Madrid, 1912), p. 267

⁵ From the personal recollections of Sr. Álvaro de Albornoz, ex-minister of Justice under the Spanish Republic, a student and personal friend of Alas. Sr. de Albornoz has graciously discussed and corroborated numerous important details presented in this article.

⁶ For a full discussion of his ideas on education see Leopoldo Alas, *Un discurso* (Madrid, 1891).

he feared that positivism was going to become general, and in 1880 the publication of Zola's *Le Roman Expérimental* elicited outright opposition to positivism. Zola, he contended, "llega con sus artículos de crítica al más superficial positivismo . . . escribe muchas vulgaridades de adocenado *experimentalista*"⁷

For Alas positivism only indicated a poverty of invention, a weakness of the faculties, and a censurable atrophy in those who subscribed to it, and he attacked it with vigor even at the height of his defense of naturalism. In 1885, the year of *La Regenta*, he was extremely joyful to find Núñez de Arce yearning after spiritual comforts of a most unpositivistic nature.

En medio de tanto materialismo más o menos inconsciente, entre la batalla de los positivistas ordinarios, que encuentran muy natural y hasta muy divertido que no haya más mundo que el de aquí, como dice Don Juan Tenorio, y que no vivamos sino para comer, dormir, darnos tono, *hacer* el amor y salir diputados, entre tanta pequeñez satisfecha de sí misma, olvidada de la historia y del porvenir consuela ver acá y allá hombres como Núñez de Arce que anhelan una vida real para el espíritu, que dudan como el primero, que temen que la vida sea una broma negra, pero que desean otra cosa, que piden al mundo grandeza de alma, valor para la lucha, una idealidad que fortifique.⁸

The very thought of positivism made him sad and its influence was so great, in his sight, that he attributed the literary decadence of the 80's to it,⁹ and in 1901 he felt that it was gnawing at the very vitals of the people

Es de ayer y ya llena el mundo . . . este positivismo ha puesto de moda el desprecio de la metafísica, ha relegado á los ensueños de la edad *teológica* el ergotismo escolástico, ha materializado la especulación, ha metido las *ideas* y las *categorías* en sendos frascos de farmacia . . . y . . . ha acostumbrado á la gente á no reflexionar, á no ahondar en las cuestiones, á no descomponer los juicios ni examinar los conceptos . . .¹⁰

It is not at all surprising, in view of this evidence, that Alas never accepted the definition of naturalism in the French sense in so far as it included positivistic doctrine and that he declared, in his celebrated introduction to *La cuestión palpitante* of Pardo Bazán, that naturalism did not follow the procedural or experimental technique of Claude Bernard and that real naturalism did not follow Zola's systematic ideas on this score. In many respects the following passage is a rejection of French naturalism and an attempt to define a new naturalism in consonance with religion and Spanish realism.

⁷ *Solos de Clarín*, pp. 46-47.

⁸ *Un viaje á Madrid* (Madrid, 1886), pp. 47-48.

⁹ *Palique* (Madrid, 1894), p. 54.

¹⁰ *Siglo pasado* (Madrid, 1901) pp. 149-150.

El naturalismo no es solidario del positivismo, ni se limita en sus procedimientos a la observación y experimentación en el sentido abstracto, estrecho y lógicamente falso, por exclusivo, en que entiende tales formas del método el ilustre Claudio Bernard Es verdad que Zola en el peor de sus trabajos críticos ha dicho algo de eso, pero él mismo escribió más tarde cosa parecida a una rectificación; y de todas maneras, el naturalismo no es responsable de esta exageración sistemática de Zola ¹¹

Alas's rejection of the positivistic aspects of naturalism clearly indicates that from the very beginning he imposed on the word *naturalism* a meaning that did not coincide with the definition of the term current at that time

The meaning of the term was further changed in the mind of Alas by another reservation. By inheritance Alas was a Catholic, by disposition and personal inclination profoundly religious, and by preference a traditionalist. As might be expected with such a combination, the dogma of the church raised ideological barriers which made it necessary for him to reject scientific determinism and to hold to the doctrine of free will.

His attitude toward scientific determinism reveals a most complex state of mind. There is a wide gap between a superficial intellectual acceptance of certain aspects of determinism and the full appropriation of the whole theory. Alas never went beyond the first stage. In consonance with his syncretic attitude toward life he attempted to harmonize free will and determinism, and the false verbal harmony which he created led some to believe that he accepted the philosophic aspects of determinism. He attempted to create harmony where none existed. Really, he only departmentalized, and what might pass for determinism in his writings must only be considered the acceptance of the idea that environment stimulates persons to do certain things without actually determining that they shall do them. This appears clearly in his analysis of Rosalía in Galdós's *Tormento*.

La relación fisiológica del cuerpo y del temperamento en el espíritu no está olvidada . . . Rosalía está en su ambiente, respirando por donde en tal ambiente se respira, es la mujer como la hacen allí las circunstancias, y esto sin llamarla *bestia*, ni negar el albedrío (ni afirmarlo), sin más que estudiar y reflejar bien la vida ¹²

This momentarily indecisive attitude must be viewed in the light of other more definite statements, for Alas frequently affirmed the notion of free will. In 1881 he stated quite clearly what one would expect a good Spanish Catholic to believe and what Alas continued to believe firmly all his life, namely, "No hay inmoralidad sin intención, y . . . nadie es responsable

¹¹ *Prólogo de la segunda edición* in Emilia Pardo Bazán, *La cuestión palpitante* (Madrid, 1891), pp. 31-32.

¹² Galdós, p. 130

sino de sus propios actos”¹³ In the same year he objected violently to the thesis of Cavestany’s *Sobre quién viene el castigo* because the author tried to show that punishment is handed out blindly by Providence and is not a punishment for personal sin.¹⁴ His analysis of Carlos, in *El nudo gordiano*, indicates the same attitude. He admitted that Carlos was a victim of society and that his crime under the circumstances became inevitable, but he added, “Carlos no deja de ser responsable, pero más que él lo es la sociedad.”¹⁵

This presents only an apparent contradiction which is easily resolved. Sometimes Alas talked in the language of scientific determinism—he even explained social phenomena with its terms—but he always made the important reservation that the power of free will could overcome the circumstances which seemed to make actions inevitable. In this case his lack of scientific knowledge again played him false, for in his opposition to the theories of evolution and heredity he was willing to carry the doctrine of free will so far that he maintained that hereditary tendencies can be overcome “á fuerza de pensarlo mucho y con reactivos espirituales.”¹⁶

When Alas talked of actions being “inevitable” or being caused by the “forces of society” he did not at all mean to imply the same connotation given these words by the scientific determinist. It must always be remembered that the terminology of determinism had long been in use without the meanings given it by this scientific theory. Alas used the modern terminology with the old acceptations. In his discussion of Galdós’s *El abuelo* and the problem of biological determinism and heredity he made a very open declaration of much importance in estimating his adherence to naturalism. He divorced himself quite completely from the determinists and, in consequence, from the fundamental philosophy of naturalism. He observed: “Ya ha pasado la investigación moderna, *positiva*, no necesariamente *positivista*, aquel sarampión de determinismo absoluto, eterna petición de principio en todas estas cosas.”¹⁷ Alas may have been exposed to a similar case of “measles” but the disease made no headway in his constitution.

Since Alas, like Pardo Bazán, has been hailed as one of Spain’s greatest naturalists and since *La Regenta* has been called “the leading example in Spain of naturalistic writing after the French formula,”¹⁸ it is important to observe how he deals with free will in his novel.

In contrast with the technique used by the French determinists, *La Regenta*, herself, frequently chooses a course of action which runs counter

¹³ *Solos de Clarín*, p. 135

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 189

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

¹⁶ *Ensayos y revistas* (Madrid, 1892) p. 409

¹⁷ Galdós, p. 295.

¹⁸ Ernest Mérimée and S. Gnsword Morley, *A History of Spanish Literature* (New York, 1930), p. 556.

to fundamental urges. At fourteen, between a strong affection for her father and certain religious ideals she chooses the latter although one might expect a child starved for affection to accept the father in preference to vague abstractions. After the death of her father, when she has been physically and mentally ill, she is motivated to get well, even against her own inclinations, by the complaints of her aunts which she has accidentally overheard "Ana comprendió su obligación inmediata, sanar pronto La convalecencia iba siendo impertinente Toda su voluntad la empleó en procurar cuanto antes la salud."¹⁹ A chance conversation is made responsible for changes which the strict naturalist would have dealt with in detail and in which he would have implied some biological as well as psychological sources of stimuli

Later, as a grown woman who is sexually starved, La Regenta is presented from the point of view of the non-deterministic psychologist. She is famous in Vetusta for her glacial attitude toward men in general, but as she is sexually frustrated Alas is required to provide elaborate motivations quite apart from her physical nature in order to explain her outward and inward attraction to Quintanar, Fermín de Pas, and Alvaro. Being a believer in free will Alas cannot allow the reader to suppose that, granted a certain character and a certain environment, certain actions will follow. Consequently Ana's attraction for Alvaro develops only after his long and carefully prepared siege forces him upon her. The voluptuous Ana, who lolls in her bed and plays with a tiger skin in an attempt to satisfy vicariously her basically animalistic desires, is not presented as being naturally attracted to Alvaro; and toward all other men she is cold Yet this Spanish Nana, who is revealed in the manner of the stream of consciousness novel for hundreds of pages, exhibits no secret flutterings, no inward attractions for the opposite sex in general Her biological urges are allowed to function only when Alas provides other specious motivation for their expression. The possibility of activity which is not motivated directly by the author and which might have its origin in unstated deterministic impulses does not appear as a major factor in presenting her character. Consequently La Regenta is elaborately motivated to choose among alternatives—Quintanar and sexual starvation, sublimation in the Church, Alvaro and fulfillment—and many pages are devoted to describing the agony she goes through attempting to make that choice.

Alas, as a free-will psychologist, is more interested in depicting the choosing than he is in revealing the motivation for action provided by the stimulus of sexual frustration. The determinist would make Ana's actions appear inevitable, but Alas, since he does not believe that a naturally

¹⁹ Leopoldo Alas, *La Regenta* (Barcelona, 1908), I, 124

voluptuous and sexually starved woman will be seduced at the first propitious moment, finds it extremely interesting to spend more than half the novel keeping the reader in suspense about an action which is clearly anticipated some five hundred pages before it takes place

The dénouement of the novel likewise indicates that Alas was not depicting his characters from the point of view of the determinist. It is brought about by fortuitous circumstances provided by the author and not by the direct actions of the main characters. Ana's maid, Petra, having secret ambitions of gaining a fine marriage through the influence of Fermín de Pas, who has seduced her, finds it to her personal advantage to inform de Pas of the clandestine meetings of Ana and Alvaro, and agrees, for the proper consideration, to force the crisis. This action serves as the means of bringing the story to an end. Petra sets Quintanar's alarm clock ahead, the latter gets up too early, catches Alvaro coming out of Ana's bedroom, and the whole affair is brought out into the open. The duel results, Quintanar is killed, Alvaro flees in a cowardly manner, and La Regenta is ruined and punished.

The catastrophe is brought about only by the indirect action of the main characters. They do not force the crisis by their actions, the crisis is forced upon them by an accident built up by the author. There is nothing inevitable in the dénouement, determinism plays no rôle at all. The hundreds of pages devoted to the actions of the main characters do not lead directly to the catastrophe that has been announced again and again, they lead only to the fortuitous solution made necessary by Alas's rejection of determinism.

The foregoing pages have demonstrated that Alas never believed in the basic philosophical tenets of French naturalism and especially the brand advocated by Zola. The "naturalism" which he proposed for Spain and which he followed in *La Regenta* differed from the French species in the one main essential which separates naturalism from realism. Alas's naturalism omitted scientific determinism and so differed from realism only in a matter of degree and technique.

Zola advocated what might be legitimately called a philosophy of novel writing; Alas admitted only in part the technique with which Zola put that philosophy into practice. In 1881 he accepted with great enthusiasm Zola's experimental technique which "lleva á la imitación empírica la ventaja inmensa de no ser impensada, fragmentaria, inconexa, sino hecha bajo plan, con un fin . . ." ²⁰ Such a method provided a means of checking the writer's observable data with the creative material added and thus determined its legitimacy. At the same time he was jubilant to find Galdós following the "naturalistic" school in *La desheredada*.

²⁰ *Solos de Clarín*, p. 54.

Aquí sólo me he propuesto notar la tendencia naturalista, en el buen sentido de la palabra, de la última obra de Galdós, tendencia que yo aplaudo, porque estimo que, bien interpretada, la teoría del naturalismo lleva la mejor parte en la lucha de las escuelas, y sobre todo en la práctica del arte ²¹

By now we should suspect the meaning of such a statement. Alas was not referring to the philosophy but merely to the realistic subject-matter when he wrote: "Galdós se ha echado en la corriente, ha publicado su programa de literatura incendiaria, su programa de naturalista, ha escrito en quinientas siete páginas la historia de una prostituta!" ²²

Spanish naturalism, as Alas saw it, was to imitate French naturalism only in subject-matter and technique. There were still more reservations. The subject-matter had to be picked with a moral aim.

... para Galdós, como para Zola, la mayor miseria del pueblo, de la plebe, para que nos entendamos, es su podredumbre moral, y á lo primero á que hay que atender es á salvar su espíritu

Para esto no hay mejor medio que pintar su estado moral tal como es ²³

Alas's religious and philosophical preoccupations caused him to miss the point in the moral aim of Zola. Both Galdós and Alas believed in free will and they aimed to work on the individuals responsible for their own moral degeneracy. Zola never intended to change the individuals he wrote about by holding a mirror to their faces. He wrote his books for those powerful enough to bring about social change, and he hoped that they, seeing the degeneracy of the people about them, would do something to change the environmental conditions which cause that degeneracy. Alas distorted the aims of Zola, the determinist, to fit his own, those of a believer in free will. Zola sought to improve the environment; Alas aimed to improve the man.

This fundamental attitude explains a great deal of the critical aspects of *La Regenta*. *Nana*, *L'Assommoir*, *Germinal* and *La Débâcle* stress that there is much to be done before the world is improved and man made better. In *La Regenta* Alas does not present such a vast problem. He is dealing with a man of free will, a man (so much smaller than a world) whom one can reform, as Alas believed, by muck-raking his failures, publicizing his peca-dillos. The characters of *La Regenta* are not individuals led to sin by society. In the novel and in Alas's mind the ills of society are represented as typified by certain individuals, people who make the world what it is, not the reverse, and people who should be condemned, censured, and held up to the public eye in hope of their changing their ways thereby. Alas aimed to reform certain types of characters and thus to improve society. The types which Alas portrays in *La Regenta* in order to attack the sin that each represents have been listed by José Balseiro as follows:

²¹ Galdós, p. 104

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

Así, en *La Regenta* conocemos aquello que disgusta a "Clarín," aquello a que declaró la guerra; i.e. el falso misticismo de la pecadora de pensamiento, movido por imprudentes impulsos y padre de ilegítimas pretensiones del alma que, arraigada en un mal ambiente, está en constante y peligroso desequilibrio (Ana Ozores, alias La Regenta), la grosería tenoríesca y la intervención interesada en el hogar ajeno (Álvaro Mesía), el sacerdocio sin vocación y pureza a toda prueba, ambicioso y lujurioso (Fermín de Pas), la entrega de la mujer en matrimonio a quien ha de ser más padre que esposo y a quien llevará la desgracia (Ana y don Víctor Quintanar), la codicia (Paula Raíces), la intriga y la envidia eclesiásticas (Mourelo, alias Glocester), la intriga y la envidia mundanas originadas por la sexualidad pervertida (Visitación y Obdulia), la concupiscencia mutuamente consentidora entre cónyuges (los marqueses de Vegallana), el celestinismo disfrazado de piedad (Petronila Rianzores, alias el Gran Constantino), la falsa erudición (Saturnino Bermúdez); el poetastro cursi (Trifón Cármenes), la estrechez mental, la estulticia colectiva (Vetusta) ²⁴

Sr Balseiro's concise analysis indicates that *La Regenta* might be more legitimately classified among the novels and plays of manners which aim to point out human foibles and to correct them by satire and by publicity.

This is in striking contrast with the philosophy behind Zola's naturalistic novels. As a scientific determinist Zola goes much deeper in his analysis. Socially undesirable types arise from profound environmental influences which include heredity. You cannot reform *them*, you must change the world so that it cannot produce them. One is back to the fundamental difference between Alas and Zola, and Zola, who takes a broader scientific view, presents a more pessimistic picture. For Alas a little crusading will change man; for Zola a world revolution is required. One might say that Alas would advocate preaching and jail terms for slum youths who had gone wrong; Zola would advocate slum clearance, health programs, vocational guidance, NYA, and paroles. Alas, being a believer in free will, would treat the man, Zola would eliminate the necessity of such treatment.

Alas's jubilation over Galdós's *La desheredada* might indicate that in addition to his approval of the moral aim he also accepted the naturalist's notion that the novel should deal with life in all its details. Here again Alas brought further reservations to his acceptance of naturalism.

When the question of naturalism in Spain had gained enough importance to elicit from Pardo Bazán her famous *La cuestión palpitante*, Alas furnished an introduction in which he presented his longest and most formal defense of naturalism. After first complaining that the whole notion of naturalism had become vulgarized in Spain he began a series of negative definitions of naturalism headed by the statement that natural-

²⁴ José A. Balseiro, *Novelistas españoles modernos* (New York, 1933), p. 359.

ism is not the imitation of whatever is repugnant to the senses. In practice and in his criticism Alas never went beyond the limits set by the realists. He became incensed over Alarcón's *Niño de la bola* and especially the actions of Soledad who was willing to commit adultery to satisfy her lover and who had married rather than become a nun since the bonds of matrimony may be disregarded more lightly than those of a nun. Alas complained indignantly about this depiction of moral degeneracy: "¿Por qué se complace el Sr. Alarcón en pintar semejantes horrores, de fealdad repugnante, fría, insolente?"²⁵

Alas's concept of realistic description never included anything that might offend a lady who did not use her imagination too much. He maintained that naturalism was not the constant repetition of descriptions of ugly, vile, and miserable things. In practice he eliminated direct reference to anything capable of being labeled by these adjectives. Contrast, for example, his description of Ana reaching puberty with a similar description of Catherine in *Germinal*. Zola wrote:

After the battle, she had allowed Étienne to bring back Catherine, muddy and half dead, and as she was undressing her, before the young man, in order to put her to bed, she thought for a moment that her daughter also had received a ball in the belly, for the chemise was marked with large patches of blood. But she soon understood that it was the flood of puberty, which was at last breaking out in the shock of this abominable day.²⁶

Alas wrote:

Era una fiebre nerviosa, una crisis terrible, había dicho el médico, *la enfermedad había coincidido con ciertas transformaciones propias de la edad*, propias sí, pero delante de señoritas no debían explicarse con la claridad y los pormenores que empleaba el doctor. Don Cayetano podía oírlo todo, pero doña Anuncia hubiera preferido metáforas y perífrasis. "El desarrollo contenido," "la crisálida que se rompe," todo eso estaba bien, pero el médico añadía unos detalles que doña Anuncia no vacilaba en calificar de groseros.²⁷

The italicized clause above gives no frank statement of what happened, and the subsequent description of the prudishness of the two old maids does not strike a sharp enough contrast with the previous statement to make the reader believe that something unspeakable did not take place. The reader gets the impression that perhaps doña Anuncia's attitude was somewhat justified since the author himself beats around the bush.

Alas's approach to slightly taboo subjects was always done by suggestion, and this technique frequently makes *La Regenta* appear a less wholesome book than the most explicit ones of the French naturalists.

²⁵ *Solos de Clarín*, pp. 235-236

²⁶ Emile Zola, *Germinal*, tr. by Havelock Ellis (New York, n.d.), p. 351

²⁷ *La Regenta*, I, 116

Alas was very squeamish about frank language and developed what might be called a euphemistic substitute for realism of language. He did not believe that a book should have its pages stained with "palabras indecorosas"²⁸ A few quotations from *La Regenta* will demonstrate his technique in this matter.

Las señoras eran las que podían juzgar mejor, porque muchas de ellas habían conseguido ver á Anita como se ven las estatuas²⁹

No parece sino que don Alvarito se come los niños crudos, y que todas las mujeres se le . . . —y dijo una atrocidad que escandalizó á los señores del rincón obscuro³⁰

Aburrido de tanta *superficialidad* subía al *cuarto del crimen*, á ver los partidarios del azar. Allí oía el nombre de Dios á cada momento, pero en términos que no le parecían nada filosóficos.³¹

Y comenzó una copla impía y brutal alusiva á una sagrada imagen³²

Pero acordándose de lo que debía a su esposa, de lo que se debía á sí mismo, de lo que debía á sus años, y de otra porción de deudas, y sobre todo, por fatalidad de su destino que nunca le había permitido llevar á término natural cierta clase de empresas . . .³³

In the last quotation Alas merely wants to say that Quintanar is impotent!

Alas's reticence about dealing with certain subjects apparently prevents him from narrating (his favorite technique when he is afraid of outright description) either the seduction of Ana's maid by Fermín de Pas or the seduction of Ana by Alvaro. One does not learn that the latter major episode has taken place until some time after the actual event and then only in the following manner. "Pero como tenía empeño en limpiar de toda culpa á su Mesía, á su señor, al hombre á quien se había entregado en cuerpo y en alma *por toda la vida*, según ella . . ."³⁴ How roundabout this is in contrast with the direct method of Zola!

When Alas could bring himself to use realistic terms he frequently qualified them as bad and intruded himself into the narration in order to put the blame outright on the person using them. For example: "Ana se entregaba al amor para sentir con toda la vehemencia de su temperamento, y con una especie de furor que groseramente llamaba Mesía, para sí, hambre atrasada"³⁵ *La Regenta* is full of such author criticism and condemnation of the language used by his own characters. Obviously Alas tried to hold fast to his statement that naturalism did not deal with unpleasant things, and when he was forced to be realistic he wanted the reader to be certain that he, the author, did not approve of such language. His preaching to the sin-type is made more evident by this technique.

²⁸ *Galdós*, p. 101.

²⁹ *La Regenta*, I, 130.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

³¹ *Ibid.*, II, 123.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 152.

³³ *La Regenta*, II, 382.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 414

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 415.

Another contrast between Alas's method and that of the French shows up sharply in his description of La Regenta's illness in Chapter XIX of Volume II. There is no real description of Ana while she is sick. This treatment should be contrasted with the description of the death of Nana and Madame Bovary in which no detail is overlooked. Alas's very slight treatment of this subject shows how really different his technique is from that of the naturalists.

Only two of the negative definitions which Alas propounded in his introduction to *La cuestión palpitante* do not conflict with the French concept of naturalism. He announced that naturalism is not a closed doctrine which rejects other literary forms and that it is not a group of recipes for writing novels.

We shall not be exaggerating if we say that Alas defined away the very naturalism he was supposed to be defending in his introduction to *La cuestión palpitante*. Had he given up the term entirely and called *La desheredada*, for example, merely a realistic novel based on modern patterns, and had he called Pardo Bazán and himself realists, Spain's battle of the century would not have taken place.

The opponents of naturalism in Spain were attacking a theory based on positivism and scientific determinism. Pardo Bazán and Alas, especially the latter, denounced the same beliefs, but because they insisted on calling themselves naturalists and because they insisted on attacking those who denounced the very thing they themselves refused to accept they found themselves in the position of having to defend what most people already accepted in Galdós under the label of realism. The battle, once clear definitions are worked out, appears to have been only over terminology.

Since Alas's definition of naturalism stripped it of the characteristics which gave it separate identity, there is left the problem of determining what he called "naturalism" in his writings. His naturalism included a realistic approach, with reservations, to the depiction of life, more psychological study of motivations of characters than was common in Spain, some emphasis on details of human activities, but not on sounds, smells, objects, etc. which motivate those activities, a slightly more accurate imitation of the language of the people talking and a theoretical adherence to the experimentalist's technique in observation and recording. Thus when Alas applied the term *naturalism* to works of his contemporaries we must interpret it as meaning only some sort of modern realism for him.

For several years, however, he continued to identify more or less his brand of "naturalism" with the French without clearly realizing that his numerous reservations effectively put him outside the movement. In

1885, he declared, there were few Spaniards who understood naturalism or who "estuviesen enterados de lo que era y que hablasen con algún fundamento de la cuestión."³⁶ But his own observation was indeed vague since he had not clearly explained what his concept of naturalism was. He was not to arrive at a sharp realization of his own state of mind until 1889 when he finally became aware that "lo que se llamó, con mayor ó menor fundamento, con precipitación ó sin ella, el naturalismo español, ninguna relación directa, reflexiva y voluntaria tenía con el naturalismo francés ni con el ruso."³⁷

In the intervening four years his critical writings reveal a man groping in an attempt to concretize and verbalize his intuitive realization that he was really not so much in favor of naturalism as his previous utterances might have indicated. In 1885 he was still defending the term without giving it an explicit definition, but he showed by implication that he was not thinking of French naturalism. How far he was away from naturalism may be seen in the following quotation.

Emilia Pardo piensa como hombre y siente como mujer. Solo así se puede describir aquella alegría de las cigarreras, aquella hermosura repentina de las feas, aquella gracia desinteresada de las mujeres que están solas. Ese, ese es el arte; ese es nuestro querido naturalismo, querido y calumniado, cuanto más calumniado más querido.³⁸

The following year Alas could not give a clear notion of what he was talking about when he dealt with naturalism, and by 1887 he was openly attacking the Spanish "naturalists." He took up the cudgels for *Amores de una santa* of Campoamor against the naturalists, and Zorrilla's *Cantar del Romero* provided him with another text to be read to them as an attack on their materialistic outlook.

Apresuráos, mis queridos compañeros en naturalismo, á oír á estos ancianos que evocan la fe *del amor primero*; ellos pintan la mujer con quien se sueña, vosotros la mujer con quien se duerme.³⁹

Yet in spite of his attitude Alas maintained that he was giving Pereda the highest kind of eulogy when he compared him with Zola, ". . . porque de día en día crece mi admiración por el autor de *La Joie de vivre*, y creo firmemente que, á su modo, vale tanto como Balzac y más que todos los otros grandes novelistas franceses, más que el mismo Flaubert . . ."⁴⁰ And he added with determination that he could write a whole book to prove it.

At this time Galdós was still a naturalist in his own estimation and

³⁶ Leopoldo Alas, *Sermón perdido* (Madrid, 1885), p. 25.

³⁷ Galdós, p. 192 ³⁸ *Sermón perdido*, p. 25

³⁹ Leopoldo Alas, *Nueva campaña* (Madrid, 1887), p. 38

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

Palacio Valdés, because of *Aguas Fuertes*, had also become a member of the band, but Alas was beginning to doubt whether Pardo Bazán could be a true naturalist, primarily because a real Spanish lady, who wanted to keep on being a lady, could not write a novel like *Nana*. When two years later Pardo Bazán, lady or no lady, published *Insolación* Alas attacked it vigorously⁴¹

The year of *Insolación* (1889) marks the awakening of Alas in his attitude toward naturalism. For the first time he clearly observed that Spanish "naturalism" had nothing much to do with French naturalism⁴² and that his articles were attempting to introduce the Spaniards to new "aspiraciones literarias," especially a sort of neo-idealism⁴³. At the same time he seriously began to question Zola's scientific method and declared that it prejudiced Zola and interfered with his art.⁴⁴ He denied that naturalism was dead in Spain but felt that there were new tendencies which were more legitimate and more opportune and that these should be cultivated without giving naturalism up completely.

By 1890 Alas was looking at his former naturalism as a sort of "naturalistic measles" from which he had suffered⁴⁵ and he was then capable of considering *La cuestión palpitante*, which he once so vigorously championed, a superficial work, somewhat indelicate and vulgar.⁴⁶ He had begun to use realist and naturalist interchangeably and put himself, Pereda, Galdós, Pardo Bazán, and Palacio Valdés in the group which he called "realistas ó naturalistas españoles."⁴⁷ In 1891, when the second edition of *Solos de Clarín* came out, he carefully explained that his ideas had changed on the subject considerably in the intervening ten years⁴⁸. At this time Alas had reached what might be considered his most mature stage in his analysis of naturalism. What was unconsciously in his mind in the days of his violent defense of the movement had now become conscious and he verbalized it with considerable facility and accuracy. The following passage might be considered as expressing the attitude toward which he had been groping all through his career. It only reached clear expression in 1891.

El caso es que el naturalismo, que ha traído al arte literario muchas verdades y legítimos procedimientos, no está solo en el mundo, ni debe estarlo, como el positivismo, considerado en general, como una solución filosófica, no está solo

⁴¹ *Museum*, p. 81 —Some of Alas's disturbance over *Insolación* must be attributed to his excessively prudish nature. In spite of his admiration for Zola, he believed honorable women should not read *L'Argent*. "Como nota bien un revistero italiano ciertos desmanes de la Sendorff y cierta irregularidad legendaria de Sabatini, convierten *L'Argent* en un libro que no deben leer las mujeres honradas, sean ó no sean doncellas." *Ensayos y revistas*, p. 76. ⁴² Galdós, p. 192. ⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 203. ⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 165.

⁴⁵ Leopoldo Alas, *Rafael Calvo y el teatro español* (Madrid, 1890), p. 61.

⁴⁶ *Museum*, p. 61. ⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 65. ⁴⁸ *Solos de Clarín*, p. 2.

en las tentativas científicas de la humanidad que reflexiona y que observa. Así como los que no seamos positivistas admiraremos, y estudiaremos, y aprovecharemos las lecciones y los descubrimientos de esta escuela, y no continuaremos nuestras tareas de pensadores sin asimilarnos lo que el positivismo encierra de sólidamente científico, del propio modo fué necesario que el naturalismo, en lo mucho que tenía y tiene de bueno, prosperase en el arte, y que lo defendiesen y propagasen todos los hombres de recto criterio artístico que de él esperaban algo que venía á su hora, que estaba haciendo falta, aunque no fueran partidarios de dicha escuela ó tendencia con el exclusivismo de los sectarios. En este sentido yo estoy dispuesto á defender el naturalismo, el verdadero, con tanto calor como el primer día, y todo lo que sea tendencia á borrar lo vivido, á renegar de lo afirmado *á volver á las andadas*, me parece absurdo y ridículo.

Pero el naturalismo y el positivismo se daban la mano en la idea y en el propósito de los naturalistas franceses, y en este punto no podíamos seguir á los naturalistas los que veíamos el vicio capital de la crítica de Zola en su limitado, exclusivista y, en suma, falso concepto de la ciencia y de sus relaciones con el arte.⁴⁹

Alas now turned to the new psychological, somewhat symbolical and sentimental novel which the reaction to naturalism was beginning to bring forth. He was happy to see that Galdós was moving into the new current and was beginning to deal with transcendental problems, ethics and religion.⁵⁰

Alas never gave up his position that naturalism (by now we should substitute realism) brought something worth while to the novel, a new technique, closer observation of the world in some respects, more accurate description, and all those things which we have come to consider part of realism and which were lacking in the romantic novels of the earlier years of the nineteenth century, but spiritually he moved farther and farther away from naturalism and even realism.

In 1901 he lamented that there were so few readers of Valmiki's *Ramayana* and exclaimed: "La *Roma* de Zola, libro triste, *á la larga*, estará ya á estas horas en el millar . . . ciento y pico. ¡Qué diferencia! ¡Y qué injusta, qué irracional diferencia!"⁵¹ The fire of youth was ebbing from Leopoldo Alas and he was seeking no longer the harsh, sharp contrasts of the world; instead he was viewing it more and more from his basic metaphysical and traditional outlook. The reality of life was fast becoming something of the "great beyond," literally and in the mystic sense that ultimate reality is found only in philosophic speculation. The forces that always kept Alas from accepting naturalism were becoming more dominant than ever and he was seeking a charm, an ease, and a sweet contentment that would make the days of a prematurely old, sick

⁴⁹ *Ensayos y revistas*, pp. 144-145.

⁵⁰ *Galdós*, p. 259.

⁵¹ *Siglo pasado*, p. 188.

man more happy His comparison of Zola's *Roma* and Valmiki's *Ramayana* leaves no uncertainty in our minds

. *Roma* es obra de vejez, de cansancio, de desengaño frío, el *Ramayana* es todo juventud, alegría, entusiasmo, fe en esa misma Naturaleza que Zola quiere cantar como perfecto discípulo de Lucrecio . . .

De la naturaleza de Zola, á pesar de sus frases sacramentales de epicurista, *fisiólatra*, no nos fiamos *lalet anguis in herba*, sin filosofías, sin culto reflexivo á la *abstracción metafísica* llamada naturaleza, Valmiki nos presenta un mundo exterior amable, seductor, de encanto, de vida fácil sin terribles misterios, alegre, rozagante ⁵²

The doubts of youth had vanished, the syncretist's desire to harmonize conflicting beliefs had disappeared There remained only one way of life All others had been cast aside, and Alas was looking for a peaceful, quiet, untroubled world of nature which would provide a comfortable place to lay a head weary from many battles

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⁵² *Siglo pasado*, p 185

DER JOSEPHROMAN IN THOMAS MANNS GESAMTWERK

WEDER Kunst noch Leben werden unbedingt positiv bewertet ¹ Mit diesem von "Tonio Kroger" und "Der Tod in Venedig" gewonnenen Urteil mindert Obenauer Manns Lebensleistung. Nicht nur in Obenaus ernstem und umfassendem Werk sondern auch im landläufigen literarhistorischen Urteil erscheint Mann als Dichter der Décadence, des Impressionismus, des Aesthetizismus. Als Obenauer die zitierten Zeilen schrieb, konnte man den Weg Manns noch nicht überschauen. "Die Geschichten Jaakobs" waren noch nicht erschienen. Der folgende Versuch—in seiner Art der erste und darum sicherlich nicht erschöpfend—soll den Ort des Josephromans im Gesamtwerk des Dichters finden und die übrigen Werke vom "Joseph" aus in einen entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang bringen.

Obenaus Grundgedanke, die Polarität des ästhetischen und ethischen Primats scheint für ein Verständnis Manns besonders fruchtbar zu sein. Der von Obenauer übersehene konservative Junker-Dichter Aristophanes kennt diese Polarität. Den Agon der "Frosche" gewinnt Aeschylus, der den Dionysos davon überzeugt, dass er die Eigenschaften des "guten" Dichters in seinen Werken gezeigt habe: Geschick, Weisheit und das ernstliche Bestreben, in Stoffwahl und dichterischer Gestaltung an die sittliche Besserung der Bürger zu denken. Euripides verliert den Agon, weil er mit seiner Erotik und seinem ästhetischen Relativismus kein Praeceptor Graeciae sein kann. Seine vorwiegend ästhetische Weltanschauung soll geholfen haben, die moralische Welt der Marathonkämpfer zu zersetzen. In diesen manchmal qualend modern klingenden Auseinandersetzungen sehen wir zum ersten Mal den ethischen und ästhetischen Primat in der Wertwelt zweier Dichter klar erkannt. Gegenüberstellungen wie die im Aristophanischen Sängerkrieg in der Unterwelt lassen sich zu allen Zeiten aufweisen: Vergil-Ovid, Wolfram-Gottfried, Klopstock-Wieland, Uhland-Heine. Das unselige Schisma in der deutschen Literatur der jüngsten Zeit hat einen seiner Gründe im Existenzialhass, der aus dem Glauben an den ethischen oder ästhetischen Primat kommt. Die "ästhetischen" Dichter stimmen darin überein, dass Werte des Schönen, der Kunst, der Phantasie obenan stehen. Die Welt ist ihnen Rohstoff für ihr Gefühl oder auch nur ihre Stimmung. Zu den Problemen des Lebens haben sie eine gefühlsmäßige subjektive Einstellung. Frühromantik und Impressionismus zeigen diesen künstlerischen Typus am

¹ K. J. Obenauer, *Die Problematik des ästhetischen Menschen in der deutschen Literatur* (München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1933), S. 370.

reinsten. Fr. Schlegel umschreibt den ästhetischen Primat: "Was die Menschen unter den anderen Bildungen der Erde, das sind die Künstler unter den Menschen."² Der Romantiker "belebt" das Dasein mit Liebe, Freundschaft, schöner Geselligkeit, Kunst und Religion, wobei all diese Lebensgebiete dazu dienen müssen, dem ichbezogenen Menschen zu erhöhtem Lebensgefühl zu verhelfen. Die Suche nach feinerem oder aufregenderem Erleben führt dann zu dem Europahass der Exotisten vom Schlage Gautiers und zu der vollkommenen Amoralität, wie sie etwa Oscar Wilde verkörpert. Alle Elemente des ästhetischen Typus lassen sich an Heine wie an einem Schulbeispiel studieren, dem so entgegengesetzte Dinge wie die katholische Religion, seine unglückliche Liebe, der Kommunismus und die eigene Leibesnot zum ästhetischen Erlebnis wurden. Der Primat der ethischen Werte kann leicht erkannt werden. Die Einstellung zum Guten, zur "Tugend" erfordert immer Anerkennung der bestehenden Kulturwerte, Gemeinschaften, Bindungen. Die Welt dient nicht der Erhöhung sondern der Bewahrung des Individuums, dessen Verhalten den Lebensdingen gegenüber mehr Sachbezogenheit als Ichbezogenheit zeigt. In Zeiten aristokratischer d. h. ästhetischer Hochkultur findet sich ein humanistischer Ausgleich der beiden Wertwelten in den hervorragenden dichterischen Geistern. Das Perikleische Athen, das romanische Rittertum, die deutsche Klassik bieten genügend Beispiele. Ein dritter Typus zeigt den Uebergang vom ästhetischen zum ethischen Primat. Die Dichter, die hierher gehören, sind seltener, denn sie sind die Schöpfer von Werken, die die Schaffensperiode eines Menschenalters beanspruchten. Die Beispiele, die hier in Frage kommen, sind Goethe und Thomas Mann. Der Entwicklungsweg führt von Werthers und Tonios Leiden über Meister und Castorp die Suchenden zu Faust und Joseph den Ernährern.

Hiermit sind drei Schaffensperioden in Manns Leben angedeutet, die durch drei grosse Romane vertreten sind: "Buddenbrooks," "Der Zauberberg," "Joseph und seine Brüder." Diese Romane sind drei konzentrischen Kreisen vergleichbar, in deren Mittelpunkt Manns Suchen nach den Gründen der eigenen Existenz steht. Der Inhalt dieser Kreise weitet sich von Lubeck zu Europa zur Menschheit. Die Tiefe der eigenen Existenz ist in allen drei Perioden eine historisch bestimmbare immer größere Zeitentiefe. Die Zeitentiefe der Buddenbrooks, nennt Mann selbst in den für sein gesamtes Schaffen so wichtigen "Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen":

Man forscht in den Büchern, man forscht in der Not der Zeit nach den fernsten Ursprüngen, den legitimen Grundlagen, den ältesten seelischen Ueberlieferungen des bedrängten Ich, man forscht nach Rechtfertigung.³

² Fr. Schlegel, "Ideen," *Athenäum*, III, (1800), 11

³ Mann, *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (Berlin Fischer, 1919), S. 81-82

Bis dahin konnten diese Worte sich auf den Josephroman beziehen, sie stammen aber noch aus dem "Kreise" der Buddenbrooks, denn Mann fährt fort:

War es nicht so das bürgerliche Zeitalter unserer Geschichte, das auf das geistliche und ritterliche folgte, das Zeitalter der Hansa, das Zeitalter der Städte, es war ein reines Kulturzeitalter .³

Die "Buddenbrooks" waren ein Abschluss, denn dieses Kulturbürgertum gab es kaum noch, als Mann es in den "Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen" mit dem feiernden Wort ehrte. Mann hat in den "Betrachtungen" sein Selbstbildnis als Selbstdeutung eingefügt. Es ist noch nicht "Jakobs hochgestirnte Greisenmiene mit dem spahend besorgten Blick der braunen Augen,"⁴ es ist aber schon ein Gesicht der Gedankensorge:

Ich sehe ein etwas seitlich- und vorgeneigtes Antlitz von unvergleichlichem und unverwechselbarem nationalen Gepräge irgendwie altertümlich holzschnitthaft, nürnbergisch-bürgerlich, menschlich in einem unerhorten und einmaligen Sinne, sittlichgeistig, hart und milde zugleich—ein hinein- und hinüberschauendes, nicht feuriges eher ein wenig welkes Auge, einen verschlossenen Mund, Zeichen der Anstrengung und der Ermüdung auf der besorgt, doch ohne Gramlichkeit gefalteten Stirn.⁵

Das ist nicht mehr das Gesicht Tonios des Impressionisten, des Aestheten, das ist schon das Gesicht Aschenbachs. Aschenbach ist noch mit der Welt der Buddenbrooks und Tonios verwandt. Noch einmal lebt er uns—und diesmal *de profundis*—das Problem des Künstlers vor, für den das Freiligrathwort gilt: "das Mal der Dichtung ist ein Kainsstempel,"⁶ aber in Aschenbach beginnt doch schon etwas ganz Neues, das weit über das Interessante und Dämonische impressionistischen Aesthetentums hinausgeht. Aschenbach ist der Mann, der das Sphinxrätsel unseres Jahrhunderts beantwortet hat, der "einer ganzen dankbaren Jugend die Möglichkeit sittlicher Entschlossenheit jenseits der tiefsten Erkenntnis zeigte."⁷ Mit diesem Satz beginnt der "Kreis" des Zauberbergs. Die dankbare Jugend Hans Castrops findet allerdings bei den Repräsentanten europäischer Ideologien der Vorkriegszeit nur Erschütterung, Auflockerung für die modernste Gedankensorge, wie das Wissen, "die auflösende und hemmende Erkenntnis,"⁸ die zur radikalen Skepsis führt, überwunden werden konnte. Auch "der Zauberberg" ist ein Werk des Abschlusses. Die Ideologien des Vorkriegseuropas verprasseln in einem dialektischen Brilliantfeuerwerk, das mit Schutzfeuer endet. Für Settembrini und Naphta, ja sogar für Joachim und Peeperkorn, gilt das gegen Settembrini gerichtete Urteil Naphtas: "Das heroische Zeitalter

⁴ Mann, *Die Geschichten Jakobs* (Berlin: Fischer, 1934), S. LVIII.

⁵ *Betrachtungen*, S. 81.

⁶ F. Freiligrath, *Gedächtnis*, "Bei Grabbes Tod."

⁷ Mann, *Der Tod in Venedig* (Berlin: Fischer, 1925), S. 19.

⁸ *Ibid.*, S. 28.

Ihrer Ideale ist längst vorüber, diese Ideale sind tot, liegen in den letzten Zügen, und die Füße derer, die ihnen den Garauß machen werden, stehen vor der Tür."⁹ 1940 hat Naphta gegen Settembrini recht gegeben. Der Humanismus der Gymnasien und Lyzeen, der politischen Rhetorik und der höheren Tochter war nicht das Geheimnis der menschlichen Erlösung sondern eine zeitbedingte Form der bürgerlich liberalen Kultur. Das Schöngestige, die reine Menschlichkeit ist zur politischen Phrase geworden. Das religiöse Absolute von aufklärerischer Psychologie und Philologie, von materialistischer Naturwissenschaft wegerklärt hat neuen Absoluten Platz gemacht: dem Staat, der Klasse, der Rasse, ja der Statistik. Settembrini ist nicht der Mann der Geistessorge sondern der eifersüchtige Hüter der *forza vindice della Ragione*, er ist ein Ideologe, ein Ismus-Mensch. Seine Zeittiefe sind die Jahrhunderte des Erasmus, Voltaire und Carducci. Tiefer und dämonischer als Settembrini aber auch Parteimann im Geistigen ist Naphta. Die Zeittiefe seiner Gedanken ist das Mittelalter Gregors, das klassenlose Gottesreich, das mit Terror erzwungen werden muss. Nur so kann der Abgrund des tiefsten Wissens und der radikalen Skepsis überbrückt werden. Die Frage des Geistes lautet für ihn: Ist denn das Leben ein Argument, wenn es die Wahrheit gilt?¹⁰ Sein sarmatischer Radikalismus macht auch ihn zum Kämpfer für ein Gewesenes, nicht zum Mann der Gottessorge. Joachims formale Existenz kann und soll keine Wege weisen. In Peepkorn stirbt der große Pan. Hans Castorp, der sich, wenn auch auf norddeutsche kühle Weise, die Geistessorge zum Lebensinhalt gemacht hat, wächst über seine Präzeptoren hinaus, ohne recht zu wissen, in welcher Richtung sich der Mann der Geistessorge ruhen muß. Da erlebt er im Schneetraum, in gewaltiger Zeittiefe, seine Vision, die ihm Richtung und Haltung gibt. In den drei großen Romanwerken geben Träume oder visionartige Zustände den Helden Richtung und Zuversicht. Thomas Buddenbrooks hat seine Schopenhauervision, Castorp den Schneetraum und Jaakob und Joseph haben ihre Himmelsträume. Castorp schaut die apollinische Formenwelt am Gestade des Zivilisationsmeeres. Szenen gesitteter Lebensfreude erscheinen als Kustenkulisser, aber dahinter gelagert, tiefer in der Zeit und lebensursprünglicher, sieht er eine andere Kulisse mit Szenen dionysischer Todesfreude. Castorp versteht, was später Joseph verstehen wird, dass der Mensch der Herr der Gegensätze sein soll, und dass die Gottessorge ihre Richtung durch Güte und Liebe erhält. Er versteht auch, dass man dem Tode keine Herrschaft über seine Gedanken einräumen soll, eine Weisheit, die Joseph im Pyramidenland lernt. Nur die Richtung der Gedankensorge erfährt Hans Castorp. Konkret be-

⁹ Mann, *Der Zauberberg* (Berlin: Fischer, 1930), S. 99.

¹⁰ Vgl. *Betrachtungen*, S. 587 ff.

stimmen und für alle Zeiten festlegen, wie es Settembrini und Naphta mit ihr wollen, läßt sich diese Sorge nicht, die "ein Weg ist aber kein Ziel."¹¹ Wußte der Mensch das Gute und Rechte, wußte er genau, was die Tagesordnung ist, dann hatte er seine Formel gefunden. Die eine Seite der Gedankensorge ist die Menschenformel, die ihre nötige Ergänzung in der anderen Seite, der Gottesformel, findet. Von der Menschenformel heißt es in den "Betrachtungen."

Dostojewskij lehrt die religiöse Herkunft der nationalen Ideen und die daraus folgende nationale Gebundenheit des sozialen Ideals. . . 'Die Ameise kennt die Formel ihres Baues, die Biene die ihres Stockes, aber der Mensch kennt seine Formel nicht.' Woher sei aber dann das Ideal einer sozialen Organisation in die menschliche Gesellschaft gekommen? Es sei einzig und allein ein Erzeugnis der sittlichen Vervollkommenung der einzelnen Menschen. . . Die sittliche Idee sei der Entstehung einer Nationalität immer und überall vorangegangen, denn gerade sie sei es, was die nationale Besonderheit bilde, sie erst erschaffe die Nationalität. . . 'Um den empfangenen geistigen Schatz zu erhalten, beginnen die Menschen sogleich sich einander anzuschließen. Sie suchen jenen sittlichen Schatz, den sie erhalten, wenn möglich über die ganze Welt hin zu seinem vollsten Glanz zu entfalten und zu seinem größten Ruhm zu erheben.'¹²

Wieder finden wir in den "Betrachtungen" das kommende Werk im Keim vorgeformt. Das Suchen nach der Formel des Menschen und Gottes ist das Thema der Josephromane. Waren einst die "fernsten Ursprünge, die ältesten seelischen Ueberlieferungen des bedrangten Ich" das bürgerliche Zeitalter, so treibt die Not der jüngsten Gegenwart den Dichter diesmal in eine viel gewaltigere Tiefe der Zeit und eigenen Existenz. Wieder gibt Mann ein leicht maskiertes Selbstportrat. Es ist nicht mehr das Gesicht des Dürerdeutschen, des "metaphysischen Handwerkers," es ist das Gesicht des Urvaters, des Mannes der Gottes-sorge. Wir erkennen die tiefen Furchen, die von den Flügeln der dünnrückigen Nase in den Bart hinablaufen, die kleinen Augen, braun, blank, mit schlaffer, drusenzarter Unterlidgedend, schon altersmude eigentlich und nur seelisch geschärft, die besorgt spahen.¹³ Diesmal sind die fernsten Ursprünge erreicht. Die Tiefe des Josephromans ist nicht die Zeit Jaakobs oder Echnatons oder des Mondwanderers. Dem Durchbruch im Schneetraum Castorps entspricht der Durchbruch in der "Hollenfahrt." Der Brunnen der Zeiten erweist sich als ausgelotet, bevor das End- und Anfangsziel erreicht wird, das wir erstreben, die Geschichte des Menschen ist älter als die materielle Welt, die seines Willens Werk ist, älter als das Leben, das auf seinem Willen steht.¹⁴

Diese Deutung des Urmenschen, die wir in der religiösen Anthropologie

¹¹ *Betrachtungen*, S. 551

¹² *Betrachtungen*, S. 539-540

¹³ *Die Geschichten Jaakobs*, S. 14-15.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, S. XLV

östlicher Religionen und Philosophien finden, ist die Grundlage des platonischen und neuplatonischen Dualismus, aus dem Manns Geistbegriff kommt. Die Menschenseele, vor aller Zeit in Gottes Nahe, vermischt sich mit der Materie und schafft die Welt der Formen. Der Geist wird als "zweiter Abgesandter" von Gott ausgeschickt, um die Seele wieder an die verlorene Hochwelt zu erinnern und zu Gott zurückzuführen. Die Geist- und Gottessorge wird nun von Mann so gefasst:

Der Geist ist der Bote der Mahnung, das Prinzip der Anstossnahme, des Widerspruchs und der Wanderschaft, welches die Unruhe übernatürlichen Elendes in der Brust eines Einzelnen unter lauter lusthaft Einverstandenen erregt, ihn aus den Toren des Gewordenen und Gegebenen ins abenteuerlich Ungewisse treibt und ihn dem Steine gleichmacht, der, indem er sich lost und rollt, ein unabsehbar wachsendes Rollen und Geschehen einzuleiten bestimmt ist.¹⁵

Wir dürfen wohl aus dem Schneetraum Hans Castorps annehmen, dass Gute und Liebe zu diesem Getriebensein als richtungsgebende Kräfte hinzukommen, wenn Joseph zum Ernährer der Völker wird. Die Probleme des Zauberberges werden im Josephroman weitergedacht. Josephs Erwägungen im Lusthauschen der Alten sind die endgültige Widerlegung Settembrinis, eine Widerlegung ohne Naphtas Gehässigkeit, da sie die Anerkennung in sich schliesst:

Lass das gut sein, alter Israel, und schilt es nicht, was die Kinder Keme's da weltlich vermocht in lachelnder Anspannung und hochwandelnd im Geschmack, denn es konnte sein, dass es selbst Gott gefällt! Siehe, ich bin gut Freund damit und finde es reizend, vorbehaltlich des stillen Bewusstseins in meinem Blut, dass es das Eigentlichste und Wichtigste wohl nicht sein mag. was da ist, in den Himmel des feinen Geschmacks zu tragen, sondern dass dringlich notwendiger ist die Gottessorge ums Zukünftige.¹⁶

Naphtas Welt, deren Untergrund im Schneetraum als die Szene des Kindesopfers erscheint, geistert durch das raunende Zwiegespräch Huijs und Tuijs, wenn sie von der Verstummelung des Knableins Petepre sprechen und es noch nicht wissen, dass die alten heiligen Brauche im neuen Aeon ein Greuel geworden sind. Der Zusammenhang mag widersinnig scheinen zwischen der Geisteswelt eines Naphta und der Gottessumme der Alten oder Labans, der das Krukenopfer seines Sohnnchens noch für nötig hielt, aber solche Geistesnachbarschaft ist der Preis, den der Reaktionen zahlen muss.

Die historische Zeit ist in allen Romanen Manns wichtig und daher genau bestimmt. Der Josephroman ist keine Ausnahme, nur muss der Leser sich ein wenig mehr anstrengen, die Anspielungen zu verstehen. Gleich zu Beginn des Romans gibt Mann eine genaue Datierung in dem

¹⁵ *Ibid*, S. LVII.

¹⁶ *Joseph in Aegypten*, S. 243.

Satz von anderthalb Seiten, der uns über Joseph "zu seiner Zeit"¹⁷ aufklärt. Dabei wird "Amun ist zufrieden, dieses Namens der Dritte"¹⁷ erwähnt. Joseph kommt in den letzten Regierungsjahren Amenophis III also um 1380 nach Aegypten. Ramses II, der biblische und historische Fronvogt der eingewanderten Israeliten, der Erbauer der Speicherstadt Pithom und der Residenzstadt Per-Ramses kommt dann allerdings zu früh, sechzig Jahre nach Josephs Einwanderung und wahrscheinlich noch zu Lebzeiten des großen Wesirs. Er konnte schwerlich der Pharao sein, von dem es heißt: er wußte nichts von Joseph. Mann hatte einen guten Grund trotz sonstiger Genauigkeit in ägyptischen Dingen, diese kleine Unstimmigkeit in Kauf zu nehmen. Die Erhöhung Josephs fällt bei ihm in den Beginn der Regierungszeit Amenophis IV, der sich Echnaton nannte. Echnaton, unter dem es Joseph in dem noch nicht erschienenen Band "Joseph der Ernährer" zum Wesir des Sudens bringen wird, ist der Pharao der Gottessorge, der die "Tagesordnung" durchführt. Der aus Gips geformte Kopf des Königs, eine der besten Leistungen der Amarnakunst im "Amarna-Saal" des Berliner Museums hat die sinnenden und sorgenden Augen, die ergreifende Schwermut eines Königs, der dem neuen Aeon zum Siege verhelfen wollte gegen alles Alte, das ein Greuel geworden ist, d. h. gegen die Gottesdummheit der Heiden. Nur dieser Traumer auf dem Thron in Theben, dem die philosophierende Theologie seiner Priester wichtiger war als alle Provinzen Asiens, konnte der passende Pharao sein für Joseph, den Sohn eines Gottesfürsten.

Kann man die Entwicklung des Dichters bis zum Josephroman Schritt für Schritt verfolgen, so ist es umgekehrt wiederum möglich, vom Josephroman aus das bisherige Werk zu überblicken und so eine Fülle geistiger und seelischer Beziehungen zu entdecken, von denen hier nur einige beispielsweise angedeutet werden können. Wie sich Leit motive durch das Einzelwerk des Dichters ziehen, so auch durch das Gesamtwerk. Da ist die im Josephroman und in der "Lotte" erorterte "Wiederholung," "dasselbe auf ungleichen Stufen, Steigerung, geläuterte Lebenswiederholung"¹⁸. Joseph der Traumer von Traumen ist noch einmal Hanno und Tonio, geistiger Mensch, Künstler, Begnadeter und Gefährdeter. Der Widerstand, das verachtliche Murren und der Hass der Leasohne wiederholt die Qualereien, den Spott und die Verachtung der Lubecker Schuljungen und der Blauaugigen Blondhaarigen.

Ein Nebengedanke in den anderen Werken, der Gedanke von der aristokratischen Bevorzugung, der werteschaffenden Ungerechtigkeit, kehrt als grosses Thema im Josephroman wieder. In Josephs Himmels Traum ist es der "Ratschluss der gewaltigen Vorliebe,"¹⁹ die "Gnaden-

¹⁷ Die Geschichten Jakobs, S. x.

¹⁸ *Lotte in Weimar* (Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer, 1939), S. 319-320.

¹⁹ *Der junge Joseph* (Berlin: Fischer, 1934), S. 92.

wahl,"²⁰ Gottes, der den Knaben gegen den Willen der Engel erhoht kraft seines Machtspruches: "Ich gonne, wem ich gonne"²¹ Das irdische Gegenstück zu dieser gottlichen Berufung ist die aristokratische Bevorzugung der Vater, die den Segen nicht dem geben, der den Anspruch der Erstgeburt darauf hat, sondern dem jeweils feineren und bedeutenderen Sohn. Daher zieht Jaakob den Sohn der Rechten den stumpferen Leaskindern und Söhnen der Magde vor, und Isaak lässt sich halb wissentlich betrogen, denn er weiss, dass der Segen sich bei Jaakob besser erfüllen wird als bei dem primitiven Naturburschen Esau. Joseph der Segenträger bleibt der Bevorzugte bei den Midianitern, als Jungsklave des Petepre, im Gefangnis, und schliesslich wird die Gnadenwahl des Hochsten auf Erden ihn zum Auserkorenen, zum Wesir des Sudens machen. Die früheste Andeutung des Gedankens von der aristokratischen Bevorzugung findet sich als hingeworfene Bemerkung im "Tod in Venedig." "Fast jedem Kunstlernaturell ist ein uppiger und verräterischer Hang eingeboien, Schönheit schaffende Ungerechtigkeit anzuerkennen und aristokratischer Bevorzugung Teilnahme und Huldigung entgegenzubringen."²² In "Unordnung und frühes Leid" wird der Beginn der väterlichen Vorliebe für das Tochterchen in fast der gleichen Weise geschildert wie Jaakobs Liebe für den neugeborenen Joseph. Die beiden Stellen sind ein gutes Beispiel für den Gebrauch des Leitmotivs im Gesamtwerk und für die Wiederholung auf höherer Ebene.

Er trat herzu und in dem Augenblick fast, wo er . . . das kleine Wunder gewährte, das da so wohlausgebildet und wie von der Klarheit süssen Ebenmasses umflossen in den Kissen lag, mit Handchen, die schon damals, in noch viel winzigeren Massen so schon waren, wie jetzt, mit offenen Augen, die damals himmelblau waren und den hellen Tag wiederstrahlten—fast in derselben Sekunde fühlte er sich ergriffen und gebunden, es war Liebe auf den ersten Blick und für immer . . .²³

Und doch sah Jaakob etwas, was er nicht gesehen bei Leas Kindern und nicht wahrgenommen bei den Kindern der Magde, sah mit dem ersten Blick, was sein Herz, je länger er hinblickte, bis zum Ueberstromen mit andachtigem Entzucken füllte. Es war um dies Neugeborene, unnennbar, gleichwie ein Scheinen von Klarheit, Lieblichkeit, Ebenmass, Sympathie und Gottesannehmlichkeit, . . . wie er es aber berührte, schlug es seine Augen auf, die damals blau waren und das Licht widerstrahlten der Sonne seiner Geburt in des Himmels Scheitelpunkt, und nahm mit dem winzigen, genau ausgebildeten Handchen den Finger Jaakobs.²⁴

²⁰ *Ibid.*, S. 100

²¹ *Ibid.*, S. 98

²² *Der Tod in Venedig* (Berlin: Fischer, 1925), S. 53–54.

²³ *Unordnung und frühes Leid* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1930), S. 17–18.

²⁴ *Die Geschichten Jaakobs*, S. 352–353.

Ganz beiläufig erscheint das Motiv der Bevorzugung noch einmal in "Lotte in Weimar." Goethe hintertreibt das Duell seines Sohnes mit Rittmeister von Werthern-Wiese nicht allein aus väterlicher Besorgnis — "denn immer hatte er seine Freude an der aristokratischen Ausnahme, an distinguiertem Ungerechtigkeit gehabt" ²⁵

Von den Leitmotiven zu unterscheiden sind gewisse Grundgedanken, die in den verschiedenen Werken wiederzuerkennen sind. Die "Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen" wurden schon in ihren Beziehungen zu Manns dichterischen Werken besprochen. Die Geschichtsphilosophie der "Betrachtungen" und des Aufsatzes "Friedrich und die grosse Koalition" unterscheidet sich von aufklärerischer Geschichtsauffassung durch die Anerkennung tragischer Polaritäten, die in allem menschlichen Geschehen sich auswirken wie etwa: Recht—Macht, Gedanke—Trieb, Freiheit—Schicksal, Vernunft—Damon, bürgerliche Sittigung—heroische Pflicht ²⁶

Diese tragische Geschichtsphilosophie findet in der Josephgeschichte ihren bestimmtesten Ausdruck. Die Stelle verdient zitiert zu werden, da sie beweist, wie sehr Kritiker Mann missverstehen, die in den "Betrachtungen" Manns Geist nicht wiederzuerkennen vorgeben

Mußte es denn so sein? Hatte nicht Friede und heiterer Sinn können herrschen im Jaakobsstamm und alles einen gelinden und gleichen Gang nehmen in ebener Vertraglichkeit? Leider nicht, wenn geschehen sollte, was geschah, und wenn die Tatsache, dass es geschah, auch zugleich der Beweis dafür ist, dass es geschehen sollte und mußte. Das Geschehen der Welt ist gross, und da wir nicht wünschen können, es möchte lieber friedlich unterbleiben, dürfen wir auch die Leidenschaften nicht verwünschen, die es bewerkstelligen, denn ohne Schuld und Leidenschaft ginge nichts voran ²⁷

Der Gedanke der Hermetik ist das Geheimnis von Castorps Entwicklung. Naphta umschreibt die magische, die alchemistischhermetische Padagogik mit diesen Worten:

Lauterung, Stoffverwandlung und Stoffveredlung, Transsubstantiation, und zwar zum Höheren, Steigerung also. . . Hinauftreibung durch äussere Einwirkungen. . . Ein Symbol alchemistischer Transmutation war vor allem die Gruft. . . die Stätte der Verwesung, sie ist der Inbegriff aller Hermetik ²⁸

Joseph muss zweimal in die Grube zu zweimaliger Lauterung und geistiger Wiedergeburt. Wir sind Zeugen der Transsubstantiation, die diese hermetische Padagogik mit sich bringt. Der Joseph, der aus der Grube um Schonung nicht seiner selbst sondern der Gefühle des Vaters

²⁵ *Lotte in Weimar*, S. 204

²⁶ Vgl. *Friedrich und die große Koalition in Rede und Antwort* (Berlin. Fischer, 1922), S. 190

²⁷ *Die Geschichten Jaakobs*, S. 337–338.

²⁸ *Der Zauberberg* (Berlin. Fischer, 1930), II, 283–284.

flieht, ist bereits ein anderer als der, den die Bruder hineinwarfen. Die Steigerung zum Hochsten, die grosse Lauterung kommt dann, als er in Aegypten zum zweiten Mal in die Grube muß, in das Gefangnis von Zawi-Re, der Inselfestung. Allerdings gilt von Joseph in viel höherem Masse, was Castorp von sich selber sagt: "Aber natürlich, ein Stoff, der dazu taugen soll, durch äußere Einwirkungen zum Höheren hinaufgetrieben und -gezwangt zu werden, der muss es wohl in voraus ein bißchen in sich haben" ²⁹

Das Symbol spielte schon im Zauberberg eine grosse Rolle, im Josephroman ist es das wichtigste Stilelement. Man lese einen Satz, den Professor Weigand in seinem Buch über den Zauberberg von Manns Hang zum Symbolisieren schrieb, und denke dabei an die Josephgeschichte

It is an integral feature of the author's conscious design to make us sense over and above the concrete action unfolding before us, and without sacrificing any of its vitality, the presence of an elusive shadow play of larger import, running parallel to it, on a higher plane ³⁰

Die Parallelstelle zu diesem Kommentar ist eine Bemerkung aus "dem jungen Joseph," die mit wortlichem Anklang zeigt, wie Mann dem Symbol noch mehr als im Zauberberg eine mystische Bedeutung verleiht:

Die Sphere rollt, und nie wird ausgemacht werden, wo eine Geschichte ursprünglich zu Hause ist am Himmel oder auf Erden. ³¹ Zwischen Irdischem und Himmlischem ist die Grenze fließend, und nur ruhen zu lassen brauchst du dein Auge auf einer Erscheinung, damit es sich breche ins Doppelsichtige ³²

Derselbe Gedanke in seiner weitesten Anwendung heißt beim alten Goethe: "Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis"

Eine Abschweifung sei hier erlaubt, da sie ein höchst zeitgemäßes Problem der Literaturwissenschaft betrifft. Der Gleichnischarakter des Mannschen Werkes wird den Kritiker leicht zum "Deutobold Mystifizinski" machen, und ihn vergessen lassen, dass die Josephgeschichte auch auf der Erde durchaus zu Hause ist, und dass eine gute Ausdeutung des irdischen Teils der sicherste Weg zur verborgenen geistigen Bedeutung ist. Einige Deutungen, die Harry Slochower in seinem Buch "Thomas Mann's Joseph story" vorschlägt, mögen als Beispiel für diese Gefahr dienen. Von den Zwergen in Petepres Haushalt sagt Slochower: "I confess to being puzzled as to their full 'meaning'" ³³ Trotzdem Mann mit den Zwergen der Liebestragödie eine phallische Satire beifügen wollte

²⁹ *Ibid.*, S. 428-429

³⁰ H. J. Weigand, *Thomas Mann's Novel Der Zauberberg* (New York & London: Appleton-Century Co., 1933), S. 10

³¹ *Der junge Joseph*, S. 45

³² *Joseph in Aegypten*, S. 296.

³³ Harry Slochower, *Thomas Mann's Joseph Story* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1938), S. 43.

und selbst sagt "that is about all there is to be said about it,"³⁴ geht Slochower weiter und orakelt von Dudu in Beziehung zu der ägyptischen Gottesidee und zu Dedu der Stadt des Osiris.³⁴ Er geht noch weiter und sieht in den beiden Kleinen "two facets of the collective unconscious Gottliebchen with his 'old' runic features, approximates the category of the Super-Ego . . . Dudu expresses the primitive pleasure-principle, the Id "³⁵ Den nachstliegenden Weg zur Erklärung der Zwerge verschmaht Slochower. Die Josephgeschichte verrät auch dem Laien auf Schritt und Tritt die sorgfältige Beachtung kulturhistorischer Einzelheiten. Auch bei oberflächlicher Beschäftigung mit der ägyptischen bildenden Kunst findet man dort Vorbilder für Charaktere und Situationen in Manns Ägypten. Dudus Vorbild steht im Museum in Kairo, es ist die Familiengruppe des Zwergen Seneb aus bemaltem Kalkstein. Bis in alle Einzelheiten stimmt das Vorbild mit Dudus Äußerem und seinen Familienverhältnissen überein. Thomas Mann bestätigte mir ausserdem brieflich die Richtigkeit dieser Beobachtung, die wirklich nicht viel Scharfsinn oder Kenntnis erforderte. Die psychologische Ausdeutung Dudus kann auch ohne das schwere Geschütz der Psychoanalyse auskommen. Dudu besitzt die Bosheit eines Verwachsenen, der innerlich mit seinem Unglück nicht fertig geworden ist und "natürlich" muss er den "hubschen und schönen Joseph" hassen. Daß er politisch ein geifernder Fanatiker ist, leuchtet ein, denn das sind körperliche und seelische Missgeburten oft genug. Der intrigierende Zwerg ist auch kein Neuling in der Weltliteratur. Melot intrigiert gegen Tristan wie Dudu gegen Joseph. Zwerge als Hofnarren oder Leibdiener der Mächtigen sind eine bekannte geschichtliche Tatsache. Velasquez hat solche Zwerge gemalt. Die psychologische Erklärung des alten Brauches ist einfach genug. Die Missgestalt des Kleinwuchsigigen hilft dem Herrn, sich in seiner Wohlgestalt zu "fühlen." Gottliebchen ist die Kontrastfigur, ein kleiner Juxer, wie man ihn heute noch als Spassmacher unter fahrendem Volke aller Art findet. Als besorgt wisperndes Stimmchen und Helfer hat er zu literarischen Ahnen die hilfreichen Hutzeln der Märchen. Die Einflüsterungen des bosen und des guten Ratgebers sind ausserdem ein literarisches Motiv, das sich bis in die Dämonologie des alten Orients verfolgen ließe. Voltaires Roman "Le blanc et le noir" mit den beiden Sklaven Topaze und Ebène, Good Angel und Evil Angel in Marlowes "Dr. Faustus" durften bekannte Beispiele aus dieser Motivreihe sein. Nicht jeder intrigierende Zwerg, dessen boshafte Fratze in Stein noch nach Jahrtausenden einen Dichter inspirieren kann, ist "the pleasure instinct." Wie im Falle Dudus lässt sich bei wichtigen und ganz nebensächlichen Personen und Begebenheiten des "Joseph in Ägypten" Anregung

³⁴ *Ibid.*, S. 45³⁵ *Ibid.*, S. 44.

durch bildende Kunst und Literatur nachweisen. Ein so wichtiger Charakter wie der Amunpriester Beknechon hat das Gesicht eines männlichen Kopfes aus grünem Schiefer im Berliner Ägyptischen Museum.³⁶ Die Damengesellschaft in Petepres Haus hat ihre kulturhistorischen Einzelheiten von Wandmalereien aus Grabern der 18. Dynastie. Ein ganz nebensächlicher Zug wie der folgende diene als Beispiel: "... lächelnde Süßigkeiten, ausgespendet von jungen Dienerinnen in lieblich knapper Tracht, mit schwarzen Hängeflechten im Nacken und Schleiern um die Wangen."³⁷ Kostum und Naschwerk stammen bis in jede Einzelheit von den Wandmalereien aus dem Grabe des Wesirs Rechmire in Theben.³⁸ Auch die geschichtlichen Ueberlieferungen Ägyptens hat Mann sorgfältig studiert. Persönliche Erlebnisse auf seiner Ägyptenreise dürfen natürlich auch nicht vergessen werden. Die Scherereien, die die Kinder Kemes den Ankommenden auferlegen, erkennt jeder Leser wieder, der einmal Ägypten besucht hat, und für ihn ist auch die Visenkontrolle, der sich die Midianiter in der Feste Zel unterziehen müssen, voll kostlichem esoterischem Humor. Solche Uebereinstimmung uralter Gepflogenheit mit der Sitte unserer Tage ist gerade in diesem Roman beachtenswert, der auf der Ueberzeugung beruht von der Wiederholung des Urgesetzten in allem späteren Tun. Aber auch hier liegen genaue historische Schilderungen zugrunde, die sich nachweisen lassen. Für Hor-Waz, den Schreiber der großen Tore, wäre ein Grenzbeamter aus der Regierungszeit des Nachfolgers von Ramses I zu nennen, der über den Durchzug einer Schar edomitischer Beduinen berichtet. Auch ein Soldatenschreiber kommt in Frage, den die Ägyptologie in Zaru, einer der Grenzfesten auf der Suezlandenge, postiert glaubt. Seine flüchtigen Notizen enthalten die Namen der Durchziehenden, denen er Visen verabreicht hat.³⁹ Thomas Manns Geschichte ist eben "auf Erden zu Hause," und wer nicht unbefangen sondern kritisch lesen will, tut gut, sich klar zu machen, was ägyptisches Vorbild, was literarische Ueberlieferung und geschichtliche Tatsachen für die Josephromane bedeuten, ehe er ans Deuten geht. Eine sorgfältige Ausdeutung des Symbolgehaltes wurde ein Buch füllen. Professor Weigand hat in einem *tour de force* gezeigt, wie viel dabei herauskommt, wenn solch eine Arbeit literarkritisch sorgfältig gemacht wird.⁴⁰ Zu welchen Fehlurteilen mangelhafte Berücksichtigung von Brauchen, historischen Tatsachen, literarischen und mythenge-schichtlichen Ueberlieferungen gerade bei einem mythologischen Werk

³⁶ Vgl. J. H. Breasted, *Geschichte Ägyptens* (Wien: Phaidon-Verlag, 1936), Bild 166.

³⁷ *Joseph in Ägypten*, S. 677. ³⁸ Vgl. Breasted, S. 212.

³⁹ Vgl. Breasted, S. 249.

⁴⁰ H. J. Weigand, "Thomas Mann's Joseph in Ägypten," *Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht* xxix, No. 6 (1937), 237.

führen kann, zeigt Slochowers Buch zur Genüge Wir lesen: "Mann's conception of Potiphar is a daring one, a mingling of the Germanic Siegfried saga and the Hebrew tradition of the son-sacrifice" ⁴¹ Das Wagnis liegt auf Seiten des Auslegers Wie kann der Umstand einer Geschwisterehe allein genügen, um die Siegfriedsage heranzuziehen! Die Geschwisterehe war im alten Aegypten, Peru und Persien bei vornehmen Familien Brauch Jede Beziehung auf Inzestzucht kann sich daher kaum auf Siegmund und Sieglinde beziehen Das Sohnesopfer als Bauopfer und Suhnopfer ist nicht hebraisch sondern gemeinsemitisch, das phonizische Molochopfer durfte bekannt genug sein Dieser Art Literaturkritik genügt die ausserliche Assoziation, um mit Vergleichen und Theorien bei der Hand zu sein. Potiphar wird von Slochower "a kind of Egyptian Peeperkorn" genannt ⁴¹ Peeperkorn war ein holländischer Pan, eine priapische Persönlichkeit, die mit der Potenz im ursprünglichen Wortverstand lebte und starb. Was hat diese Persönlichkeit vom Adel der Natur mit dem schwermütigen ausserst artikulierten hofischen Repräsentationseunuchen zu tun? Was für Peeperkorn todliche Schande ist, bildet Petepres Lebenswurde. Wo Slochower Mut die "Wiederholung" von Penthesilea, Medea und Kundry nennt, ⁴² schludert er. In der Sage erschlagt Achilles die Amazone Penthesilea Nur bei Kleist ist es umgekehrt, und selbst dort stimmt Slochowers Vergleich nicht, denn Achilles ist liebeswillig, Penthesilea erschlagt ihn in tragischer Verblendung. Medea racht sich an Jason nicht in der Raserei der Liebesleidenschaft sondern als schnöde verratene Mutter und Furstin. Kundry ist mythengeschichtlich ungefähr zweitausend Jahre jünger als Mut Die Aegypterin kann schwerlich die Gralshexe "wiederholen"—Die lange Abschweifung schien nötig, denn nicht oft genug kann auf die Gefahr hingewiesen werden, die der Literaturwissenschaft als Wissenschaft droht, wenn diese höchst moderne aber auch höchst unverantwortliche Manier unserer Deutbolde unbeanstandet bleibt.

Die Beziehungen zwischen der Josephgeschichte und Manns letztem Roman "Lotte in Weimar" verdienen eingehendere Behandlung, denn sie zeigen, wie die neuen geistigen Errungenschaften des Josephwerks sich auch in einer ganz anderen Geisteswelt bewahren. Der Roman handelt kaum von der Titelheldin sondern von Goethe, dem Goethe des Divans. Ein paar September- und Oktoberwochen des Jahres 1816 sind die Zeit des Romans Die patriotische Wildheit und der düstere Irrationalismus, die den Sturz Napoleons ermöglichten sind noch spurbar und bieten Mann Verhaltensclichés für "Wiederholungen" in unseren Tagen. Wir haben es mit Goethe zu tun, der sich vor den Wirren des Gegenwärtigen in die Brunnentiefe der Zeit gestürzt hatte. Sein Weg zu den Müttern

⁴¹ *Thomas Mann's Joseph Story*, S. 40.

⁴² *Ibid.*, S. 49.

führte zu Helena, sein Weg zu den Vatern zum Divan. Die großen Themen des Josephromans werden in neuer Umwelt wiederum abgewandelt. Auch der alte Goethe kennt die Gottessorge Jaakobs:

Freilich Sorge muss bei der Freude sein, Sorge ums Rechte Ist ja auch der Gedanke der Kummer des Lebens Ware das Recht also des Kummers und der Freude Sohn ⁴³ Aber die Hauptsache bleibt Er und die gesteigerte Lehre, das Geistige, immerfort missverstanden vom Volk ⁴⁴

Das Leitmotiv der Josephgeschichte, der Jaakobsegen wird von Riemer als das Geheimnis Goethes des Menschen betrachtet, der den Segen oben vom Himmel herab und den Segen von der Tiefe, die unten liegt, habe. Riemers Erklärungen des Goetheschen Menschen enthalten den Humanismus Manns. Die Unterschiede zwischen diesem deutschen Humanismus und dem amerikanischen Humanismus der Babbittschule, die alle auf die dem Deutschen eigentümliche Bejahung der Natur zurückzuführen sind, machen es erklärlich, warum Babbitt und seine Anhänger von Goethes wesentlicher Kulturleistung nichts wissen wollen. Auch dem deutschen Humanismus ist der Mensch das Zweiweltenwesen, aber Goethe lebte und dachte den versöhnenden grossen Gedanken der geeinten Zwiennatur, der deutschfeindlicher Kulturanschauung aller Schattierungen von Claudel bis Babbitt als deutsche Sünde wider den Geist erscheint. Um Riemers Definition der Goetheschen Synthese richtig zu verstehen, muss man bedenken, dass Mann die Worte "du sollst ein Segen sein" in faustischem Sinne übersetzt "du sollst ein Schicksal sein."⁴⁵ Riemer sagt bei Mann:

Es handelt sich um den Doppelsegen des Geistes und der Natur—welcher, wohl überlegt, der Segen—aber im Ganzen ist es wohl ein Fluch und eine Apprehension damit—des Menschengeschlechts überhaupt ist . In dem grossen Menschen culminierte das Geistige, ohne dass irgendwelche Feindseligkeit gegen das Natürliche ihm anhaftete ⁴⁶

Das Motiv der Wiederholung erklärt den genauen Zeitpunkt des Romans, die Oktober- und Septemberwochen, in denen Lotte Weimar besuchte,

⁴³ *Lotte in Weimar*, S 311

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, S 287 (Gemeint ist der Messias in der geplanten Kantate.)

⁴⁵ *Die Geschichten Jaakobs*, S. xv-xvi

⁴⁶ *Lotte in Weimar*, S 88-89 Da es sich um eine Kerndefinition des deutschen Humanismus handelt, dürfte es interessant sein, neben das dichterische Wort die historische Definition Riemers zu setzen in In seinen *Mitteilungen über Goethe* (Berlin, 1841), 128, sagt er "In seiner (Goethes) künstlersch-aesthetischen Sinnlichkeit und dem antiken promethäischen Selbstgefühl, dem Vertrauen auf die innere Wahrheit und Gute der Natur, aus der zuletzt die Schönheit hervorgeht; mithin im Sittlich-Geistigen ein Christ, im Aesthetisch-Sinnlichen ein Heide, demnach ein vollkommener, oder, technisch zu reden, ganz gekommener Mensch, wie er seyn soll, um schon hier (durch Tugend und Weisheit) selig zu seyn."

denn Goethe hat gerade das Werthererlebnis wiedererlebt. Der Lebenskreis Werther-Goethe, Lotte-die Kestnerin, Kestner "wiederholt" sich jetzt auf höherer Ebene: Hatem-Goethe, Suleika-Marianne, Willemer. In immer neuen Worten tastet Mann diese in den Josephromanen gewonnene Erkenntnis von der Wiederholung ab. Er spricht von "wiederkehrender Phase, geistverstärkter Lebenserneuerung, Steigerung, gelauterter Lebenswiederholung, Ceremonie, Nachahmung des Urgesetzten, feierlichen Vollzuge, zeitlosem Gedenkspiel."⁴⁷ Sogar bei dem ungeistigen Teile der Menschheit findet Mann dies Prinzip als "conventionelles Verhaltenschicé,"⁴⁸ das dem Handeln der Masse den Anspruch auf Selbstständigkeit nimmt. Goethes Sohn spricht von den "Generalmotiven und Pragemustern" des Lebens durch die der Dichter die Bildung, den Charakter, die Zukunft der Nation bestimmt.⁴⁹ "Was aber bleibt, schaffen die Dichter," sagte Holderlin. Carl der Kammerdiener verschwimmt in Goethes Erinnerung ehezerhaft mit der Reihe seiner Vorgänger. Das Motiv der Vorsorge, das im noch nicht erschienenen Band eine grosse Rolle spielen wird, erscheint in der kleinen Diskussion zwischen Goethe und seinem Leibdienen über den Vorrat an rosen Offenbacher Zwiebacken, bei der Goethe das bedeutsame Wort fallen lässt: "Vorsorgen ist überall so wichtig."⁵⁰ Der leitmotivartige Gebrauch gewisser Gedanken, ihre Wiederholung auf ganz anderer Ebene, sei auch im Lotteroman mit einem Beispiel bedacht:

Weiss denn mein Vaterchen nicht, dass die Tiere den Menschen scheuen und meiden, darum, daß Gott ihm den Geist des Verstandes verlieh und ihm eingab die Ordnungen, unter welche das einzelne fällt, und weiß er nicht, wie Semaël schrie, als der Erdenmensch die Schöpfung zu nennen wusste . . . und wie alle feurigen Diener sich verwunderten und die Augen niederschlugen . . .⁵¹

Die paries, die Wolkenwand, die hab' ich namhaft gemacht, und so mögen wir das Unbeständige anreden und ihm auf den Kopf zusagen, zu welcher Klasse und Art es gehört. Denn das ist des Menschen Vorrecht auf Erden dass er die Dinge bei Namen nennt und ins System bringt. Da schlagen sie sozusagen die Augen vor ihm nieder, wenn er sie anruft. Name ist Macht.⁵²

Der verprügelte Dudu kehrt als Thersites wieder, der unter dem Stab "seine Zwerggestalt kreischend krummt."⁵³ Bei Besprechung der Kristalle schweifen Goethes Gedanken zu den Pyramiden ab, diesen "Riesenkristallen" und in der Gegenüberstellung von blosser Struktur und Organisation erscheint die blosser Dauer als ein Scheinsieg über die Zeit, und der Gedankenkomplex Kemes als eines Totenlandes wird wieder

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, S. 319-320⁴⁸ *Ibid*, S. 203⁴⁹ *Ibid*, S. 250-251.⁵⁰ *Ibid*, S. 301⁵¹ *Die Geschichten Jaakobs*, S. 40-41.⁵² *Lotte in Weimar*, S. 303⁵³ *Ibid*, S. 365

erortert. In den Zwiegesprächen Huys und Tuys war viel die Rede von der mannlichen Welt des Geistes und der weiblich-mutterlichen Welt des Unbewußten Natur—Geist, die große Antithese seiner Werke hat Mann hier im Geiste der Romantik, im Geiste Bachofens vertieft. Die neue Betrachtungsweise bewahrt sich im Lotteroman. Der Aristokrat des Geistes, der sentimentalische Schiller, erscheint nun dem betrachtenden Goethe als der "Nichts-als-Mann," der auch ein Genie sein konnte. Ein Genie wie Goethe ist vom Adel der Natur und hat darum weibliche Züge. Naiv und sentimentalisch konnte bei dieser Betrachtungsweise mit weiblich und mannlich übertragen werden, vorausgesetzt, dass diese Ausdrücke im Sinne der romantischen Tradition gebraucht werden, die sie mit neuem Geist füllte. Das Androgynenproblem der Romantik wird annehmbarer und verständlicher, wenn dabei an die Synthese Geist—Natur gedacht wird, die auch aller romantischen Kulturkritik als Ideal vorschwebt. Von diesen Gedanken aus, muss man dem oft gehörten Einwand begegnen, den Erna Schneck kürzlich in aller Ausführlichkeit in einem Artikel erhoben hat,⁶⁴ Mann habe keine bedeutenden Frauencharaktere geschaffen, seine dichterischen Probleme wurden von Männern gelebt und diskutiert. Die großen Männer in dem Lebenswerk des Dichters sind doch aber Träger der Geistessorge, der Gottessorge, es sind höchst bewußte Geiststräger und sie müssen darum in Manns Anthropologie Männer sein, denn die Frau ist Natur, nicht artikuliert, nicht bewußt. Wer sich einen weiblichen Faust, einen weiblichen Wilhelm Meister, einen weiblichen Mephistopheles, einen weiblichen Jaakob vorstellen kann, für den ist allerdings die Geschlechtsunterscheidung im Seelischen sinnlos. Es handelt sich hier eben um anderswertige Formen des Menschseins, nicht um minderwertige! Aus der Unkenntnis dieses Unterschiedes kommt die parteiliche Bitterkeit in derartigen Debatten. Eine Ruth, eine makkabaische Fürstin, eine Königin Elisabeth, eine Lucrezia Borgia sind groß, aber ganz andersartig als ein Jaakob, ein Joseph, ein Naphta oder Peeperkorn. Wie kann man der Rahel in den Geschichten Jaakobs menschliche Größe absprechen, weil sie nicht intellektuell, nicht artikuliert ist! Es gibt ein schönes Wort von Mann gegen solche Einwurfe trotzdem es ursprünglich in anderem Zusammenhang gebraucht wurde. Die verständige Mutter Petepres antwortet ihrem Gatten " . . . So habe ich nicht den Tag im Sinn und die Ehrenordnung des Tages, sondern die stille Nacht und das schweigende Mutterdunkel, in das man nicht hineinschelten kann mit dem Gänsenamen."⁶⁵ Ausdrücke wie "Sumpf," "Gebrodel des Mutterdunkels," "dunkles Bereich," die in der Unterredung der beiden Alten im Garten-

⁶⁴ Erna Schneck, "Women in the Works of Thomas Mann," *Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht*, xxxii, No. 4, 145

⁶⁵ *Joseph in Aegypten*, S. 265

hauschen das Mutterland der Seele umschreiben, zeigen Manns Beziehungen zu der Gedankenwelt Bachofens, der in seinem großen Werk "Das Mutterrecht" das Wort und den höchst bedeutsamen Begriff der Sumpfkultur schuf.⁵⁶ Die Sumpfkultur ist ein amorpher Zustand des primitiveren Menschen, in dem er die Götinnen der Erde verehrt, wie z. B. Demeter, Gaia, Isis im Sumpfdickicht. Aus diesem Ungestalteten erhebt sich dann die geistige, männliche Kultur, bis diese geistige, durchgestaltete Kultur wieder zur Sumpfkultur absinkt. In der Mythologie des dritten Reiches, wie sie tonangebend Rosenberg vertritt, wird dieser mythisch-geschichtliche Vorgang, den Bachofen entdeckt hatte, durch rassische Veränderungen bewirkt. Das nordische Vaterrecht siegt über das unnordische Matriarchat erobeter Rassen. Die nordischen Licht- und Himmelsgotter unterjochen die Götinnen der Nacht und der Erde. Mann betrachtet diese Entwicklung nicht im rassischen Sinne und nimmt nicht Partei sondern hat im Jakobssegen ausdrücklich auf die Synthese der beiden menschlichen Kräfte hingewiesen. Der Segen von oben und der Segen von unten erst machen den wahren, d. h. den großen Menschen und die wahre Kultur. Und vom Menschen und der Kultur gilt für Mann ein Hin und Her eher als ein Entweder Oder. "Im Bewussten kann der Mensch nicht lange verharren, er muss sich wieder ins Unbewusste fluchten, denn darin lebt seine Wurzel."⁵⁷ Goethes Gedankenbeschäftigung mit der noch ungeschriebenen klassischen Walpurgisnacht, den hochbedeutsamen Geschehnissen an Galatheas Thron, wird von Mann zu einer Rechtfertigung seines eigenen Mythosromans benutzt, in dem in ähnlicher Weise Wissen und Mythos gemischt sind, und der trotz des menschenheitweiten und zeitentiefen Gehalts mit Ironie geschrieben ist. Goethe war das Vorbild mit seinem "mythologisch-biologischen Ballet," seinem "satyrischen Naturmysterium":

Nur nicht die stürnrunzelnde Erhabenheit, die, sei's auch in Glanz und Schiller, tragisch erschöpft dasteht als Produkt der Moral. Tiefsinn soll lacheln. Das Augurenlacheln gilt der parodischen Schalkheit der Kunst.⁵⁸

Ein tieferes und weiteres Thema kann Mann sich nicht mehr suchen, denn im Joseph ist "der Gegenstand unseres Redens und Fragens das Menschenwesen, das wir in der Unterwelt aufsuchen, um es zu erkennen."⁵⁹ Der Mensch als Geistwesen war ja schon immer Manns Thema. Dieser Geist war bis Tonio Kroger das Kainsmal des Künstlers, peinvolle Vereinzelung, hatte aber auch schon die Doppeldeutigkeit der Mosesklage de Vignys in sich: "Laissez moi m'endormir du sommeil de la

⁵⁶ J. J. Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht* (Basel: Schwabe, 1897), S. 438.

⁵⁷ *Lotte in Weimar*, S. 288. ⁵⁸ *Lotte in Weimar*, S. 310.

⁵⁹ *Die Geschichten Jakobs*, S. LXIII.

terre" Das war die Sehnsucht nach den Wonnen der Gewöhnlichkeit, dem Leben der lusthaft Einverstandenen, eine Sehnsucht, die doch das schlechte Gewissen der vernachlässigten Sendung in sich hatte. Der Geist als Ismus-Geist wird von Hans Castorp als Wahn durchschaut. Der Geist als das wesentlich Menschliche ist der Weisheit letzter Schluß im Josephroman. Im Vorwort zu *Mass und Wert* hat Mann sein Wissen und Glauben vom Menschen in einem humanistischen Credo niedergelegt, das sein endgültiges Wort über den Geist enthält:

Wir haben von einem neuen humanreligiösen Gefühl gesprochen, das aus Leidens-tiefen sich heute erhebe . . . Denn der Mensch ist ein Geheimnis In ihm transzendiert die Natur und mündet ins Geistige Seitdem der Mensch—Mensch ist, ist er mehr als Natur dieses Mehr gehört zu seiner Definition . . . er weiss, was gut und böse ist, er besitzt das Absolute Es ist ihm gegeben in den Gedanken der Wahrheit, Freiheit, Gerechtigkeit, und mit diesen Ideen ist der Traum von Erlösung in ihn gelegt aus dem Unzulänglich-Natürlichen, der Traum von Vollkommenheit Er ist das Menschlichste ⁶⁰

Er ist auch das Wesen der Gottessorge von Gilgamesch dem Weh-Froh-Menschen bis zum modernen Menschen, der die humanistische Anthropologie anerkennt. Und wenn er sie nicht anerkennt? Da liegt die Schwierigkeit das wesentliche Wort über den Josephroman zu sagen. Ist er ein Werk des Abschlusses wie Dantes "*La divina commedia*," wie Maximilians "*Teuerdank*," wie "*Buddenbrooks*" und "*Der Zauberberg*," wo eine versinkende Welt noch einmal dichterisch verklart wurde? Oder ist er ein Werk des Abschlusses im Sinne des vorläufig Endgültigen, ist er also das gültige Gedicht vom Menschen und von Gott nicht nur für diesen sondern auch für den kommenden Aeon, dessen Nahen wir in wachsender geistiger Verwirrung beklommen spüren?

Der vergehende Aeon ist durch seinen seelischen Substanzverlust gekennzeichnet, der uns auch den Mythos intellektualistisch entleert hat. Die deutschen Romantiker wußten, wie wichtig es für das Kulturleben ist, ob ein Mythos im Rokokosinne dekorative Begebenheit oder im Geiste seines Ursprunges göttlicher Sinn menschlicher Lebensformen ist Friedrich Schlegel dachte, dass die Einheit der Welt noch bestunde.

Versucht es nur einmal die alte Mythologie voll vom Spinoza und von jenen Ansichten, welche die jetzige Physik in jedem Nachdenkenden erregen muss, zu betrachten, wie Euch alles in neuem Glanz und Leben erscheinen wird. . . . Mich deucht wer das Zeitalter, das heisst jenen grossen Prozess allgemeiner Verjungung, jene Prinzipien der ewigen Revolution verstünde, dem musste es gelingen können, die Pole der Menschheit zu ergreifen und das Tun der ersten Menschen, wie den Charakter der goldenen Zeit die noch kommen wird, zu erken-

⁶⁰ *Mass und Wert*, I, 11

nen und zu wissen. Dann wurde das Geschwatz aufhören, und der Mensch inne-
werden, was er ist.⁶¹

Für die romantischen Mythologen von Hamann bis Ludwig Klages ist der Mythos Wesensschau, sinnlich geistige Anschauung dessen, was sich nicht in Begriffe fassen lässt, was Ahnung aber nie Bewusstsein ist.⁶² Der letzte grosse Dichter, der die Spannung zwischen Erkenntnis und Mythos im Sinne Friedrich Schlegels im dichterischen Werk hat lösen wollen, ist Thomas Mann. Zu keiner Zeit hat ein Dichter es schwerer gehabt. Keine Zeit wusste soviel vom Menschen und der Seinsgebundenheit menschlichen Denkens und Wollens. Die Sicherheit des Besserwissens oder Nichtwissens ist uns geschwunden. Der Ernst und die Würde des Menschseins sind damit aber gefährdet wie noch nie. Der Historismus, Psychologie, Ethnologie, unser Wissen und Halbwissen von Druse, Klasse und Rasse, Wind und Wetter als menscheitsformen-Mächten geben dem Glauben mehr und mehr Erkenntniswert, dass das Sein das Bewusstsein vollkommen bestimmt, eine Erkenntnis, die das Ende aller bisherigen Kultur bedeuten würde. Geschichte, die bis dahin Weg der Erlösung, der Vervollkommnung, der Verbesserung kurzum Heilsgeschichte war, wurde dann aufhören, und es bliebe nichts übrig als das Bewusstsein einer richtungslosen Bewegung.⁶³

Die tragische Unausweichlichkeit deterministischer Ansprüche erfordert heroische Anspannung des Menschen. Um nicht das Haupt der Gorgo sehen zu müssen und zu erstarren, wendet sich der Mensch unserer Tage von seinem bisherigen Tun ab und sucht mit heroischer und leider auch hysterischer Anstrengung von neuem die alten Menschenziele. Die Prophezeiung der Romantik hat sich erfüllt. Die Völker gehen in sich, um sich zu besinnen, und dieses In-sich-gehen ist ein Weg zurück zu den Vätern, ja zu den Müttern. Der alte Mythos wird wieder geglaubt, oft viel zu wortlich, wie das vielbeschriene Neuheidementum der Wotanverehrer zeigt.

778 wurde bei Roncesvalles Roland und die frankische Nachhut von den Basken niedergemacht. 1937 wurde das baskische Städtchen Guernica durch einen Luftangriff zerstört. Die geographisch benachbarten Vernichtungsschlachten sind in das Reich der Kunst eingegangen. Im Rolandslied nimmt der Engel Gabriel sanft den Panzerhandschuh, den der sterbende Held emporreicht. In Picassos Guernica Freskos reckt ein sterbendes Picadorpferd—Symbol des zerrissenen Spaniens—den Kopf

⁶¹ Fr. Schlegel, *Rede über die Mythologie (Gespräch über die Poesie)* in *Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen, Reihe Romantik*, III, 189, 190.

⁶² Alfred Baeumler, *Studien zur deutschen Geistesgeschichte* (Berlin: Junker u. Dunnhaupt, 1937), S. 99 ff.

⁶³ Ulrich Eysler, "Lage der deutschen Philosophie," *Mass und Wert*, 1939, Heft 6.

hoch und rochelt und fletscht seine kreaturliche Not gegen einen dunklen leeren Himmel.—Starb die Gottessorge hier?

Also ging es hinab mit Joseph in die Grube und ins Gefangnis zum anderen Mal
Wie er aber wieder emporstieg aus diesem Loche zu höherem Leben, das bilde den Gegenstand künftiger Gesänge.

So endet die Geschichte "Joseph in Aegypten."

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

1. A NOTE ON "DUX VITAE" AND "LIFES LATTIOW"

AN unusual reference to Christ is contained in the Old English phrase *lifes lattiow* (*latþeow* or *laððeow*) "leader of life," which makes its first appearance in the *Exodus*, an eighth-century composition, older, says Klacber,¹ than the *Beowulf*:

Forð gesawon
lifes latþeow lifweg metan²

The expression appears again—twice, in fact—in Cynwulf's *Elen*, also of the eighth century

Forðan ic soðlice ond min swæs fæder
syðþan gelyfdon
þæt geþrowade eallra þrymma god,
lifes lattiow, laðlic wite
for oferþearfe ilda cynnes³

Ða wæs þam folce on ferhðsefan,
ingemynde, swa him a scyle,
wundor þa þe worhte weoroda drvhten
to feorhnere fira cynne,
lifes lattiow⁴

The *Paraphrasis Poetica in Doxologiam* produces still another example: "lifes laððeow, leohtes waldend"⁵ In the Alfredian *Boethius* the phrase takes a slightly different form, but the general idea is the same.

þu eart selfa weg
and latteow⁶ eac lifgendra gehwæs⁷

The appearance of the phrase in Alfred's translation of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* would normally lead to the suspicion of Latin influence, especially since it has become more or less a matter of custom to turn to Latin for the explanation of any unusual Old English form or expression. The close relationship between the Old English lyrics and epics and the corresponding continental types⁸ and the Old English adoption of such Latin devices as the theme of the sole sur-

¹ *MLN*, xxxiii, 218-224

² *The Junius Manuscript*, ed. George Philip Krapp (New York, 1931), pp. 94, 103b-104.

³ *The Vercelli Book*, ed. George Philip Krapp (New York, 1932), pp. 80, 517-521.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 91, 894-898a

⁵ In the volume *Be Domes Dæge* (an Old English version of the Latin poem ascribed to Bede), ed. with other short poems by Joseph Rawson Lumby, *EETS*, O.S. No. 65 (1876), 52, 9

⁶ There are several Old English compositions that contain the word *latteow* without the *lifes*. Among these are *Guðlac*, 363-364, and *Riddle 2*, line 11

⁷ Walter John Sedgefield, *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae* (Oxford, 1899), *Metra* xx, 277b-278

⁸ See my *Wessex and Old English Poetry, With Special Consideration of "The Ruin"* (New York, 1939), App. B, 103 ff

vivor, the *Ubi Sunt* formula, and rhyme leave little doubt concerning the important rôle played by the Continent in shaping Old English literature.

In the case of the phrase under discussion, however, evidence seems to point the other way, to the transfer of influence from the island of Britain to the Continent. A comparison of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* with Alfred's translation reveals the interesting fact that the line containing the phrase in the Old English version is one of Alfred's original contributions, for there is no parallel line in the Latin text. Thus Boethius is eliminated as a possible source of influence on the English *lifes lathow*. Surprisingly enough, it is not until the eleventh century⁹ that the corresponding Latin phrase, *dux vitae*, makes its appearance "*dux vitae mortuus regnat vivus*"¹⁰. This is found in the famous hymn *Sequentia Paschalis*, better known by the opening words "*Victimae Paschali*." The composition is ascribed to Wipo,¹¹ "a Burgundian or perhaps a Swabian, priest and chaplain to the Emperor Conrad II and Henry III."¹² The reference, as in all the Old English examples, is to Christ.¹³ The Latin hymns of the Middle Ages, although they refer to Christ quite frequently as "fountain of life," "way of life," "giver of life," and so forth, very rarely characterize Him as "leader of life."¹⁴ I have found, in fact, only one other example of the phrase in the eleventh century—in the "*In Resurrectione Domine*," by Othlo, monk of St. Emmeran (or Emmeram), who died about the year 1072: "*Dux regnat vitae vivus mortis sine lite*"¹⁵. In the next century Bernhard von Morlas, monk of Cluny (c. 1140), "a remarkable versifier"¹⁶ who wrote the long satirical poem *De Contemptu Mundi*, described Christ in his "*Rhythmus V*"¹⁷ as "light of the world, leader of life, saviour of men."

Mundi lucem, vitae ducem
Salvatorem hominum¹⁸

In the thirteenth century Bonaventura of Tuscany (1221–74), "the Seraphic Doctor and the official biographer of S. Francis," professor of theology at Paris and "Minister-General of the Franciscans,"¹⁹ used the expression in his *Laudismus de Sancta Cruce*.

⁹ The significance of the phrase in pre-Christian literature, in the works of Lucretius, Cicero, and Sallust, representatives of the two great philosophical schools, will be discussed in a future paper.

¹⁰ Harry Bresslau, "Die Werke Wipos," in *Wiponis Opera*. Dritte Auflage (Hannover und Leipzig, 1915), 65, line 3. ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 65. Wipo died c. 1050.

¹² F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1927), 217.

¹³ It is interesting to observe that the phrase does not appear in the Vulgate.

¹⁴ References to Christ as *dux* are plentiful, but it is the combination of *dux* and *vitae* that is unusual.

¹⁵ Guido Maria Dreves, *Analecto Hymnica Mediae Aevi*, I (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 325, No. 251. ¹⁶ Raby says of this poem that in some lines Othlo "expands, in a curious exercise of imitation, the *Victimae Paschali* of Wipo . . ." *Op. cit.*, p. 224. ¹⁷ Raby, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

¹⁸ One of the fifteen "Rhythms" that make up his famous *Mariale*, a long and unusual poem in praise of the Virgin. Raby, p. 318. ¹⁹ Dreves, *op. cit.*, p. 462, verse 5.

²⁰ Raby, *op. cit.*, pp. 421 f.

Recordare sanctae crucis,
 Qui perfectam vitam ducis,
 Delectare iugiter; . . .²⁰

And two anonymous hymns included the phrase—

De beata Maria Virgine. Tempore paschali:

Stabat juxta Christi crucem,
 Stabat videns vitae ducem
 Vitae valefacere, . . .²¹

In Festo Paschatis:

Nunc in mensa vitae ducis
 Commedamus cum lactucis
 Carnes agni mysticas, . . .²²

The number of examples of the expression *dux vitae*, however, is not important, what is significant is its late appearance in the Latin hymns as compared with the very early appearance of the corresponding Old English expression *lifes lattlow*. The conclusion to be drawn, therefore, is that inasmuch as the earliest examples of the English *lifes lattlow* are found in eighth-century religious works, whereas the Latin *dux vitae* as a reference to Christ goes back no further than the eleventh century, the Latin hymn writers on the Continent were influenced in the use of this particular phrase by early Old English Christian poetry.

The Germanic territory from which emanated the first two examples of the *dux vitae* phrase was very closely related to England in the eleventh century. At about the time the "Victimae Paschali" was written, Henry III of Germany was in alliance with Edward the Confessor. Furthermore, in 1036, while Edward was still in Normandy, Henry had married Edward's half-sister Gunhild, child of his mother Emma and her second husband Canute, king of Denmark and England. This friendly relationship must have had considerable influence on the literary associations of the two kingdoms. It is rather interesting to note at this point that at the very time that Wipo, a famous historian, a writer of proverbs,²³ and author of the "Victimae Paschali," was serving as Henry III's chaplain, Leofric, bibliophile and collector of literary treasures who later presented to the library of Exeter Cathedral the incomparable *Exeter Book* of Old English poetry, was Edward the Confessor's chaplain. Leofric, a Briton by birth, had spent his youth in Lotharingia, where he probably met Edward during the latter's exile, 1016-42. Lorraine, Leofric's home, and Burgundy, Wipo's, were contiguous districts. It is entirely possible that the two clerics, Wipo and Leofric, had known each other on the Continent before Leofric accompanied Edward to England. Leofric might also have known Othlo, a monk, a famous writer,²⁴ and head master

²⁰ Dreves, *op. cit.*, pp. 571, No. 383, 1 ff.

²¹ Dreves, *op. cit.*, VIII (Leipzig, 1890), 55, No. 58, verse 1a.

²² *Ibid.*, 33, No. 30, verse 10a.

²³ Gustav Ehrismann, *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur* (München, 1918), I, 376.

²⁴ Othlo wrote a life of St. Boniface (the English Wynfrith), who established the bishopric of Regensburg in the eighth century.

(1032–62) of the monastery school of St Emmeram²⁵ in Regensburg (Ratisbon), a kingdom of Bavaria, also in Germanic territory. That Othlo knew Wipo's hymn has already been pointed out.²⁶

Whether or not these men were personally acquainted, however, is not so important as the fact that a close relationship, brought about by political and economic conditions as well as by literary activity, existed between England and the Continent in the eleventh century and before. This relationship would explain not only the accepted theory of wide Latin influence on Old English literature, but also the influence of Old English religious poetry on Latin hymnology at a time when the language of the Anglo-Saxons was still understood.

That the "lifes lattow" tradition carried over into later centuries is proved not only by the Latin examples, but also by the appearance of the phrase in Middle English, in the thirteenth century *Be Liffade of St Juliana*: "lauerd, lives lattow, lead me þurh þis lease, þis lutele leastende lif."²⁷ A suggestion of the original phrase is found also in an English lyric of the same period, *I Repent of Blaming Women*:

In hire lyht on ledeþ lyf,
& shon þourh hire semly syde²⁸

I have found no examples of the phrase in either English religious pieces or Latin hymns after the thirteenth century.

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2. SHAKESPEAREAN CUTS IN RESTORATION DUBLIN

IN "Shakespeare on the Stage in Restoration Dublin," *PMLA*, LVI (1941), 369–378, Professor R. C. Bald suggests (pp. 376–377) that "nothing but sheer prudery could have been responsible for such tamperings . . . as the alteration and cut" in *Macbeth*, II, iii, 131–133.

Look to the Lady & *instantly*
[And when we have our naked Frailties hid,
That suffer in exposure,] let us meet."

That is possible, but it seems more likely that the bracketed words were omitted on account of their incongruity with the appearance of the cast fully clothed, or to avoid the expense or inconvenience of complete or partial changes of costume, or because the fetish of decorum would scarcely permit the playing of this tragic scene in dishabille, or for the sake of getting rid of a supposed want of clearness in "naked Frailties," or for some combination of these reasons.

It is hardly "surprising" (p. 376) "to find several passages ruthlessly butchered which are now universally considered to be some of Shakespeare's

²⁵ Ehrismann, *op cit*, p. 330 ²⁶ See note 15 above.

²⁷ From two Old English MSS of 1230 A.D. Ed. Rev. Oswald Cockayne, *EETS*, O.S. No. 51 (1872), 33.

²⁸ Carleton Brown, *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century* (Oxford, 1932), p. 141, No. 79, 19 f. See also note, p. 229.

finest speeches." That is exactly the sort of passage which was most likely to get cut then. In Shakespeare such speeches are not ordinarily devoted concisely to necessary questions of the play. Our cutting today tends to retain the purple patches, not because they are indispensable to the dramatic action, but because they are so famous. Doubtless their beauty was recognized from the first, but neither time nor bardolatry had hallowed them, and presumably many of them were omitted or shortened on the Elizabethan and Jacobean stage. Certainly—here one can be dogmatic—that was the rule on the Restoration stage.¹

These suggestions do not, of course, affect the value of Mr. Bald's interesting paper. The second seems worth emphasizing because it is essential to recognize that the Restoration cutter was more interested in clearness and in keeping plot machinery functioning smoothly than in preserving poetic beauties. Failure to grasp this principle may lead, indeed some years ago did lead a distinguished editor of Shakespeare, into erroneous critical inferences.

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3. THE FIRST ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF WIELAND'S *OBERON*

BEFORE the year 1800 no fewer than twelve of Wieland's writings had been translated into English and commented upon in the various literary magazines of the period.¹ Three translations of his *Oberon* were made in the eighteenth century, but only one was published—that of William Sotheby in 1798.

The third translation chronologically of *Oberon* (Sotheby's was the second) was made by John Quincy Adams, the first draft finished in May, 1800. It was not printed until 1940, when Professor A. B. Faust published it together with interesting extracts from Adams' diary and papers.²

In a series of reviews in the *Monthly Review* beginning in Vol. xviii, New Series, William Taylor had discussed the works of Wieland as they appeared in the Goschen edition (1794 ff.). In 1797 he reviewed the *Oberon* calling it "the masterpiece of Wieland—the child of his genius in moments of its purest converse with the all-beautiful forms of ideal excellence, the darling of his fancy, born in the sweetest of her excursions amid the ambrosial bowers of fairyland etc." These words have been accused, not without reason, of verging on extravagance in praise. In the course of this review Taylor mentions a report which he has heard that a Mr. Sixt of Canterbury has made a translation of *Oberon*. He is referring undoubtedly to James Sixt.

¹ See "A Note on Cutting and Slashing," *MLR*, xxxi (1936), 393–395.

² J. L. Haney, "German Literature in England before 1790," *Americana Germanica*, iv, 130–154. Georg Herzfeld, *William Taylor von Norwich* (Halle, 1897) and "Zur Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur in England," *Herrig's Archiv*, cv, 30–36. V. Stockley, *German Literature in England 1750–1830* (London, 1929). Wm. A. Colwell, *German Literature in England 1750–1800* (Harvard Ph.D. Thesis, 1906. On file in Harvard Library).

² *Oberon Translated from the German of Wieland by John Quincy Adams*, Edited by A. B. Faust (New York: Crofts, 1940).

In regard to James Six and his translation³ of the *Oberon* a letter to the editor of the *Deutsches Museum*⁴ gives some interesting information. It was written by J. J. Eschenburg on the 23d of June, 1784, from Braunschweig:

Sie haben schon ehemals einige glückliche englische Uebersetzungen deutscher Poesien von Herrn James Six Ihren Lesern mitgeteilt.⁵ Erlauben Sie mir, bei der Ankündigung einer größeren und schon vollendeten Unternehmung dieser Art von eben dem würdigen jungen Manne, einige vorläufige Bemerkungen über ihn selbst. Herr Six kam im September des 1781sten Jahrs als Hofmeister und Begleiter eines jungen Stanly hieher, um den Unterricht auf unserem Kollegium Karolinum zu benutzen. Bei mir nahm er mit seinem Eleven Stunden in der deutschen Sprache, die den beiden noch völlig fremd war. Vorzügliches Talent und Studium brachten ihn in kurzer Zeit schon so weit, dass er mich schon im November des namlichen Jahrs mit einer ohne alles mein Zutun oder Vorwissen verfertigten poetischen Uebersetzung meiner Elegie auf den Tod eines früh verlorenen Kindes sehr angenehm überraschte. Er blieb nur ein Jahr lang bei uns; aber während desselben studierte er unsre Sprache und unsre besten prosaischen und poetischen Schriftsteller mit unablässigem Eifer, und dieser Eifer belebte den meinigen, ihn mit deutscher Sprache und Literatur immer bekannter zu machen.

Unter unseren epischen Gedichten vom ersten Range musste ich ihm natürlicher Weise den *Oberon* vorzüglich nennen und anpreisen. Auch hier bedurfte es nur weniger Winke, ihn auf die eigentümlichen Schönheiten dieses Meisterwerks aufmerksam zu machen.

Er las, er verschlang es mit froher Begierde, und noch am Abend vor seiner Abreise fand ich ihn darüber. Ein paar Monate nachher schrieb er mir aus London, er habe den Anfang gemacht, dies sein Lieblingsgedicht zu übersetzen, und befragte mich über einige Stellen. Bald darauf ging er mit seinem Eleven nach Montpellier, von dort aus erhielt ich einen Brief von 22sten Januar dieses Jahrs, worin er mir schrieb, dass er seine Uebersetzung bis zum zehnten Buche vollendet habe, und mir die Geschichte des Alfonso aus dem neunten Gesange zur Probe beilegte. Diese Probe übertraf in der Tat noch meine Erwartung. Freilich ist manche kleine Schönheit des Originals aufgeopfert, mancher feiner Pinselzug in der Kopie verschwunden, aber gewiss nie aus Achtlosigkeit oder Unkunde des Uebersetzers, sondern aus Gründen, welche eine nur mäßige Kenntnis beider Sprachen, und ein nur flüchtiges Nachdenken über die grosse Schwierigkeit solch einer metrischen Uebersetzung in gereimte Stenzen, einem jeden so leicht begreiflich macht.

Eschenburg relates further that he sent this specimen to Wieland and communicates the latter's answer, an admirable definition of the disadvantages which a work suffers when translated into another language. After expressing his pleasure at receiving the translation Wieland declares that it frightens him whenever he hears that one of his works is translated. He fears that a nation like the English or French, who in a literary way have so far surpassed the Germans, would regard such a poem as *Oberon* as a literary phenomenon, and would take the same kind of pleasure in it as in watching, say, a bear dance with some grace, or that they would be somewhat astonished that the language of the Muses, from such

³ *MLN*, xxii, 95. Also Schnorr's *Archiv*, xiii, 503-506. Also Bottiger, *Litterarische Zustände und Zeitgenossen*, ii, 92.

⁴ *Deutsches Museum*, ii, 232-247.

⁵ Besides the translation of Eschenburg's *Elegie* which appeared June 1782 in the *Deutsches Museum*, Six's translations of two odes of Count Leopold Stolberg were published in the *Deutsches Museum* for Sept. and Oct., 1872. They were also printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1784.

organs as those of the Germans, really sounds almost human. In brief he is flattered that an Englishman should have taken the interest in his poem to translate it, but fears that it will meet with an even worse reception in England than his *Agathon*, for, he points out, an author whose merit consists so much in style, as is the case with him, necessarily suffers materially in translation.

After another exchange of letters, however, Wieland is induced to allow the specimen to be printed, not in his own *Teutscher Merkur*, but in the *Deutsches Museum*. Eschenburg ends his letter to the *Museum* with the statement that Six has written him on the 17th of May (1784) that the translation is now complete. The specimen consists of stanzas 52-67 of the ninth canto (in the modern editions the stanzas are 14-29 of the eighth canto). The rather free meter and rhyme scheme of the original are approximated and the eight-line stanza is preserved. The translation⁶ is an accurate interpretation of the poem.

James Six died in Rome, 1786, at the age of 29. After the death of his father, James Six, Sr., in 1793, a friend published "The Construction and Use of a Thermometer. Maidstone 1794" by James Six, Sr. A note in the preface refers to the son's translation of *Oberon*:

As a taste for German literature seems to be advancing in this country, it may not be improper to add to this account, that, a short time before his death, he completed a translation of the *Oberon* of Mr. Wieland, a poetical romance in 14 books, but some doubts of the reception a German poem might meet with in England, which were increased by the opinion of Mr. Wieland himself (who nevertheless expressed in handsome terms his approbation of some parts of it which he had seen) as they unfixed his resolution to print it, have likewise since his death prevented its publication.

The sixteen stanzas from the ninth canto of Six's translation which appeared in the *Deutsches Museum* follow:

⁶ Miss Stockley in her *German Literature in England 1750-1830* (p. 93) declares "There are cases where Six quite misses the point—e.g.:

"Wie hatt ihm jetzt die Hütte wo er kaum
Noch glücklich war, nicht schrecklich werden sollen?"

is not

"His cot, that refuge of calamity,
How shall he now its recollection bide? (Canto iv)"

(Canto iv is a mistake. It should be Canto ix, stanza 58.)

To be sure, this translation is not literal. It is hard to see how a metrical version could be. But there is no "missing of the point." The context clearly shows a "refuge of calamity." Alphonso finds refuge, after his fall from favor at the court, in his humble cot, but the plague sweeps away his three sons, grief kills his wife, and his only friend proves untrue. Certainly this justifies the line "His cot, that refuge of calamity."

Though Six varies often from the literal he makes few mistakes. In stanza 58 (Canto viii, stanza 20 in modern editions)

"Er steht, ein einsamer vom Sturm entlaubter Baum,
Die Quellen sind versiegt, wo seine Freuden quollen."

Six translates "The springs that pour'd its nourishment are dried." He seems here to have mistaken the reference of the pronoun *seine* and so has forced the meaning "nourishment" from *Freuden* to prolong the figure (a tree) of the preceding line.

Deutsches Museum
Zweiter Band, Julius bis Dezember, 1784
[Pp. 238-247]

52

His mien that innate excellence bespoke,
Which under meanest weeds lies ill-conceal'd,
His look his soul's philanthropes reveal'd,
And tho' his neck was bow'd by age's yoke,
Seem'd ever turn'd to heav'n Composure sate,
And homefelt Comfort on his brows sedate,
And like the rock which nether storms defies,
His cloudless front appear'd above the world to rise

53

Time's rolling tide had finished to efface
All earthly rust, and ev'ry passion's trace
Altho' a scepter lay at his command,
And waited but the stretching of his hand,
He would not stretch that hand Without desires,
By griefs untouch'd, and free from fear's controul,
His tranquil mind to truth alone aspires,
And Nature's voice alone attunes his soul

54

Leon his native land, and, while to fame
Not yet unknown, Alphonso was his name.
From infant years to Princes' service bred,
With thousand vot'ries more by glitter led,
He woo'd that Idol-shade, which ever wav'd
Before his grasp, and still, when grasp'd was flown,
And offer'd still, while she still off'rings craved,
Like him that melts his gold, to find an idle stone

55

When to his Sov'reign, midst the fire of youth
He thus had pledg'd his service and his sword,
With unremitting zeal and loyal truth
Devoted health, and wealth, and blood, profusely pour'd;
Sudden he felt [fell], in favour's fairest dawn,
And with his prospects found his shackles gone;
Still happy, that his shipwreck'd Fortune gave
A single plank, whereon his life to save

56

To save one treasure was Alphonso's lot,
Which, most uncourtierlike, he deem'd to be
Worth all he lost by his calamity,
A friend, a loving consort, and a cot.
O leave me this, kind Heav'n, was all the pray'r,
Which now his unambitious heart prefer'd
This humble pray'r for ten whole years was heard,
Yet must Alphonso still this deprivation bear

57

Three hopeful sons, in manhood's first career,
 His youth's resemblance, and his age's stay,
 Are by the plague together swept away
 Grief soon extends their mother on her bier
 He lives!—unpitied tears his cheeks bedew,
 For oh! his only friend has prov'd untrue!
 Alone he stands in sad sepulchral gloom,
 His hopes and joys all dead, and all the world their tomb

58

He stands, a single storm dismantled tree,
 The springs that pour'd its nourishment are dry'd,
 His cot, that refuge of calamity
 How shall he now its recollection bide?
 What is the world to him? a spacious void,
 Where Fortune's wheel to noll [roll] finds ample room
 Why linger there? his life's last prop destroy'd
 What has he more to seek, unless a tomb?

59

Alphonso fled, his brain half-turn'd the while,
 To this inhospitable desert isle
 More than he sought bestowed the cheary [cheery] clime,
 First ease, and with the quiet lapse of time
 At last content A servant, hoar with years,
 Sole heart which no vicissitudes deprave,
 Shares his Lord's fortune, and together steers,
 The rocks receive and lodge them in a cave

60

By hoft [soft] degrees from sorrow's troubled flood
 His heart emerged, thro' abstinence, repose,
 And pure, free air, more limpid flow'd his blood,
 His thoughts grew brighter, and his courage rose,
 And now he felt that life's eternal stream
 For e'en Alphonso's wounds a balsam pour'd.
 Oft the sweet magic of a sunny gleam
 From melancholy's gulph his sinking soul restor'd.

61

And when at last this Paradise he found,
 Which rocks encircled, and with forests crown'd
 As by some spell for his reception dight,
 At once he felt his sorrows charm'd away,
 And, as from painful dreams of fev'rish night
 Wak'd to a dawn of everlasting day,
 At th' unexpected view with rapture fill'd
 Here to his friend he cry'd, here let us build!

62

The hut was built and furnish'd by degrees
With necessaries first, and then conveniences,
Such as a sage's late decline requires,
Whose wants are still the bound of his desires,
For that Alphonse, when he retir'd
Took stores, and iron, and the like,
With ev'ry thing for clothes requir'd,
Tho not recounted, cannot fail to strike

63

Thus did he spend in philosophic ease
The autumn of his life and dress his ground,
The source of his abstemious luxuries,
With pains in which he real pleasure found
Lost to the world, nor recollecting more
Its cruel wrongs, than as a tale of yore,
A sport of childhood, thus with healthe and rest
And sweet selfconsciousness his days were blest

64

His trusty comrade, after eighteen years
Left him to tread alone this vale of tears
Hence for that heav'nly Country more he sighs,
Which now possesses all he counted dear,
And where his soul is less from home, than here
Oft in still midnight, when from mortal eyes
To its primeval nought all body twins [turns],
His cheek as with the touch of Angel burns.

65

Then heav'nly quires, articulate and clear,
With solemn rapture strike his watchful ear,
And from the deepest grove Alphonso call,
Then seems the thin partition clean to fall,
Which scarce before a slender banner made
His inmost self is touch'd, his breast unfolds,
His heart flames forth, in spirit he beholds
Forms of th' aethereal world in heav'n's pure light array'd

66

Nor flies the vision, when his dazzled sight
Is charm'd asleep, and when returning day
Opes Nature's Theatre, th' angelic lay
Reechoes still A stream of heav'nly light
Glads rock and grove, where horror brooded late,
And scatters all its train, his ravish'd view,
As beams the sun from ev'ry drop of dew,
In ev'ry creature sees the great first Uncreate.

While heav'n and earth thus blending form one whole
 In his pure mind, his inmost feelings speak,
 While no rough passions agitate his soul,
 No sounds profane the solemn stillness break,
 His best, divinest sense awakes—but here
 What hand unseen seals up my mouth to [too] bold
 Lest aught escape forbidden to be told?
 On the dread brink struck dumb I stop my rash career

WILLIAM A. COLWELL

Garden City, N. Y.

4. NOT BY ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING

AMONG the poems ascribed to Elizabeth Barrett Browning in the volume of gleanings published in 1914 as *New Poems by Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning* is a twelve-quatrain panegyric headed "To Robert Lytton from Elizabeth Barrett Browning"¹ Before its inclusion in this collection, the poem had in the same year appeared simultaneously in the London *Cornhill Magazine* and in the American *Bookman*,² with an explanatory note stating that

For more than sixty years this tribute, by the authoress of "Aurora Leigh," to Robert Lytton (Edward Robert Bulwer-Lytton, 2nd Baron and 1st Earl Lytton, 1831-91), more generally known as "Owen Meredith," has been forgotten

The poem was written at Bagni di Lucca in the summer of 1853, when Robert Lytton, then an attaché at the Florence Legation, was staying with the Brownings

It must have occurred to readers of the poem to wonder that Mrs. Browning should have hailed a twenty-two year old unpaid attaché who at that time had published nothing, as "Our leader, and King of us all!" and when, toward the end of the poem, one finds the stanza beginning

We'd die for you gladly, if need were,—
 And gladly we'd live, while we might, for you;

one feels either that the youthful Owen Meredith's precocity did not survive his maturity or that Mrs. Browning stands convicted of an error in judgment of the sort she was rarely guilty of.

It is a matter of record that Lytton came to the British Legation at Florence in the autumn of 1852, armed with a letter to the Brownings from John Forster, and that the friendship between young attaché and middle-aged poets developed so rapidly that the doors of Casa Guidi were soon open to him. During the summer of 1853 Lytton was invited to spend his brief holiday from legation duties

¹ *New Poems by Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, edited by Sir Frederick G. Kenyon, K.C.B., D. Litt. (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1914, pp. 134-138). The American edition was published by Macmillan, 1915. See pages 135-139 of the latter edition for prefatory note and poem.

² *Bookman*, 39: 312-313, May, 1914. *Cornhill*, 109, New Series xxxvi. 577-579, May, 1914.

in the Browning establishment at Bagni di Lucca Mrs. Browning's letters to friends and relatives in England reflect the growing intimacy, and show that she recognized Lytton's talent and valued his friendship, but there is nowhere a hint that she looked upon him as other than her husband's bright young protégé Lytton's letters to the Brownings have been preserved.³ They reveal that Lytton looked to Mrs. Browning as well as to her husband for literary advice and criticism. With her he discussed the latest manifestations of spiritualism, and, in later years, developments in Italian politics. But by no stretch of the imagination can he be seen as exercising the leadership of the "King of us all," source of "the love without which we must fall." Lytton's letters to Mrs. Browning are such letters as a somewhat precocious and sensitive youth exiled from native land and home might write to an older woman befriending him in his loneliness.

Readers must have remarked too the incoherence and the amateurish versification of the poem, with its reliance upon contraction and exclamation. The author of *Sonnets from the Portuguese* and *Casa Gudi Windows* would hardly have written lines so unmusical as

You—the wise heart that's probed our life long enough
To pardon the nonsense and cant of it!

or

All that strength! all that power! yet so phant!
You're so great we could never come near you,

If Mrs. Browning wrote these lines, she was under the influence of her husband to an extent seldom revealed elsewhere in her writings.

Yet the explanatory note is explicit as to the provenance of the manuscript, as the following excerpt shows:

The MS is in the clear but delicate caligraphy of Mrs. Browning, without a single correction, and written on both sides of a half sheet of paper, with a deep gash in the upper edge. The MS was formerly in the possession of Miss Browning, who copied on a large sheet the full text of the three stanzas imperfect in the torn original. Miss Browning gave both to Mrs. Barrett Browning, who has kept them until today in a little box of personal treasures.

Recently, however, two sheets of letter paper in the Browning Collection at Baylor University have been recognized as containing the same poem. At first glance this second manuscript and the printed versions of 1914 seem to present only such variations as a proofreader might be responsible for, but closer examination reveals differences. In the first place the words *large* and *deeds* in the last stanza are results of second thought, the original words having been heavily cancelled.⁴ More significantly there is a stanza heavily cancelled with blue pencil. The penciling has been erased to such an extent that the deleted stanza, which follows what is now the second, is legible:

³ *Letters from Owen Meredith to Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, edited by Aurelia Brooks Harlan and J. Lee Harlan, Jr. (Waco: Baylor University Press, 1936).

⁴ The word *large* replaces a word which is probably *great*. *Deeds* replaces a word that is undecipherable.

Brows full of Olympian thunder,
Which only a God can wield
And a glance like the lightning [*sic*] 'sunder,
Which scarcely a God can shield

One does not wonder that the stanza was suppressed. Could Mrs. Browning—the mature Mrs. Browning of forty-seven—have written it? The answer is not far to seek.

The “caligraphy” of the manuscript in the Baylor Browning Collection is not that of Mrs. Browning. It is unmistakably that of Robert Bulwer Lytton. The manuscript is mounted at the beginning of a volume containing the holograph letters of Lytton to Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, sold at the Browning sale in 1913 and acquired by Baylor at a later date. By way of title there appear the letters R. B., the work is signed R. B. L., the initials figuring at the end of a number of Lytton’s letters to the Brownings.

Could Lytton have addressed this poem to Robert Browning? Lytton’s claims are easily supported. He is known to have venerated Browning, as the early letters show. In July, 1853, before his visit to Lucca, we find him writing

Any scrap from you would be prized by me, for to have a place in the mind of a great man is indeed a noble privilege . . . Believe me I am *most* grateful. No criticism, no encouragement ^{c^d} affect me so much as that which comes from you for I have been for years your constant, hearty, and *reverent* admirer.⁵

and toward the end of 1854 after he had left Florence for Paris he wrote “You—are throned on your own strength. . . .”⁶ In March, 1855, in a letter written to both the poets we find “Hurrah! Jubilate! A letter from my dear ones at Florence—my King and Queen. . . .”⁷ From the Hague in 1856:

I am more proud of having obtained your friendship than of anything else which I owe to myself or to fortune, and more anxious to retain it than any other possession. It is the Grand Cordon and ennobles the owner.⁸

And, as a final instance, one notes the letter he wrote Browning after the latter had nursed him through a serious illness at Bagni di Lucca in 1857.

Never, never shall I forget all that you were to me at Lucca—all that you have been ever, dear friend. Your books were among my earliest and largest possessions in the world of wonder and delight, your friendship and encouragement my earliest footground in the world of Hope, and now in that long land of Memory there are no spots so cherished as those where the sunlight of your kindness seems to rest forever.⁹

Other passages might be quoted, but these are more than sufficient.

Lytton’s letters to Browning make several allusions to poems sent the older poets. Some days after returning from the holiday in the Browning retreat at Bagni di Lucca in 1853, Lytton wrote: “I send you ‘a little Shelleyan bit’ I made in the train coming from Leghorn—an attempt to preserve in words some impressions of Prato Fiorito.”¹⁰ And in January of the following year. “I send you

⁵ *Letters from Owen Meredith* . . . p. 31.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

a somewhat corrected and amplified copy of a Poem which you have already seen At best it is but crude, rude, incoherent sketch, but I cannot make more out of it, I think it, however, improved."¹¹ Other allusions to poems or criticism of poems are to be encountered in the correspondence

"R B" could hardly be referred to as "a little Shelleyan bit" by even the fondest of young authors The stylistic influence of Browning rather than that of Shelley is at work here It is not impossible that the "somewhat corrected and amplified copy of a Poem" is the poem in question, but one cannot of course be sure

It is possible to date the poem somewhat accurately on the basis of internal evidence. Readers of Lytton, if such there now be, will readily recognize in the poem "R B" the Lytton of his *Clytemnestra* and *Wanderer* volumes Compare "R B." with the dedicatory poem of the *Wanderer* volume of 1858—"To J. F." (John Forster, who was more of a father to him than was Bulwer and who first put Browning's poems in his hands) In the dedicatory poem there is more restraint, more technical facility than in "R. B.," but the stanza

O large in lore, in nature sound!
O man to me, of all men dear!
All these in thine my life hath found,
And force to tread the rugged ground
Of daily toil, with cheer¹²

for example, is distinctly reminiscent of "R B." And near the end of "To J. F." is a tribute to Browning more deft and more succinct:

... that friend who dwells among
The Apennine, and there hath strung
A harp of Anakim;
Than whom a mightier master never
Touch'd the deep chords of hidden things,
Nor error did from truth dis sever
With keener glance, nor made endeavour
To rise on bolder wings
In those high regions of the soul
Where thought itself grows dim with awe¹³

On the basis of this comparison, then, "R B." may be assigned to a period earlier than that which produced the *Wanderer*—probably to the year 1853.

Sarianna Browning or Mrs. Barrett Browning (perhaps both) must have been the victims of a misunderstanding. The damaged manuscript in Mrs. Browning's hand must have been a copy Surely after more than a quarter of a century it is high time that the poem be returned to its rightful owner—not Elizabeth Barrett Browning but Robert, first Earl of Lytton.

AURELIA BROOKS HARLAN

Hunter College

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹² Owen Meredith, *Poems* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1859), p. xii.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. xiv-xv.

5. ANASTASIUS GRUN AND CHARLES T. BROOKS

IN an appendix to Professor von Klenze's monograph on *Charles Timothy Brooks, Translator from the German, and the Genteel Tradition*, which was published in 1937 by the Modern Language Association, there appears a series of previously unpublished letters to Brooks from Anastasius Grun and Ferdinand Freilgrath. Grun's correspondence, consisting of five cordial and circumstantial letters, is now supplemented by a sixth and shorter one, which should stand third in the series. In the first and second communications, dated respectively January 11 and July 22, 1855, Grun proposed to send Brooks several of his own writings in return for the gift by the latter of a copy of his collection of *German Lyrics* (Boston, 1853), which contained first and foremost, both in position and in importance, translations of compositions by Grun. In the letter which the writer has recently acquired from a New York dealer in rare books and manuscripts Grun records the accomplishment of his proposal after a long delay occasioned by the tardy appearance of his brief biography of his "unfortunate friend" Nikolaus Lenau, which he wished to include in the gift.

Finally, on October 28, 1855, this volume together with others previously specified was dispatched and accompanied with the subjoined letter to Brooks. The document still displays the seal of the sender, showing, within an ornamental border on a green ground in gold relief, the initial A, which also appears embossed in miniature at the top of the first page of the folded sheet containing Grun's communication and which represents his real name, Anton Alexander Graf von Auersperg.

To the Reverend
Charles Th. Brooks

Verehrter Herr!

Sie werden meinen im Laufe des Som̄ers an Sie abgegangenen sehr ausführlichen Brief wohl schon empfangen haben. Indem ich mich auf dessen Inhalt berufe, erlaube ich mir, Ihnen im Anschlusse eine kleine Buchersendung zu übermitteln. Es sind einige Schriften von mir die Ihnen theils noch ganz unbekannt sind, theils hier in neueren Auflagen vorliegen, nämlich:

Der letzte Ritter.
Volkslieder aus Krain.
Nikolaus Lenau. Lebensgeschichtliche Umriss.
Spaziergänge eines Wiener Poeten.
Nibelungen in [sic] Frack.

Lassen Sie diese bescheidenen Boten freundlichster Gesinnung bei Ihnen eine wohlwollende Aufnahme finden. Herr Eduard Mayer in Wien war so gutig, deren Beförderung an Sie übernehmen zu wollen. Mögen sie glücklich an's Ziel gelangen!

Da diese Zeilen nur ein kleiner Geleitbrief sein sollen, schliesse ich für diessmal,

indem ich nur noch die Ausdrücke der warmsten Hochachtung beifüge, womit
ich verharre, verchrter und hochwürdiger Herr

Ihr

Thurn am Hart in Krain

28/ 55

X

ergebenster

Ant Gf v. Auersperg

Mit nachstem December finden mich Ihre allfälligen Briefe wieder in meinem
Winterquartier zu Gratz (Steiermark)

PHILIP A. SHELLEY

The Pennsylvania State College

6. HALLAM'S SUPPRESSED ALLUSION TO TENNYSON

WHEN Henry Hallam, the historian, edited certain of his son's writings in *Remains, in Verse and Prose, of Arthur Henry Hallam* (1834) he silently suppressed lines 102-104 from the Sixth of the "Meditative Fragments" as they had originally appeared in Arthur Hallam's *Poems* of 1830. It will be recalled that the father had also suppressed the proposed joint publication of that volume with Tennyson's poems, and I believe that he cut out lines 102-104 in the mistaken belief that they referred to Alfred and Emily Tennyson. The censorship, perpetuated through seven subsequent editions of the *Remains*, is not, therefore, without biographical and critical interest.

The "Sixth Fragment" records an experience which had occurred in July, 1829, and was tranquilly recollected at Malvern in the following September-October. While on a visit at the country house, Glenarbach, of the Robertson-Glasgows, Hallam discovers that his host's daughter, Anne, does not share his enthusiasm for Wordsworth. At the crisis of the episode Anne

laughed not now, nor breathed reproach,
Yet there was chillness in her calm approve,
Which with my kindled temper suited not (ll 99-101)

Immediately follow the omitted lines

I felt as of two brothers I were one,
And he of all men nearest to my soul
Were alien from the sister of my love (ll 102-104)

Since Henry Hallam admitted in the Preface to the *Remains* that he was not printing all of Arthur's extant work (he did not admit that he thus suppressed all but 41 out of 113 poems) and since his excuse was "their unveiling more of emotion than, consistently with what is due to him and to others, could be exposed to view," we are to suppose that the omitted lines, likewise, seemed to the father too emotional and too personal for publication, in spite of the fact that the son had himself printed and circulated them only four years before. We may therefore assume that to Henry Hallam the lines meant something like this:

When Anne failed to respond to my feeling for Wordsworth sympathetically, I felt exactly as I should feel if Emily Tennyson and I should disagree under like circumstances, namely, that her alienation from me would likewise cut her off from Alfred, the closest in soul-

understanding to me of any man, and would therefore (by implication) logically cut him off from me

Such a reading presupposes that Hallam and Emily had met before the "Sixth Fragment" was written, and there is no evidence to justify such an assumption. Or it supposes that Hallam did actually print and circulate a poem about Anne Robertson-Glasgow, of whom he was once fond, containing an illustration involving Emily Tennyson, with whom he was to fall in love. Both assumptions are over-ruled by what seems to me the correct reading of the suppressed lines.

The whole poem deals with what was for Hallam the almost mystical nature of friendship, and falls into three parts like a logical exercise in philosophical speculation. First (ll 1-22) came the formula to be tested: that friends partake of one another's natures, so that if X and Y are my friends, they should logically be sympathetically inclined toward one another as brothers. If, then, X speak lightly of Y, the mystical union is dissolved. The main body of the poem (ll 23-115) presents the illustrative incident and its immediate effect, namely, the sense of shock at discovering that X and Y are not in harmony.

It is here that the suppressed passage occurs. Without devoting more space to detailed analysis of the philosophical pattern of which the lines are an integral part, I submit that lines 102-104 read:

I intuitively knew that my friend-brother Wordsworth, of all men at this special moment nearest my soul's understanding, was cut off from that other object of my loving friendship, my friend-sister, Anne

It is simple deduction from the facts of the episode, a straightforward, obvious, but essential step in a metaphysical problem. It is not, as the Alfred-Emily reading would make it, an obliquely inserted simile, leaving the whole piece without a conclusive summation. The implication remains that Hallam is cut off from Anne; and here the poem goes on to its third and final part (ll 116-145) to discover that fine logic does not always lead to true conclusions, that Hallam and Anne need not be cut off by differences of opinion. It is as simple as that, or, as he puts it,

So clear that I did marvel how before
I came not to the level of that truth (ll 119-120)

If Hallam seems to have made much of what seems a minor discovery, we must not overlook the fact that, at eighteen he, who had always practiced and required in friendship the loftiest idealism, had now for a few months been experiencing, in the new friendship with Tennyson, a congruity of spirit so remarkable as to attach to the ideal of friendship higher standards than ever, so that the conversation with Anne Robertson-Glasgow shocked him importantly into a reorganization of his perspectives.

It is this factor which renders old Mr. Hallam's reading of the suppressed passage highly improbable. When the poem was written, Arthur and Emily had not met,¹ when it was being handed round in print in May, 1830, Arthur had grown very fond of her and would have been more sensitive to a reference to her

¹ I believe that they met in December, 1829. The identification of the "Sixth Fragment" with Glenarbach and the Robertson-Glasgows has not previously been made.

in bad taste than his father, who did not develop any marked fondness for the Tennysons during his son's lifetime. But by remarkable coincidence the lines might easily have suggested to a hasty reader in 1834 the fiancée of the dead poet and her stricken brother, his friend. We must conclude, then, that haste, excessive caution, sensitiveness to the Tennyson friendship, and, worst of all, distrust of his son's taste in 1830, all combined in causing the father-editor's needless mutilation of an intimate record of Arthur Hallam's developing philosophy of human and divine love.

T H VAIL MOTTER

Wellesley College

7. THACKERAY AND N. P. WILLIS

NATHANIEL PARKER WILLIS set out for England on his second visit to that country, May 20, 1839. A little more than two months before this, or March 15, 1839, the first number of his new publication, *The Corsair*, had appeared. Willis remained abroad until April, 1840, but *The Corsair* expired with the issue of March 7 of that year. Willis wrote home jubilantly to his partner in *The Corsair*, a Dr. T. O. Porter, under the date July 26, 1839 that he had engaged as a contributor to the new publication, the author of *Yellowplush* and *Major Gahagan*. He is for "a guinea a close column" to furnish letters from Paris, and afterwards from London. Willis declared that he would pay the new contributor himself for the time being, and went on to say: "For myself, I think him the very best periodical writer alive. He is a royal, daring, fine creature, too. I take the responsibility of it. You will hear from him soon."

Willis himself contributed at the same time to *The Corsair* a series of letters called *Jottings Down in London*, and in the number of August 24, the same number in which appeared Thackeray's first letter, the latter was able to read of himself the following description from the pen of his new employer:

Thackeray is a tall athletic man of about thirty-five, with a look of talent that could never be mistaken. He has taken to literature after having spent a very large inheritance, but in throwing away the gifts of fortune, he has cultivated his natural talents very highly, and is one of the most accomplished draftsmen in England, as well as the cleverest and most brilliant of periodical writers.¹

It seems now, to an American at least, a matter of genuine regret that so kindly a man as Thackeray could not have been more sympathetically understanding of Willis, Willis so zestful of life, so eager to share with his readers the interesting things he was seeing, and so obviously innocent of any intent to hurt. But Thackeray was not, and perhaps in the journalistic school he had been reared in, could not be expected to be. Instead he struck out in print at his new employer as soon as their relationship terminated. Beers says he did so twice at least,² and Malcolm Elwin in his *Thackeray* cites another occasion which escaped Beers,³ and my

¹ Henry A. Beers, *Nathaniel Parker Willis* (Boston, 1899), pp. 243-255.

² H. A. Beers, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

³ Malcolm Elwin, *Thackeray, A Personality* (London, 1932), pp. 110-111.

purpose here is to point out that in Chapter xv (volume II) of *Vanity Fair* he went at it still again, though strangely none of his biographers, so far as I am aware, has ever noticed it

Arranged chronologically, the satire aimed at Willis by Thackeray begins in *Fraser's* in September, 1841, in the first of a series of four letters which appeared in the September and October issues of that magazine, and called *Notes on the North What-d-ye-Call'em Election Being the personal narrative of Napoleon Putnam Wiggins, of Passimaquoddy* Elwin attributed this "almost certainly" in his text to Thackeray, and lists it again in his bibliography.⁴ That Elwin is right in his attributing this satire to Thackeray seems to me to be borne out by the fact that in Letter I there is this passage:

. . . opposite at the Fleece Inn was a pink balcony, with

MR BOWEN'S COMMITTEE ROOM

written in pink letters overhead You looked to the right, and saw Lord George Crawley's committee-room, with a green and yellow balcony Lord George is the second son of the Earl of Stuffington, whose noble ancestral palace, Guttlebury Castle, stands amid thousands of acres of park, not far from Stuffington town.⁵

This use of the name, Crawley, even though elsewhere in the article the name appears, Cramley, certainly suggests Thackeray. This was at least six years before *Vanity Fair*, but A Lionel Stevenson has pointed out⁶ that Thackeray had learned of the Crawley family from Lady Morgan, and that Lady Morgan had removed from Dublin to London about 1838. Another interesting and perhaps significant item is that Willis was according to Beers one of those present at Lady Morgan's reception to the Persian ambassador at just about the time he engaged Thackeray for the *Corsair*.

The next Thackerayan satire at Willis's expense is his review in the *Edinburgh Review* for October, 1845 of *Dashes at Life* Beers who cited this item⁷ says "he quizzes Willis, though not unkindly." On the sixteenth of that month Thackeray wrote to Napier, the editor who had asked for this paper, and had printed it but with many passages omitted, a letter which Elwin quotes in full, and from which I wish to take a sentence or two which seem to indicate that Thackeray's criticism sounded more kindly than he had intended it to be Thackeray writes:

. . . From your liberal payment I can't but conclude that you reward me not only for labouring, but for being mutilated in your service I assure you I suffered cruelly by the amputation which you were obliged to inflict upon my poor dear paper. I mourn still—as what father can help doing for his children?—for several lovely jokes and promising facetiae, which were born and might have lived but for your scissors urged by ruthless necessity. . . I quite agree with your friends who say Willis was too leniently used O, to think of my pet passages gone for ever!⁸

Beers cites one other attack upon Willis called *On an American Traveler*, the sixth number of *The Proser*, which appeared in *Punch* in 1850, June 29.⁹ In this

⁴ Malcolm Elwin, *op cit*, p. 382

⁵ *Fraser's Magazine*, September–October, 1841, p. 354.

⁶ A Lionel Stevenson, *Vanity Fair and Lady Morgan*, *PMLA*, XLVIII, 547–551.

⁷ H. A. Beers, *op cit*, p. 256.

⁸ Malcolm Elwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–152.

⁹ H. A. Beers, *op. cit*, p. 256.

Thackeray reviews Willis's *People I have Met*, and pronounces Willis a rascal

In the meantime *Vanity Fair* had made its appearance, and what I have so far pointed out as to Thackeray's attitude toward Willis will make it seem reasonable, I hope, that Thackeray would probably satirize him further in this should occasion offer. He had, presumably, first become aware of Willis even before their meeting in 1837, through the smarting Lockhart's attack on the *Mirror* letters in the *Quarterly* in 1835, before their appearance as *Pencilings By The Way*. Mr Stevenson points out¹⁰ that the *Quarterly*, *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's* had all joined in full cry against Lady Morgan, and Willis had had the temerity to speak well of her. In Letter xx of *Pencilings* he tells of an English lady, recently from Dublin, whom he had met in Paris, who had conversed with him about Lady Morgan. This lady, says Willis

. . . told me many anecdotes of the authoress, defending her from all the charges usually made against her, except that of vanity, which she allowed. I received, on the whole, the impression that Lady Morgan's goodness of heart was more than an offset to her certainly very innocent weaknesses

One who thought kindly of the lady who was probably the prototype of Becky Sharp, and who attended her parties in London, may well have been thought of by Thackeray as one who needed a little further satirical attention when he came to describe Becky's great triumph.

The passage in question is to be found in Chapter xv of *Vanity Fair*, and is so readily accessible that it will not be necessary to quote it in full here. It begins. "There was Mr Paul John Jefferson Jones, titularly attached to the American Embassy, etc, etc." The parallel is impressive. If Mr Paul John Jefferson Jones was titularly attached to the American Embassy, so also was Willis. Mr Rives, the American minister at Paris had so attached him soon after Willis had reached France in November, 1831. Jones is correspondent of the New York *Demagogue*; Willis was correspondent of the New York *Mirror*. Jones says that he and George Gaunt had gone up Vesuvius together, Willis relates in Letter lxiv of his *Pencilings* that he had ascended Vesuvius with a group of foreigners. Jones is said to have described the persons of the ladies with great eloquence, Willis had done just that, many times; particularly, perhaps, in Letter cxv of the *Pencilings*, when he set forth Lady Blessington's appearance in elaborate detail. Mr Jones is said to have written a full and particular account of the dinner which appeared in the *Demagogue*; for committing this very offense, Lockhart had begun the Willis batings in the *Quarterly*, a dozen years before. Jones was in the habit of sending over proteges with letters of recommendation to the present Marquis of Steyne, encouraged to do so by the intimate terms on which he had lived with his dear friend the late Lord, Willis was accused of exactly parallel conduct by Harriet Martineau just before she set out for America in 1834.¹¹ Miss Martineau did not publish her accusations, indeed, and they reached type only in her posthumously published autobiography, but as she discussed the matter with various persons whom she met on her American trip, it is quite possible that Thackeray and others of the English press knew the story. Miss Martineau was entertainingly

¹⁰ A. Lionel Stevenson, *op cit*, pp 458-549.

¹¹ Harriet Martineau, *Autobiography* (Boston, 1877), I, 384-386.

caustic In the last lines of the chapter Thackeray says "And Mr Paul Jefferson Jones thought he had made a conquest of Lady Gaunt by going up to her Ladyship, and praising her delightful friend's first-rate singing "

Lockhart had charged Willis with a similar ineptitude¹² because in Letter CXXII of his *Pencilings by the Way*, Willis says that at a dinner party at which he first met Moore, "some one" told Moore that Scott's *Life of Napoleon* would not live "because it is the life of an individual " Lockhart was pleased to identify Willis's "some one" with Willis himself, and had commented

We presume it was nobody but Mr Willis that could have made this last remark to the author of the *Life of Sheridan*, the *Life of Byron*, and the *Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*.

That Mr. John Paul Jefferson Jones was created to ridicule Willis seems to me to be certain, but that Thackeray's purpose was not at once evident is curiously ironical The man he was belaboring was non-existent Thackeray's readers, as early as 1848 had already forgotten Willis, and they have never thought of him since.

HAROLD H SCUDDER

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8. EXPERIENCE, THE MOTHER OF SCIENCE

When I discussed, in *Excursions in English Drama* (1937), the "characterizing names" of the English plays from Moralities to satirical comedy, I should have included Experience, the mother of Science, in Redford's *Wyt and Science* (c 1530), instead of burying her in a footnote (p. 238), with a suggestion that her name had an approximately French pronunciation and the value of the French meaning, "experiment " In this almost perfect allegory, of peculiar interest even to modern educators, the chief characters bear names meaning "knowledge" (*witan* and *scio*), and if the Five Wits of *Everyman* indicates the "five senses"—and we have a foretaste of Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding*¹—Redford gives us a suggestion, long before Bacon, that knowledge is derived from reason and experiment In his day, science had not been restricted to "natural philosophy," or wit to "cleverness" (albeit with an intellectual appeal), and it is, perhaps, worth noting that the distinction between normative and descriptive sciences has been observed, and that the union of "native" and "classical" knowledge was possible Idleness and Ignorance still remain the academic vices, as does Tediousness, and Experiment is still a source of Knowledge (Science)

ROBERT WITHINGTON

Smith College

¹² *Quarterly Review*, LIV, 468.

¹ Ben Jonson, in *Timber*, s. v. "Scientia," observes that "Knowledge is the action of the soul, and is perfect without the senses, as having the seeds of all science and virtue in itself, but not without the service of the senses, by those organs the soul works." In Rastell's *Nature of the Four Elements* (1519) we find a character named Experyens, who does not suggest "experiment." If he is the author's "mouthpiece," as Miss Nugent calls him (*PMLA*, LVII, 83), he may represent the memory of Rastell's own experience, or he may be an expositor who gives data furnished by "a text and a map or globe." (*Ibid.*, p. 80)

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

(For 1941 see *PMLA*, lvi, 885-886, 1196, 1305)

THE Executive Council met in the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York, N Y., on March 28-29 in three sessions: 2:30-6:00 P.M., 8:00-10 00 P.M., and 9:30 A.M.-12.30 P.M. There were present throughout the sessions all officers and members except Professor Schevill (*proxy* Professor Horatio Smith) and Dean Gauss (*proxy* Professor Ira Wade). Informal reports of the Secretary and Treasurer and various committee reports were presented. An extended discussion was held on Association activities in war time. The following actions were taken.

1 *Annual Meeting* The place of the 1942 meeting was changed from Washington, D C., to New York, N Y., with the Hotel Astor as headquarters, the time December 29-31 remaining unchanged. Provision was made that, in case of serious need, the Advisory Committee may later alter this decision. For the 1943 meeting Chicago, Illinois, was selected.

2 *Appointments to Committees* The following appointments were made.

Editorial Committee (1942-47) Professors F. J. Crowley, A. H. Schutz, Otto Springer

Monograph Committee (1942-47) Professor Karl Young

Revolving Fund Committee (1942-47) Professor F. A. Pottle.

Committee on Photographic Reproductions (1942-47) Dr. Giles E. Dawson.

Program Committee (1942-47) Professor Newman I. White

Committee on Research Activities (1942-45). Professors Hayward Keniston and C. A. Knudson

New Variorum Shakespeare Committee (1942-46) Professor Hyder E. Rollins

Commission on Trends in Education (1942-45) Professors T. C. Pollock, Horatio Smith, Isaac Leon Kandel

[All appointees have accepted appointment.]

3 *Nominations to the Executive Council* The following nominees were selected

Albert W. Aron, <i>University of Illinois</i>	Germanic
Gerald E. Bentley, <i>University of Chicago</i>	English
Joseph F. Jackson, <i>University of Illinois</i>	Romance
Sturgis E. Leavitt, <i>University of North Carolina</i>	Romance
Orie W. Long, <i>Williams College</i>	Germanic
Helen C. White, <i>University of Wisconsin</i>	English

4. *Reports of Committees* In regard to book committees, the Secretary was instructed (1) to present an annual report from each; (2) to permit no exemption of any book from the regular process of examination, (3) to invite to the next extended meeting of the Council a representative of the Monograph Committee, Revolving Fund Committee, and Committee on Research Activities.

Commission on Trends in Education. The Secretary was instructed to promote early publication of its pamphlet on literature after first submitting copies to the members of the Council. The President was requested to cooperate with the Commission in securing for it wide publicity.

Committee on Research Activities. Its report was accepted.

Middle English Dictionary. A report for the Advisory Board was accepted as a report of progress, and the Board invited to continue its work under its terms of instruction. A report from the Editors of the Middle English Dictionary was referred to the Advisory Board with request for recommendation of action.

Committee of Three. A report of this committee was accepted, putting in force the following three suggestions:

1. That to the existing Departmental Sections there be added one or two interdepartmental sections.
2. That the Program Committee be directed to inform chairmen of Groups that they may arrange their programs at discretion, subject to the present regulation that the number of papers shall not exceed three and that the time devoted to the reading of papers shall not exceed one-half the time allotted to the Group.
3. That attendance upon Group meetings be limited to members of the Association unless exception is made by the Secretary of the Association.

The President was empowered to appoint an interdepartmental committee to establish as an experiment a mediæval section.

The date and place of the next extended meeting of the Council was referred to the Advisory Committee.

PERCY W. LONG
Secretary

PMLA

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THE AUCHINLECK MANUSCRIPT AND A POSSIBLE LONDON BOOKSHOP OF 1330-1340

FROM 1477 when Caxton, in his little Westminster shop, published the first book printed in England, the history of English book production is richly documented.¹ Even before the invention of printing, the story of monastic books, in England and elsewhere, can be fairly well traced.² A good deal is now known about the output of medieval university books.³ But there is a notable gap, even in our theorizing, about the early production of vernacular works in England, especially about the very large amount of secular verse that was composed before 1350 by anonymous authors.⁴ We know practically nothing about either the authors or the transcribers of those works, or about the circumstances under which manuscripts of contemporary date were compiled. Minstrels have been spoken of, sometimes as the authors, sometimes as the oral "publishers," of much of this popular poetry,⁵ and the more important manuscripts

¹ For a compact, expert survey of the subject see *A History of the Printed Book*, ed by L. C. Worth, *The Dolphin*, III (The Limited Editions Club, New York, 1938), in this work special sections are devoted to English book production in the different centuries. See also Marjorie Plant, *The English Book Trade, An Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books* (London, 1939). Cf. F. A. Mumby, *Publishing and Bookselling, A History from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (New York, 1931). For Caxton see, in particular, E. G. Duff, *The Printers, Stationers and Book Binders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1555* (Cambridge, 1906), pp. 1-23.

² For the most recent and comprehensive study of books produced or preserved in medieval monasteries see J. W. Thompson, *The Medieval Library* (Chicago, 1939) *passim*. Parts I-III are devoted to Libraries from the Early Middle Ages to the Italian Renaissance, Part IV to the Making and Care of Books in the Middle Ages.

³ For University books see the notable work of Jean Destrez, *La 'Pecia' dans les Manuscrits Universitaires du XIII et du XIV Siècle* (Paris, 1935) and the review by G. G. Coulton, *The Library*, 4th Ser., XVI (1936), pp. 456-461.

⁴ Cf. J. E. Wells, *A Manual of Writings in Middle English* (New Haven, 1916-), p. 5, for a list of romances, *passim* for other texts produced before 1350.

⁵ Minstrels are mentioned most frequently in connection with romances. Cf. Wells, *ibid.*, p. 1. "Most of the surviving pieces seem to have been composed by humble members

have been generally attributed to monastic compilers and scribes, but in general it must be admitted, on very scanty, or on no, evidence whatsoever.⁶ Despite an enormous amount of meticulous study of individual texts, literary criticism has but rarely concerned itself with medieval English books as wholes, rather than parts, it has not had opportunity as yet to digest the new information that has recently been coming to light about English bookmen and the English book trade in the fourteenth century, and it has remained entirely apart from art criticism although the fact, long since accepted in art studies and more and more widely established, of the development of the medieval lay atelier⁷ surely bears on the contemporary development of lay scriptoria as well. All these are new and fruitful fields for investigation to which, for the most part, the present article can but direct attention. Its special purpose is to advance some

of society, and some were made by minstrels or gleemen." *Cambridge History of English Literature* (Cambridge, 1908), I, 282. "Romance writers worked for common minstrels and were not particular about their style." W. P. Ker, *English Literature, Medieval* (London, n.d.), pp. 130-133, speaks several times of minstrels' work. Cf., *passim*, Ruth Crosby, "Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages," *Speculum*, XI (1936), 88-110. In a later article, *Speculum*, XIII, 430, she remarks "Popular poetry in the Middle Ages was written to be 'published' by the minstrels."

Of special interest as contemporary confirmation of the fact that sometimes texts were composed for the use of minstrels, is Robert Mannyng's statement that his own *Chronicle of England* (ca. 1338) was not so made (*Anglia*, IX [1886], p. 44)

I mad noght for no disours,
Ne for no seggers, no harpours,
Bot for the luf of symple menne

⁶ Does even the ascription of Harley 2253 rest on assured evidence? In 1841 Thomas Wright, *Early English Poetry* (Percy Society IV, vii) noted that certain local allusions and three local saint legends in this manuscript seemed to indicate an origin in Herefordshire. Because of one of these legends, *Legenda de Sancto Etfredo presbitero de Leominsteria*, f. 132, he felt "inclined to conclude that the Harleian MS. was written by some secular clerk connected with the priory of Leominster. Perhaps he was himself a poet, and was the author of the song containing the allusion to the river Wye." This speculative remark has gradually turned into positive assertion. Cf. Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 488. "Harley 2253 copied by a scribe of Leominster Abbey, Hertfordshire (*sic*). The confusion in place as well as in the concept of author and scribe should be noted. Carleton Brown, *English Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1932), p. xxxv, thought Wright's suggestion very reasonable, but offered no further evidence on this point.

⁷ For the well known ateliers of Honoré, ca. 1292, of Jean Pucelle, ca. 1327, and others, see Henry Martin, *La Miniature Française* (Paris, 1923), pp. 21 ff; 92. In 1323, in his *Tractatus de Laudibus Parisius*, Jean de Jandun spoke warmly of the eager scribes, illuminators, and binders who were then at work in Paris. Cf. Le Roux de Lincy, *Paris et ses historiens* (Paris, 1867), pp. 54 ff. For the lay production of many Arthurian manuscripts, French, Italian, German, English, see R. S. and L. H. Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art* (New York, London, 1938), pp. 89-139. For English lay ateliers, see below, notes 8-11.

reasons, based on a single but large and important English book dating from the first half of the fourteenth century, for the theory that it was in some such lay scriptorium that the production of this book, and probably others of the same kind took place. For convenience, this hypothetical lay center where went on, whether under one roof or not, the necessarily unified and directed work of compiling, copying, illuminating, and binding any book, is here called a book shop.

Impossible, at first thought, as it might seem to discover anything today about the ways in which anonymous medieval English verse was either composed or published, it will be readily granted that nearly all that has so far been learned about medieval book production, whether for monasteries or universities, has been slowly culled from the study of important individual manuscripts. But the plain and undistinguished looking manuscripts written in English before 1400, as wholes, have escaped such scrutiny. The Middle English specialists who have worked with them have been wholly concerned with individual texts, their sources, dialects, etc. Although there was in England, in the first half and the last quarter of the fourteenth century, as art scholars now recognize,⁸ a large production of magnificently illuminated manuscripts, for the use of wealthy ecclesiastics and nobles, the contents were invariably in Latin or French. No *de luxe* edition of even Chaucer's works, court poet though he was, seems to have appeared until after his death.⁹ Manuscripts in English were commonly not decorated at all, if they were decorated, it was with mediocre work.¹⁰ The famous Auchinleck MS, one of the earli-

⁸ Cf., *passim*, Eric Millar, *English Illuminations in the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (London, 1928, especially pp. ix, 11-27, Elfrida Saunders, *English Illumination* (Florence and Paris, 1928), F. Harrison, *English Manuscripts of the XIVth Century* (London and New York, 1937), etc. S. C. Cockerell and M. R. James, *Two East Anglian Psalters* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 31 ff., believed the Ormesby, the Gorleston, and Douai Psalters were probably decorated by secular artists "working for wealthy patrons outside the walls of a monastery, and filling up their time by preparing books which had no certain destination." Noting that the Ormesby Psalter must have remained in quires for a quarter of a century, James remarked "It is more than likely that books of this kind were sometimes set on foot as a commercial speculation." Cf. D. D. Egbert, *The Psalter of Queen Isabella* (N. Y. Public Library, 1935) and the *Art Bulletin*, xviii (1936), pp. 527 ff., for an important group of early fourteenth century manuscripts which he assigns to a lay atelier of central England.

⁹ All known Chaucer manuscripts are of the fifteenth century or later. Of the eighty-two known manuscripts, only twenty-eight have any form of decoration, and the majority of these "are of mediocre quality." Cf. Margaret Rickert's section on "Illumination" in J. M. Manly and Edith Rickert, *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* (Chicago, 1940), I, 561-603. The Ellesmere MS, the most splendidly executed Chaucerian manuscript, "may well have been made in London" (*ibid.*, I, 151).

¹⁰ An outstanding example of the poor illustration given before 1400 to even the most distinguished English poetry is to be found in Cotton Nero A. X, which contains the *Pearl*, *Cleanness*, *Patience*, and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Cf. the facsimile repro-

est and largest compilations of Middle English verse, has small and perfectly commonplace miniatures and altogether trivial decorative devices. It cannot, for a moment, be put into comparison with the exquisite volume known as Queen Mary's Psalter, or with other notable works produced by fine English ateliers before 1350.¹¹ It bears no sign whatsoever of being a luxury manuscript, and today, in art criticism, it is not even mentioned. In literary criticism, despite endless editions of its single poems, it has never been studied as an entity in itself, and the nature of its origin is still wholly in doubt. Yet by every precedent of manuscripts of more learned content and more notable appearance, it is within the book itself that we can best expect to find some evidence about its origin, about the composition of at least some of its pieces, especially those that show relationship to each other, about the men who copied and illustrated them, and so helped to "publish" this large and now so treasured volume.

To speak of "publication" some one hundred and thirty or forty years before Caxton may seem confusing, but the word has long since been used in connection with medieval manuscripts,¹² and in connection with the Auchinleck MS the question of its "publisher" is of peculiar importance. For the compilation of this book, it would appear, was not the direct result of chance copying, of some dilettante patron's or family's desire to collect a miscellaneous assortment of English verse, nor can it have been the immediate result of some minstrel's desire to have a convenient repertoire at hand. Given what we now know about the prevailing high

duction, EETS, 163 (1932). On the wretched miniatures for *SGGK* see Loomis, *op cit*, p. 138, figs. 389-391.

¹¹ Vandals have cut out all but seven of the miniatures which once headed most of the poems in the Auchinleck MS. For reproductions see R. S. Loomis, *PMLA*, lxxx (1915), 521, Fig. 7 (*Richard Cœur de Lion*), Frontispiece, Maitland Club edition of *Beves of Hamtoun*.

For comment on Queen Mary's Psalter (Royal 2B vii) and other notable English manuscripts now ascribed to lay ateliers see above, note 8, and especially, Millar, *op cit*, pp. ix, 11-27.

It is unfortunate that the artistic inferiority of the Auchinleck MS has not been frankly admitted. Had Miss Mornill, *Speculum Gy de Warewyke*, EETS, lxxx (1898), pp. clxxxviii, xcxi, known of the better types of illumination, she could not possibly have written of "the finely wrought illuminations" or "the exquisite workmanship" of the Auchinleck MS. Mr. Bennett's recent reference, "The Author and his Public in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Essays and Studies By Members Of The Eng. Assoc.*, xxiii (1938), p. 17, to "the magnificent Auchinleck MS" must be taken as showing historical enthusiasm for its venerable contents, not its artistry. I regret not having seen this valuable article until the present one was complete. I agree with most of its conclusions, but believe that many of them would apply to the first half of the fourteenth century.

¹² R. K. Root, "Publication before Printing," *PMLA*, xxviii (1915), pp. 417 ff.

cost of books, especially of illustrated books in the fourteenth century,¹³ no poor devil of a minstrel, it seems probable, could have afforded to buy this rather large quarto which was once extensively illustrated. A minstrel of the more settled and prosperous sort, like those paid regular and fairly good wages at the court of Edward III,¹⁴ might, in truth, have owned the volume, might, perhaps, have given a general order for it, but it seems doubtful if even such a professional user of English verse could have had a more direct part in its immediate production. For whether the book was produced "on spec" as a kind of medieval publishing venture, or whether it was a "bespoke" book, as books commonly were, produced on order for some literary patron, the fact, almost entirely ignored in all extant comments on the volume, that it was copied by five scribes,¹⁵ gives a first and strong indication that it was produced by professional scribes, working in some sort of a lay bookshop.

The Auchinleck MS has always been attributed, as books produced before 1350 have commonly been attributed, to either a monastic scriptorium or to a wealthy household.¹⁶ But though the oral use of English was

¹³ H. E. Bell, "The Price of Books in Medieval England," *The Library*, xvii (1937), pp. 312-352; W. L. Schramm, "The Cost of Books in Chaucer's Time," *MLN*, xlviii (1933), pp. 139-145; Thompson, *op cit*, ch. xx, "Paper, The Book Trade, and Book Prices."

¹⁴ Cf. C. C. Olson, "The Minstrels at the Court of Edward III," *PMLA*, lvi (1941), 601-612.

¹⁵ The five handwritings were distinguished by Kolbing in his description, still the best in print, of the whole manuscript (*Englische Studien*, vii [1884] pp. 177-191). He designated these scribes by the Greek letters, α, β, γ, δ, ε. For photographic reproductions of the writing of α, by all odds the most important scribe, see the frontispieces of the *Seven Sages of Rome* and *Amis and Ameloun* in the EETS, vols. 191 (1933) and 203 (1937). For a reproduction of the writing of δ, see the Maitland Club edition of *Beves of Hamtoun*, xlv (1838), frontispiece.

The five scribes, with practical uniformity, followed one plan throughout the book. Each page was ruled, the initial letter of each line was separated by one em from the following letters, and each of the two columns of text on every page was designed, unless space had to be left for a miniature, to have forty-four lines.

¹⁶ Published conjectures about the origin and purpose of the book have been few and somewhat contradictory. In his *English Literature . . . to Chaucer* (New York, 1906), p. 14, W. H. Schofield wrote "Sometimes, it seems, a single codex formed the whole library of a family, and was carefully cherished, slowly added to, and solemnly bequeathed from one generation to another. The so-called Auchinleck MS . . . serves admirably to illustrate what such a volume might have been." After some remarks on the Thornton MS, he continued (p. 16) "These two manuscripts seem to have been carefully prepared volumes of selected poetry for the use of readers, and not simply the written repertoires of professional reciters." For a recent comment see W. L. Renwick and H. Orton, *The Beginnings of English Literature to Skelton* (London, 1939), p. 83. "The owner of the Auchinleck MS had a wide taste both in French and English. He collected . . . a little library of mixed reading, testimony to the mixed interests of a moderately serious general reader."

Early statements concerning the production of the manuscript in either "an Anglo-

undoubtedly familiar enough among the English aristocracy even by 1300, and though pious men, like Robert Mannyng, were here and there devoting themselves to the translation of edifying texts avowedly not for the *lered*, but for the *lewed*,¹⁷ i.e., for English laymen not able to read Latin or French, there is no known justification for assuming that, at this period, in even the most commercialized monastic scriptorium or in any great household of the day, as many as five scribes would have been contemporaneously dedicated to the copying *in English* of so large an amount of purely secular verse as this volume contains. Apart from Royalty, few, if any, of the wealthy households would have employed five scribes, and there is nothing in the book itself, as already noted, to suggest any such "luxury" origin. The five scribes, moreover, unquestionably had before them a collection of over forty English texts, both religious and secular, and though it is, of course, conceivable that such a collection existed in either a monastic or a rich private library, all the extant evidence is against such an assumption. English nobles and clerics may have willingly listened to English stories, but the known contents of their not inconsiderable libraries before 1360 indicate that, with the rare exception of a religious or didactic work in English, such collectors were concerned with the acquisition of books written in Latin or French.¹⁸ Although the Auchinleck MS itself proves the production of substantial English books before that date, the very number and diversity of its English texts, its plain and relatively cheap format, its worldly character, make it difficult

Norman convent" or in some "North of England monastery" were wholly conjectural. Cf. Sir Walter Scott, *Sir Tristrem* (Edinburgh, 1803), App., p. 107; W. B. Turnbull, *Legendæ Catholice* (Edinburgh, 1840), p. vi.

¹⁷ Cf. A. C. Baugh, *History of the English Language* (New York, 1935), pp. 148-151, 165-183. He quotes, p. 176, three of the numerous apologies from early fourteenth century writers for their use of English. See also note 43 below.

¹⁸ Miss Hope Allen, to whom I am indebted for several most helpful suggestions and references in connection with this paper, remarks that a copy of the *Ancren Riwle* was given by the Countess of Clare (ca. 1280) to an aristocratic nunnery. But wills and inventories before 1370 make almost no mention of secular books in English. See below, note 24. In her examination of over 7000 wills, Miss Deansley, "Vernacular Books in England in the XIVth and XVth Centuries," *MLR*, xv (1920), 349-358, noted, among the 338 wills that bequeathed books, no secular English books before a *Pers Plowman* of 1396. She remarked, p. 349 ff., on the rarity of vernacular works as opposed to Latin, and on the long preponderance, among vernacular books, of works of piety over secular books, such as romances or chronicles. Cf. also R. W. Wilson, "More Lost Literature in Old and Middle English," *Leeds Studies in English*, v-vi (1936-37). In monastic catalogues he found few English books and those wholly of a religious or didactic nature (v, 1-35); in private libraries the earliest instance noted by him (vi, 38) of a worldly work in English was in 1388, "j livre de Englysh del Forster et del Sangler," among the books of Sir Simon de Burley (cf. also L. Hibbard, *MLN*, xxx (1915), 171).

to believe that its five scribes and other craftsmen who worked upon it, were living under either a monastic or a noble roof-tree.

In recent articles¹⁹ I have called attention to Kolbing's old but admirable description of the whole manuscript, and to certain much later conclusions about the London provenance of the two scribes by whom thirty-seven of the extant forty-four items were copied.²⁰ Because of the paleographical evidence and because the latest historical allusion in the volume is to the death of Edward II (1327) and a prayer for "our zong king," Edward III, it is clear that the book was produced between 1330-1340.²¹ By virtue of the London dialect of the two principal scribes and of certain important London stories, to be noted later, it seems, then, that the book was probably produced in London, the place which would, indeed, have been the most natural center for whatever bookmaking was already under way in English. With its large numbers of literate "civil servants" of one kind and another concentrated in London and Westminster, with a citizenry in general better educated and wealthier than in other parts of England, London was already, a modern political capital, "an economic, social and literary center."²² A natural reading public, natural buyers, existed there, if anywhere, for such a book as this, at once modest yet substantial in format, and wholly English in character. Can we help suspecting that this new public, new, that is, to the reading and buying of English texts, was beginning to be supplied by professional

¹⁹ "Chaucer and the Auchinleck MS *Thopas* and *Guy of Warwick*," *Essays and Studies in Honor of Carleton Brown* (New York, 1940), pp. 111-128, "Chaucer and the Breton Lays of the Auchinleck MS," *SP*, xxxviii, (1941), pp. 14-33. Cf. also for the manuscript and its history, W. H. Hulme, *Harrowing of Hell*, EETS, 100 (1907), xi-xiv.

²⁰ The most important scribe, since he copied thirty-five texts, was α . His London origin was indicated by Karl Brunner, *The Seven Sages of Rome*, EETS, 191 (1933), pp. xxv ff., also by Bertram Vogel, "The Dialect of Sir Tristrem," *JEGP*, xl (1941), 538-544, who believes that not only the scribe, but also the composer of this poem, were Londoners. For the Auchinleck texts copied by α , see Kolbing, *passim*, or Muriel Carr, "Notes on a Medieval Scribe," *University of Wisconsin, Studies in Language and Literature*, II (1918), p. 153, n. 2. Her complaint, p. 157, n. 10, that no one in editing these texts, referred to other texts copied by α for indications of his dialect or scribal habits, has, until very recently, remained true. The London origin of the γ scribe, who copied the couplet version of *Guy of Warwick* and the *Chronicle*, was indicated by Ewald Zettl, *An Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle*, EETS, 196 (1935), pp. cxxi ff.

²¹ Cf. Zettl, *ibid.*, p. xvi; J. M. Bookar, *A Middle English Bibliography* (Heidelberg, 1912), p. 54.

²² T. F. Tout, "The Beginnings of a Modern Capital, London and Westminster in the Fourteenth Century," *British Academy Lectures*, 1923, pp. 488 ff. His earlier article, "The English Civil Service in the Fourteenth Century," *Bull. of the John Rylands Library* (Manchester, 1916), pp. 12 ff., shows how large was the class of educated civil servants, all of whom, it may be noted, were at least possible readers of such a book as the Auchinleck MS. Such a civil servant as Chaucer may well have been one of its later buyers.

workers, obscure writers and illuminators gathered in little necessary groups together, in just such lay shops, though obviously of inferior quality, as those which we have noted as already operating in England or those which had long since been operating on the Continent? Small lay bookshops of this kind would naturally have produced in the first half of the fourteenth century just such manuscripts as some of those which have survived, manuscripts of undistinguished workmanship, of notably secular contents, and written in the native speech, in the English of the increasingly vigorous "comonalte"

This concept of secular London bookshops in the first half of the fourteenth century is, however, still novel, perhaps startling. It was not, as a matter of fact, until 1935 that the possibility was strongly urged for even the second half of the century when, as every one would admit, the status of English, as a national and literary language, was much better established. In an article on "The Text of the Canterbury Tales in 1400" (*PMLA*, L, 108), Professor Tatlock stated the case with vigorous realism.

In Chaucer's day the time was long past when almost all book-making was in the hands of "the old monks." With the increase of a middle class, of reading in the vernacular, of production of meritorious literature in it, and the desire for literate entertainment, clerical scribes would hardly figure here, it is impossible to imagine that secular reading matter multiplied much except through secular and commercial routes. No one familiar with Chaucer manuscripts doubts that they were written mostly by professionals. The probability is also that most of them were written for and sold by bookdealers.

With these conclusions, no one, I take it, would quarrel today. In the recent great edition of the *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* by Professors Manly and Rickert there are frequent allusions to shop-made manuscripts, and an indefatigable effort was made to record and interpret the revisions, the editings, of professional scribes, and the indications that certain manuscripts came from the same shop.²³ The eight volumes of this edition make, indeed, a kind of monument, not only to modern scholarship, but to the professional fifteenth century scribe and his workshop as well. However backward and hesitant literary criticism has been about admitting the commercial production of books in the second half of the fourteenth century and the first part of the fifteenth, it must now be admitted as a fact proved by this intensive study of the Chaucer manu-

²³ Manly and Rickert, *op cit*, I, 24, 60, 72, 119, 203, 225, 423, etc. In regard to medieval bookshop production, cf. Thompson, *op cit*, 371. "As the burgher class became increasingly literate and intellectual, more and more the making of books escaped from the cloister and found lodgment in book shops, long before the invention of printing." For this statement, however, no English evidence before 1403 was given, except for the miniature referred to below in note 25.

scripts themselves. The chief problem is whether it can be admitted, not only for those texts and their immediate fourteenth century prototypes, but for the 1300–50 period and non-Chaucerian manuscripts as well.

In the article just quoted, Professor Tatlock lamented, as any one, even in 1935, would have had to do, the lack of exact and comprehensive information about the book trade in England in the fifteenth century. For the preceding century there was still less. Aside from the account of his own enormous book-buying ventures by that famous early bibliophile, Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham, little was known, and the inference was almost inevitably drawn that a book trade in England at that time simply did not exist. A good deal has been said, in fact, about the supposed "booklessness" of fourteenth century England despite the very considerable evidence of known private libraries.²⁴

We are today, at long last, beginning to possess some concrete and revealing information about books and bookmen and the book trade in Chaucer's own century. The fact of the existence of professional bookmen, not merely as the sellers but also as the producers of books, has become certain. We even have a contemporary picture of an English shop! A late fourteenth-century English manuscript contains the only known illustration of a medieval bookshop, it shows books arranged on two stands, and the keeper of the shop in converse with a prospective buyer.²⁵ In his *Philobiblon*, written before 1345, Richard de Bury observed, as Professor Tatlock and others have noted, that he had known many sta-

²⁴ Among the collections once privately owned and bequeathed as total, individual collections, we may note the following, 1303, Bishop Richard de Gravesend of London bequeathed to St. Paul's about 100 volumes valued at over £100, 1313, Bishop Ralph Baldock of London left to St. Paul's 15 books, 1331, Prior Henry Estrý left 80 books to Christ Church, Canterbury, ca. 1345, Abbot Michael de Mentmore left to St. Alban's books valued at £100, before 1345 Bishop Richard Aungerville of Durham planned to leave his "innumerable" books to Durham College, Oxford, 1346, the Master, William Styband, gave 10 books to Pembroke College, Cambridge, 1350, the Founder, William Bateman, gave 70 books to Trinity Hall, Cambridge, 1358, William de Ravenstone, chaplain and schoolmaster, left 84 books to St. Paul's School, 1359, Guy de Beauchamp, son of the Earl of Warwick, left 42 books, including 19 French romances, to Bordesley Abbey, Worcestershire, 1358, Queen Isabella possessed 9 books of French romance in addition to the splendid Psalter mentioned above in note 8. In view of these dates and figures, I question the usual assumptions as to the general "booklessness" of fourteenth century England, even in the pre-Chaucerian period. On this supposed "booklessness" see Miss Deansley, *op cit*, p. 349; Samuel Moore (see below, note 30). Many of the private libraries listed above are mentioned by Thompson, *op cit*, pp. 373–413.

²⁵ Thompson, *ibid*, p. 643, remarked "What I believe to be the only known illustration of the interior of a medieval bookshop before the invention of printing is on folio 91 verso, of Tiberius A. VIII, Cottonian Collection, British Museum, of the fourteenth century manuscript *The Pilgrim*." This miniature was reproduced by D. Hartley and M. Elliott. *Life and Work of the People of England* (London, 1931), vol. 1 (*The Middle Ages*), Pl. 31.

tioners and bookmen (*stationariorum ac librariorum*) both in his own country and abroad. In the Cartulary of the University of Paris licenses as stationers were recorded between 1316 and 1350 for ten named Englishmen, to say nothing of two Irishmen and one Scotchman.²⁶ The fact suggests that a much larger number of Englishmen must likewise have been similarly employed in London. As the Paris tax lists of 1292 and 1313 show that even then secular scribes and illuminators were congregating in the neighborhood of the University,²⁷ it seems probable that the same sort of localization would have taken place in London too. Though medieval London lacked a university, still, as the largest and most commercial of all English cities, it would not only have had the largest share in the ever growing book trade in England,²⁸ but it would have been likely to localize that trade. The recent valuable study by Graham Pollard of the English "stationers" before 1557 confirms these suppositions by bringing together documented fourteenth century London names that have been unknown.²⁹ From 1311 and 1312 come the first records of a *stationarius Londinensis*, a certain William de Southflete, who sold parchment and bound books. Later London records concern a John de Grafton, 1353, 1366, a *parchemener* and stationer of St. Paul's Churchyard, Richard de Gloucester, 1362, a stationer, Stephen Vant, 1379, 1389, a stationer and bookbinder, Thomas Rolf, an illuminator, and Richard Marleburgh, both mentioned in 1382 as stationers. As Mr. Pollard (p. 5) has pointed out, the spreading use in England of the term *stationarius* "emphasized the individual's importance as a bookdealer rather than as a craftsman," for he was not, as were other bookmen, primarily a parch-

²⁶ Paul Delalain, *Étude sur le libraire parisien du XIII^e au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1891), pp 58 ff. ²⁷ Henry Martin, *La miniature française*, p. 13

²⁸ Thompson, *op cit*, p. 645 "The English book trade developed not around the Universities, as on the Continent, but in London, where the stationers formed a guild as early as 1403." Putnam, *op cit*, I, p. 311 "In London there is record of an active trade in manuscripts being in existence as early as the middle of the fourteenth century." Mumby, *op cit*, p. 40 "In London the scriveners, or writers of court hand and Text Letters . . . fore-runners of the Stationers Company, have been traced in civic records to 1357, but they must have been in existence as recognized copiers and sellers of books long before then."

Cf. A. C. Piper, "The Parchment-Making Industry in Winchester and Hampshire," *The Library*, 3rd Ser. x (1919), 65-68, and "The Book Trade in Winchester," *The Library*, 3rd Ser. vii (1916), 191-197; H. Plomer, "The Importation of Books into England in the XVth and XVIth Centuries," *The Library*, 4th Ser. iv (1924), 146-180; ix (1928), 164-168. Though concerned with the period after 1400, Plomer's articles indicate methods of book importation that may well have been in operation before that date.

²⁹ Graham Pollard, "The Company of Stationers before 1557," *The Library*, 4th Ser. xviii (1938), pp. 1-38. See also George Gray, *The Earlier Cambridge Stationers and Bookbinders* (Oxford Bibliographical Soc., 1904). For Oxford bookmen see E. Savage, *Old English Libraries* (London, 1912), pp. 199-205; H. Plomer, "Some Early Booksellers," *The Library*, 3rd Ser. iii (1912), 412-418.

miner, a scrivener, an illuminator, or a bookbinder. In the thirteenth century in London "there was no customary term" for any one like a certain Michael of Ludgate Hill, *qui vendit libros*; in the fourteenth century *stationarius*, in this specific sense, seems to have become the established term. In view of these records we no longer have excuse for ignoring the English bookdealer in London and elsewhere. We now know that before 1360 he was busy at his trade, and that in himself and in his shop he might combine several book crafts.³⁰

With the historical assurance, then, that the English bookdealer and book producer was an active and familiar figure even in the first half of the fourteenth century, we turn to the Auchinleck MS itself. Despite the relative scarcity of extant manuscripts in English dating from this century, this one large volume proves the vigor of English verse before 1340. Though this "edition," as so often happened with medieval books, may have been limited to but one copy, it comprised in itself a whole library, it offered a remarkably varied representation of many types and kinds of English verse. Thirteen items, as the original numbering shows, have been altogether lost from the book, but it still contains, in whole or in part, in its 334 leaves, a total of forty-four items, though one of these is a fragment illegible except for its title.³¹ There are—to be baldly enumerative—eighteen romances,³² one chronicle and a list of Norman barons,³³ two pious tales of the Miracle type,³⁴ eight legends of saints and other holy legends,³⁵ one Visit to the Otherworld,³⁶ one humorous tale,³⁷ two debates,³⁸ one homily,³⁹ two monitory pieces,⁴⁰ three works of religious

³⁰ The individual crafts of the stationers named above show that most of them were actively connected with the production as well as the sale of books. In "Some Aspects of Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages," *The Library*, 3rd Series, rv (1913), 373, Samuel Moore states that "the book-trade in medieval England appears to have been a mere scrivener's trade," and that "the stationers correspond, not to the booksellers and publishers, but to the printers of our day." These ideas, in the light of later knowledge, seem as questionable as does his belief (p. 369) in the booklessness of the fourteenth century.

³¹ This fragment is *þe wenche þat loved a King* (Kolbing, No. 27). Five items, as the original numbering shows, have been lost from the beginning of the book. For convenience of reference, I have followed the classifications and titles given by Wells in his *Manual of Writings*. When his titles differ from those given by Kolbing, I have added the latter's in parenthesis together with his numbering of the successive items. ³² See below, notes 44–50.

³³ *Short Metrical Chronicle* (Kolbing, No. 40, *Liber Regum Anglæ*). The list of barons is, of course, not listed by Wells.

³⁴ *How the Psalter of Our Lady was Made* (Kolbing, No. 29, *How Our Leuedi Sante was first founde*), *Clerk Who Would See The Virgin* (Kolbing, No. 9, *Miracle of the Virgin*).

³⁵ Saint legends: Gregory, Margaret, Katherine, Mary Magdalene, Anna. Other holy legends: Adam and Eve, Harrowing of Hell, Assumption of the Virgin.

³⁶ *Owayn Males or The Purgatory of Saint Patrick*.

³⁷ *Pennworp of Witte*.

³⁸ *Debate between the Body and the Soul*, *The Thrush and the Nightingale*.

³⁹ *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* (Kolbing, No. 10, *Epistola Alcuini*).

instruction,⁴¹ three of satire and complaint.⁴² The romances both in number and individual length, make up by far the largest section of the book, and fully justify the complaint, made before 1325, by the English author of the *Cursor Mundi*, as to the prevalence of romantic fiction and its all too successful competition with religious story

Storjs of diuers thinges,
Of princes, prelates, and of kinges, 21
Sangys sere of diuers rime,
Engliss, franss, and latine,
To rede and here, ilkon is prezt⁴³

The Auchinleck romances are themselves of the most varied kind and are well designed to catch all tastes, two are of the Matter of France,⁴⁴ five of the Matter of Britain,⁴⁵ six are of English heroes,⁴⁶ four of more or less Eastern interest,⁴⁷ one famous legend blends romance with didactic intent.⁴⁸ Some are violently militant, some purely sentimental, the *King of Tars*⁴⁹ is as excessively pietistic as the *Seven Sages* is cynical. In length

⁴⁰ *Sayings of Saint Bernard* (Kolbing, No. 35, *Les Diz de Saint Bernard*), *Enemies of Man* (Kolbing, No. 39, *A Moral Poem*)

⁴¹ *Seven Sins*, *Pater Noster*, *Psalm 50* (English Bible, 51, Kolbing, No. 36, *Dauid þe King*)

⁴² *Evil Times of Edward II* (Kolbing, No. 44, *þe Simonie*), *Praise of Women* (the classification of this poem as a satire is doubtful), *On the King's Breaking of Magna Carta* (Kolbing, No. 20, *A Satirical Poem*)

⁴³ *Cursor Mundi*, ed. R. Morris, EETS 57 (1874), pp. 9–10. Notable, also, because of the early reference to even aristocratic interest in English tales, are the lines in the Auchinleck *Arthur and Merlin* (ed. Kolbing, Leipzig, 1890)

Mani noble ich haue yseige 25
þat no Freynsch coupe seye.
Biginne ichil for her loue,
On Inglishe tel mi tale

Of great interest also are the lines in *William of Palerne*, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS, ES 1 (1867), xi ff., which tell how one William, at the command of Humphrey de Bohun (6th) Earl of Hereford, turned the story from French into English (alliterative) verse. This version was made about 1350 and is about the only English romance which can be definitely identified as a version made on order from a noble family. The Earls of Hereford were genuine patrons of books. On the beautiful illuminated manuscripts made for their families, see M. R. James, *The Bohun Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1936).

⁴⁴ *Otuel*, *Roland and Vernagu*

⁴⁵ *Degaré*, *Orfeo*, *Lai le Freine*, *Sir Tristrem*, *Arthur and Merlin*.

⁴⁶ *Guy of Warwick* in two independent stories (one in couplets, one in stanzas); *Reinbroun*; *Beves of Hamtoun*; *Horn Childe*; *Richard Cœur de Lion* (Kolbing, No. 43, *King Richard*)
⁴⁷ *Ahsaunder*, *Seven Sages*, *Floris and Blanchefleur*, *King of Tars*.

⁴⁸ *Amis and Amiloun*

⁴⁹ The various studies of Lillian Hornstein show that this romance involved the Tartar victory of 1299 at Damascus. The story could not have been known in England before 1300. Cf. *Speculum*, xvi (1941), 404–414, *MLN*, 55 (1940), 355, *MLR*, xxxvi (1941), 442.

they vary from the charming brevity of a translation of one of Marie de France's short lays to the ponderous bulk in 10995 lines of the two versions of *Guy of Warwick* or the 9938 lines of *Arthour and Merlin*. In form most of the stories are in the familiar short riming couplet, but there are six romances in the twelve-line tail-rime stanza and the manuscript has, for this reason, been termed "the fountain head" of the style.⁵⁰ The scope and variety of the Auchinleck romances, in form and content, is shown by even so brief a summary. Since these romances can most aptly demonstrate the ways in which some of them were made, and also illustrate the editorial planning that went into them, I shall not attempt to say more here of the book as a whole, but keep simply to a few of these pertinently revealing texts.

Before taking them up individually, however, it is helpful to reflect on the consensus of critical opinion in regard to the immediate origins of the English metrical romances as this was expressed in 1916 by Professor Wells.

Practically all the extant versions are based on French originals. Usually the English author follows only one source, but in some instances apparently several earlier works have been drawn upon . . . Commonly the English pieces, as they have come to us, were composed with the originals before the writer's eyes; but in some cases, and perhaps more frequently than is supposed, they were made from memory, perhaps from recitation. . . . The authors *invented little*; they abridged and condensed freely.⁵¹

For all but five romances (*Orfeo*, *Degaré*, *Otuel*, *Horn Childe* and the *King of Tars*) in the Auchinleck MS, we have still extant French texts. Though no one of these texts may be the precise original from which the English translators made their versions, it must have been on French texts close to these that they worked, by these they meant the source *boke* or *geste* to which they not infrequently referred. These Auchinleck romances were copied from the *texts* of translators, of workers with *texts*, not with tradition or invention. The "authors" were in no wise original poets, and did not, as it is generally admitted, achieve distinction of style, though a few poems, like *Orfeo*, have genuine charm. With the exception of this and a few others, most people would agree that these English romances are thoroughly conventionalized and pedestrian in style. They must be put down to the authorship of men of generally humble literary attainments, of no literary ambition, and nearly all of whom were possessed of the same "patter" of well-worn clichés, the same stereo-

⁵⁰ A. M. Trowce, "The English Tail-Rhyme Romances," *Medium Ævum*, v (1932), 94. The six romances are *The King of Tars*; *Amis and Amiloun*, the stanzaic *Guy of Warwick*, *Reimbroun*; *Roland and Vernagu*, *Horn Childe*.

⁵¹ Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 1. The italics are mine.

typed formulas of expression, the same stock phrases, the same stock rimes, which Chaucer was to parody in such masterly fashion in *Sir Thopas*⁵²

With these accepted generalizations in mind concerning the French textual sources, the conventionalized style, the obvious limitations as "authors" of our earliest versifiers of English romance, we are forced to admit that, to a surprising extent, the whole matter builds up into a consistent picture. If these, for the most part, unoriginal and ungifted translator-versifiers were not what we should call literary hacks, what were they? In days when all writing in English was still, like Robert Mannyng of Brunne's, avowedly for the *lewed*, could we doubt, even if we did not have their own uncourtly style to inform us, what was the social and cultural level of the obscure Englishmen who were turning out the texts of these early popular romances? The generally inferior social status of the professional minstrel who sometimes orally "published" these texts abroad, and for whose purposes they were sometimes compiled, has long been determined, but what of the hack writer who composed the texts?⁵³ Was not he, too, in some sort, a professional, making as much of a business or profession of the matter of translating and condensing, of making a new English text out of an old one in French, as the professional scribe did in copying, or the minstrel in spreading it abroad? The minstrel may, of course, have sometimes been identical with the hack translator and versifier, but in so far as he became a maker and user of texts, it is evident that he ceased his characteristic oral function. He became then simply a writing man, indistinguishable from any other. Did the humble versifier in Middle English work always in isolation, turning out a text now here, now there, or did he sometimes work with other men like himself? To answer this question we must turn to the comparison of certain special texts in the Auchinleck MS.

⁵² Cf. "Sir Thopas," *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (Chicago, 1941), pp. 486-559. For collections of conventional phrases, etc., in the romances, see *ibid.*, p. 491, n. 5. As Trownce, p. 90, pointed out, Chaucer was not parodying late "decadent romance," but just such examples as are found in the Auchinleck MS. As a matter of fact three of the seven poems derisively named by the poet, are found there, *Beves of Hamtoun*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Horne Child*. On Chaucer's probable use of this very manuscript, see the articles referred to above, note 19.

⁵³ So far as I know, Clark Slover, "Sir Degare, A Study of a Medieval Hack Writer's Methods," *University of Texas Bulletin, Studies in English*, xi (1931), 5-23, was the first boldly to use this term with reference to one of these English romancers. One may agree with G. P. Faust, *Sir Degare* (Princeton, 1935), and with Miss Carr in her review of Faust's study, *MLN*, lxx (1938), p. 154, that the author was less stupid than Slover made out, without in the least escaping from the fact that this English "author" was after all just what Slover termed him.

THE STANZAIC GUY OF WARWICK
AND REINBROUN

As one of the clearest cases showing that these obscure English versifiers sometimes worked in conjunction with each other and under some sort of supervision, we may, first of all, consider these two romances. The unique stanzaic version of *Guy of Warwick* (henceforth to be called *Guy*, A²) begins in our manuscript on f. 146 verso. Two introductory stanzas summarize the fame and early exploits of the hero. In the second stanza reference is made to Guy's return to England and to his feat of killing there, for love of King Athelston, a mighty dragon, an event which had just been recorded in the preceding couplet version (henceforth to be called *Guy*, A¹) in lines 7127-7306.⁵⁴ The author of these two stanzas obviously knew the antecedent text and fashioned his own lines to serve as an introduction to his own apparently new romance, since it was in entirely different verse form. But in reality he continued the story from the precise point at which the couplet version stopped. Whatever the reason for the break or change, there can be no question but that he fitted his stanzas to the preceding Auchinleck text. Chance could not possibly account for such exact dove-tailing, and no other manuscript in French or English, it is important to note, gives the slightest sign of break or change at this point.⁵⁵ It was not in the least, let us observe, a natural break in the story, for Guy's return to England was wholly motivated by love for his lady, Felice, and he had not, at the end of the dragon story, even seen the lady! In opposition, then, to the whole extant manuscript tradition and to the nature of the story itself, the stanzaic *Guy* here

⁵⁴ For the stanzaic version (299 twelve-line, tail-rime stanzas) *Guy*, A², see J. Zupitza, EETS, ES, 48 (1887) and 59 (1891), pp. 384-674, continuous pagination. For the couplet version, *Guy*, A¹, see Zupitza, EETS, ES, 42 and 49. In this last volume the couplet version ends on p. 384, line 7306. In the Auchinleck MS it fills fol. 107v-146v. By other writers these two versions have sometimes been termed a and A respectively.

To those who might believe that the change of verse form indicates a change of source, I would recall Kolbing's remarks, *Beves of Hamtoun*, EETS, ES, 46, 11885, xi, on the shifts in metre and rime in four Auchinleck romances, *Beves*, *Guy*, *Roland and Vernagu*, and *Richard Cœur de Lion*. In the last, the shift occurs after the first two 12-line, tail-rime stanzas. "The reason for these changes is altogether unknown. . . There is nothing to correspond to these changes in the original French versions."

⁵⁵ Twelve French manuscripts, three of them fragments, are listed by A. Ewert, *Gui de Warewic* (Paris, 1933), pp. ix ff. In this edition, line 7409 corresponds to the beginning of the English stanzaic version. Eleven English manuscripts, four of them fragments, are listed by Max Weyrauch, *Die mittelenenglischen Fassungen der Sage von Guy of Warwick u. ihre altfranzösische Vorlage* (Breslau, 1901). For the stanzaic *Guy*, A², see Weyrauch, pp. 11-12, 55-59, 91, also the important study by Wilhelm Moller, *Untersuchungen über Dialekt u. Stil des me Guy of Warwick in der Auch Handschrift u. über das Verhältnis des strophischen Teiles des Guy zu der me Romanze Amis and Amiloun* (Königsberg 1. Pr., 1917), pp. 4 ff.

starts in as a new romance. But even though it is, in this procedure and in its verse form, as unique as the Auchinleck copy, is there any reason, apart from the first two stanzas, for believing that this whole version was also originally contrived for the Auchinleck MS?

The stanzaic *Guy*, taken in connection with its sequel, the stanzaic *Reinbroun*, again reveals, in this one manuscript, a deliberate manipulation of source material. Again, in every other known manuscript, in French or in Middle English, in which is found any account of Guy's son, Reinbroun, who was stolen as a child and sold in the East, who was hunted for far and near by Heraud (Heraut), his father's faithful friend,—all this and much more concerning Reinbroun's later history,—is in part embodied in Guy's own story, and in part is continued after Guy's death. The fact can most readily be observed in print in Professor Ewert's recent edition of the Old French *Gui de Warewic*, where the Reinbroun-Heraut material fills lines 8987–9370 and 11657–12926, in Zupitza's editions of two Middle English versions in couplets, and in Copland's edition (n.d.) of the old verse romance ⁵⁶

All this is changed in the Auchinleck MS, and *only there*. The story of Guy himself is told continuously in the stanzaic version and carefully omits any account of Reinbroun. All the material relating to Guy's son is here excluded in order to be re-assembled later as a new romance. This begins on f 167 verso and is headed, as many new items in this manuscript were headed, by a miniature. Both *Guy*, A² and *Reinbroun* are in the same twelve-line, tail-rime stanza, but were not, so the linguistic evidence seems to show, composed by the same versifier. Both romances were apparently translated from the same source which must have been close to the Old French manuscript, Additional 38662, of Professor Ewert's edition ⁵⁷. The two romances are thus connected, in the Auchin-

⁵⁶ Cf. Ewert, *op cit*, pp. 69–80, 150–188, for the French version. Two English couplet versions appear in the two fifteenth century manuscripts of Cambridge University, Caius 107 and Univ. Libr., Ff. 2, 38. The Reinbroun-Heraud material appears in Caius 107 (ed. Zupitza, EETS, ES, 42, 48, 59, lines 8666–9029), a text which ends with the death of Guy at line 11095, and in Ff. 2, 38 (ed. Zupitza, EETS, ES, 25–26 [1875–76]), the same material fills lines 8409–8744 and lines 10786–11976. In Copland's edition of the old romance (ed. G. Schleich, *Palaestra*, 139 (1923)), it fills lines 6643–6747 and 7492–7976. Other texts of the English romance are too late or too fragmentary to offer significant evidence on this point.

In the Auchinleck MS the *Reinbroun* material fills fol. 167–175, and was copied by δ, Kolbing's fourth scribe. In the manuscript, as in Zupitza's edition (EETS, ES, 59, pp. 631–674), this romance follows the stanzaic version. Both Weyrauch, *op cit*, p. 55, and Moller, *op cit*, p. 37, commented on the unique unification in this one manuscript of the *Reinbroun* material into one romance, but they made no attempt to interpret the significance of the fact.

⁵⁷ This manuscript, the oldest text of *Gui de Warewic*, was not known to scholars before

leck MS alone, by their unique rendering in stanzaic form and by *this unique manipulation of source material* *Reimbroun* was assuredly subsequent to *Guy*, *A*², not only was its whole content thus achieved only by keeping for it material elsewhere always included in the story of Guy himself, but the second stanza of *Reimbroun* depends on the early stanzas of *Guy*, *A*². These stanzas tell us of the marriage of Guy and of Felice, of the conception of their child, of the remorse which soon overwhelmed Guy as he thought of the battles he had fought for love of this one woman and of the little he had done for God. In Selection I lines from the second stanza of *Reimbroun* are quoted to show their plain reminiscence of certain antecedent lines in *Guy*, *A*².

SELECTION I

GUY OF WARWICK, *A*²

REIMBROUN, st 2

A child þa1 <i>geten</i> y-fere,	19(9)	His fader Giȝ, þat him <i>get</i> , (1)
He [Guy] þouȝt wiþ dreri mode	21(6)	
Hou <i>he</i> hadde euer ben strong <i>werroure</i>		<i>He</i> was a <i>werroure</i> swiþe gret,
In þe world <i>was</i> non <i>his</i> <i>pere</i>	256(12)	þar <i>nas</i> nowhar <i>his</i> <i>per</i> . . .
<i>Mam</i> man <i>he</i> hadde slayn wiþ wrong	21(10)	<i>Mam</i> batayle <i>he</i> be-gan (7)
'Leman,' seyð Giȝ oȝain,	24(1)	
'Ac for þi <i>loue</i> ich haue al wrouȝt,	25(7)	<i>For</i> þe <i>loue</i> of o wimman
		þat was him lef and dere,
Wiþ a knaue child þou art y-corn,	31(2)	Siþe Reynbroun on hire he wan,
þat <i>douȝht</i> beþ of dede		þat was a swiþe <i>douȝht</i> man,
<i>As</i> ȝe <i>may</i> forþeward here,	16(12)	<i>Ase</i> ȝe <i>may</i> forþward here
<i>As</i> ye may forward here	19(12)	

The second stanza of *Reimbroun* is obviously a simple though free condensation of lines on the same subject in the stanzaic *Guy*. But despite its brevity, this one stanza in *Reimbroun* keeps sixteen words that also appear in the lines quoted from *Guy*, *A*² and of these familiar words, *werroure*, *was*, *his*, *per*, *douȝht*, and the concluding line, *Ase ȝe may forþward here*, used in precisely *the same context* as in *Guy*, *A*² are found in the corresponding lines of *no other* English text of *Guy of Warwick*. The verbal indebtedness of the Auchinleck *Reimbroun* to the Auchinleck *Guy* in this one stanza is plain, as plain as the more important fact, already indicated, that the former romance exists in this one manuscript only by virtue of the deliberate segregation of material elsewhere always scattered through the story of Reimbroun's more illustrious father. The two stanzaic romances

J A Herbert wrote about it in *Romance*, xxxv (1906), pp. 68. It was not acquired by the British Museum until 1913, and figures in none of the earlier discussions of the relations of French and English manuscripts. For comment on the French manuscript itself see, in addition to Ewert's edition, Ewert, *Arthuriana* II (1931), Schulz, *Zts. f. frz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XL (1923), 291 ff.

show a *planned relation* in the Auchinleck MS that is as simple as it is unique. The director or editor wished to get the effect of two English romances—of three really, if the preceding couplet version be also taken into account—where his French source, like all known French and English manuscripts, offered but one continuous story. To one stanzaic translator the Auchinleck editor evidently gave all the text about Guy from his wedding to his death, to another translator he gave all that related to Reinbroun. Since this arrangement, as has been said, exists nowhere else among the many French and English manuscripts containing the story (manuscripts which are said, for the French, to be mutually independent of each other and which, in English, preserve four different versions),⁵⁸ we are surely justified in concluding that this special arrangement, as well as the stanzaic verse into which the two poems were cast, were exclusive novelties of the one and only manuscript in which they appear. Unless we ignore in this matter, as also in that of the arrangement of *Guy, A*², the unified, opposing evidence of the whole manuscript tradition of the story, we cannot deny *the uniqueness in plan, no less than in form, of these linked Auchinleck romances*. They seem then to have been made in conjunction with each other, they would seem to have been supervised by the man responsible for planning the content and arrangement of the whole volume.

Objections to this theory will, of course, occur to readers, especially to those who are inclined to credit variations of all kinds to lost sources. Was not the abrupt ending of the couplet *Guy* due to a defective text which forced the use of another version? Does not the change from the couplet to stanza-form itself here indicate a change of source? These and other questions about possibilities are best met, perhaps, by questions about probabilities. If these lost versions were complete texts, do not the selections, as uniquely presented in the Auchinleck MS, prove editorial selection and rearrangement of material for the scribes to copy? If they were partial versions, already approximating the Auchinleck texts, is it really probable that three lost independent texts ever existed which, when they came to the Auchinleck scribes, produced so neat, so exact, a sequence? Are lost versions, in this instance, as probable as it is that the two unique stanzaic versions were really unique, not by the accidental chance of survival, but by virtue of having been made for the Auchinleck MS and copied there alone? Medieval English translators, humble as they were, and excessively poor as were all means of communication, can

⁵⁸ "Tous ces manuscrits (i.e., of the French *Gui de Warewic*) présentent des lacunes et des fautes qui montrent qu'ils ne peuvent provenir l'un de l'autre" (Ewert, *Gui de Warewic*, p. xv). On the four different versions represented by the English manuscripts see Moller, pp. 2 ff., or Zupitza, EETS, ES, 25, pp. v-vii.

have known but rarely of each other's work. When texts "click," as they do here, is not the simplest answer best? Must not the authors have been *in felawescipe* together?

THE STANZAIC *GUY OF WARWICK* AND *AMIS AND AMILOUN*

Though the stanzaic *Guy* and its sequel *Reimbroun* thus reveal "a planned economy" and the second romance even betrays at its beginning specific verbal indebtedness to the other, a far more impressive instance of extensive textual borrowing can be shown through comparison of this same stanzaic *Guy* with the romance of *Amis and Amiloun*, of which, likewise, the earliest known English text is found in the Auchinleck MS. The fact of the borrowing in *Amis, A*, as we may henceforth call this text, has long been known, but its true significance for the volume itself and its makers has been wholly overlooked. As far back as 1886 Kolbing⁵⁹ called attention to a number of close verbal parallels. Subsequently a good deal of ink was spilled over the futile question whether these parallels did or did not indicate identity of authorship. In 1917 Wilhelm Moller,⁶⁰ to whose work allusion has already been made, undertook a comprehensive investigation. Though he did not think these two romances were by the same author,⁶¹ still, by setting forth some 595 lines in which *Amis, A*, parallels the phraseology of *Guy, A*², Dr. Moller established beyond all possibility of doubt the extensive indebtedness of the one poem to the other. I have nothing of importance to add to his results, except by way of interpretation, but as his dissertation is not readily available and as readers of the present inquiry must have a sufficient basis for judgment, I have excerpted certain of his examples, somewhat amplified them, and added, for comparative purposes, selections from the Old French *Gui de Warewic*, from an older and better manuscript than the Wolfenbüttele MS used by Dr. Moller. For it is essential, as he observed,⁶² to show, first, that the text of *Guy, A*², is a more or less faithful rendering of *Gui de Warewic*, second, that in the Old French *Amis e Amiloun* there is little or nothing to account for a large number of lines in the English version; and, finally, that these very lines in *Amis and Amiloun* are those most closely paralleling the text in *Guy, A*². The conclusion seems inescapable that the author of this last romance simply followed his French source, whereas the author of *Amis, A*, whatever French text he used as

⁵⁹ *Englische Studien*, ix (1886), 477 ff.

⁶⁰ Moller, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-105. See above, note 55, for complete title.

⁶¹ Moller, p. 47. He accepted the conclusion of earlier studies as to the north-east Midland origin of *Amis and Amiloun*. In his opinion, p. 34, the stanzaic *Guy* came from the south-east Midland.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 87.

the basis of his version, continuously combined it with borrowings from the stanzaic *Guy*.

Any group of lines would do to illustrate the first point, but I have chosen the description of Guy's wedding feast, since this is the longest continuous passage which we can later trace in *Amis*, A¹. Even if the English versifier of *Guy*, A², never saw the particular manuscript (E, Additional 38662) from which the French text is quoted, it is evident from the number of words of direct translation, here italicized, that this manuscript must have been very close to the Englishman's source. Here, as well as elsewhere throughout the whole romance, is shown the truth of Professor Ewert's observation "Les poètes anglais se sont . . . contentés en premier lieu de traduire à peu près littéralement le poème français"⁶³

SELECTION II

GUI DE WAREWIC		GUY OF WARWICK, A ²	
<i>Quant li termes esteit venu</i>	7533	<i>When þe time was comen to þende</i>	15(4)
<i>Si grant barnage asemblé fu,</i>		<i>Miche semly folk was gadred þare</i>	15(7)
<i>Des ducs, de cuntés e de baruns,</i>		<i>Of erls, barouns lasse & mare,</i>	
<i>Qui as noeces furent somuns</i>			
<i>La pucele ert richement apresté,</i>			
<i>A grant honur l'ad Gui esposé</i>		<i>þan spoused Sir Gij þat day</i>	15(10)
		<i>Fair Felice, þat miri may</i>	
<i>Les noeces puis tenues unt,</i>		<i>þe bridal hold wiþ gamen & gle</i>	14(5)
<i>Quatre jurz grant joie funt</i>	7540	<i>Wiþ ioie & gret vigour,</i>	15(11)
<i>Assez i out des menestriers,</i>		<i>þer was mirþe & melody</i>	16(10)
		<i>And al maner menstracie</i>	
		<i>þer was trumpes & tabour,</i>	17(1)
<i>Bons arpeurs e vielurs,</i>		<i>Fifel, cioude, & harpoun, . .</i>	
<i>Roturs, gigurs e tympanurs</i>		<i>Minstrels of mouþe, & mani dysoul,</i>	
	7543		17(5)
<i>Chevalers povres e prisuns,</i>	7547		
<i>Qui i receivent riches duns,</i>		<i>þei war ȝiftes for þe nones,</i>	16(7)
<i>D'or e d'argent a grant plenté</i>	7550	<i>Gold, & silver & precious stones,</i>	
<i>Des robes e des riches dras,</i>		<i>& druries riche & dere</i>	
<i>Al quint jur sunt departiz,</i>	7553	<i>On þe fiften day ful ȝare</i>	18(7)
<i>Ralez sunt en lur pais.</i>		<i>þai toke her leue for to fare,</i>	
<i>Ore ad Gui tut sun pleisir,</i>	7555	<i>þan hadde Gij, þat gentil kniȝt,</i>	18(10)
<i>Quant de s'amie ad sun desir,</i>		<i>Felus to his wil day & niȝt</i>	
<i>Ensemble furent cinquante jurz,</i>		<i>Fiften days wiþ honour</i>	19(5)
<i>Plus ne durerent lur amurs</i>		<i>Wiþ ioie togider þai were</i>	
<i>Il avint qu'en la premiere nuit, . .</i>		<i>So it bifel þat first niȝt</i>	
<i>Ke Gui après sa femme jut,</i>	7561	<i>þat he neȝzed þat swete wiȝt</i>	
<i>E ele un enfant de li conceut.</i>		<i>A child þei geten y-fere.</i>	

⁶³ Ewert, *op cit*, I, viii

Short as it is, Selection II sufficiently demonstrates the general fidelity with which, allowing for the difficulty of translating French couplets into twelve-line, tail-rime stanzas, the English versifier followed the Old French romance. Specific numbers differ, there are omissions and various small changes, but the essential relation is plain. No other Middle English manuscript, with the single exception of Sloane 1044, approaches the fullness with which the unique stanzaic version reports this wedding feast.⁶⁴ It is clear that for the author of the stanzaic *Guy* both his story and much of his phraseology were predetermined by the French *Gui de Warewic*.

Selection III presents this same stanzaic passage, only more completely, and also a few later lines, likewise dealing with festival occasions, in order to compare them with parallel passages in *Amis*, *A*. In accordance with Dr. Moller's second requirement, however, the fact must be stressed that not one of these passages in *Amis*, *A*, has any significant verbal connection with the Anglo-Norman poem, *Amis e Amilun*.⁶⁵ The French text does, indeed, suggest occasions for the three festivals described in the English version, but in each instance the English author seems to have elaborated his description to suit himself and chiefly, it would seem, by direct borrowing from *Guy*, *A*.² To the description of the ducal feast when *Amis* and *Amilun* first came to court, the French poet gave just one line: "E hautement lur feste tint," 38. To this the English versifier devoted twenty-four lines (61-72, 97-108), of these *nine and a half were identical* with lines found in the description of *Guy*'s wedding feast. Of the second ducal feast, held after *Amis*'s quarrel with the Jealous Steward, the French romancer wrote as follows:

Un jur par aventure avint 205
Ke li quens une feste tint,
Par un jor de l'Ascension,
La out assemble meint baron

The only significant words common to these lines and those quoted below from *Amis*, *A* (lines 409-417), lines which describe the same festival occasion, are *feste* and *baron*. To a third festival, that of the wedding of the supposed *Amis* to his love, the French romance devoted ten lines of description (695-705), but this passage, like the other, has again in com-

⁶⁴ Sloane MS 1044, ed. Zupitza, *Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Wiener Akad. der Wissenschaft*, Ph.-Hist. Klasse, LXXIV (1873), pp. 624 ff. This late fourteenth century fragment of 216 lines devotes 24 lines (174-198) to the wedding, Caius 107 gives eight lines, 7381 ff.; Ff. 2, 38, gives sixteen lines (7091 ff.). Cf. Zupitza's editions as cited above in note 54. Copland's edition (*Palaestra*, CXXXIX) gives eight lines (6061 ff.) to the wedding.

⁶⁵ *Amis e Amilun*, ed. by E. Kolbing in *Amis and Amiloun* (Heilbronn, 1884), pp. 111-187. All quotations from the French *Amis* are from this edition.

mon with the nine lines of the English version (1513-21) only two words, those for barons and for the wedding

Since it thus appears that for descriptions of festivals *Amis*, *A*, owed little more than a hint for each occasion to its French predecessor, we may turn to *Guy*, *A*², to observe precisely what was borrowed from it for *Amis*, *A*. In Selection III thirty-four lines from *Guy*, *A*², and thirty-eight lines from *Amis*, *A*, are printed in parallel columns. Identical or almost identical lines are starred. Words common to both texts are italicized. With two exceptions only [*Amis*, *A*, 1510-11, and *Guy*, *A*², 20(3)], the lines from each romance are printed in their regular order and thus reveal, since they are taken from different sections of the two romances, how continuously the parallels follow each other, parallels, it should be noted, which in almost every instance consist, not of single lines, but of groups of two, three or more lines. It is the continuity of these successive groups of parallel passages which eliminates the possibility of considering them merely conventional similarities. They can be accounted for only as direct and specific textual borrowings.

In order to illustrate not only the continuous borrowing in *Amis*, *A*, from *Guy*, *A*², but also to establish the hitherto unnoted fact that these borrowings must also have appeared in the original version of the English romance of *Amis and Amiloun*, and not merely in the Auchinleck copy, I have given for the test lines quoted from *Amis*, *A*, the variants from the three other known English manuscripts, i.e., from (S), the late fourteenth century manuscript, Egerton 2862, and the two fifteenth century texts, (H), Harleian 2386 and (D), Douce 325. In his edition of the poem for the Early English Text Society Professor Leach⁶⁶ has indicated the relations of these manuscripts to each other with scrupulous care, he has agreed with Kolbing that all four texts, though independent of each other, ultimately derive from the same English redaction (Z). The variants for the lines quoted in Selection III, here reproduced by Professor Leach's kind permission, like the variants for the text as a whole, illustrate the truth of his own observation (p. xciv, n.), that "not one instance occurs in which SD or DH preserves a really significant unique reading." Though no reference is made, even in this recent edition, to Dr. Moller's work, the variants for our selected lines, or for that matter for any of the hundreds of lines listed by the latter, offer the best possible proof that the lines imitated from the stanzaic *Guy* must have appeared in the original English version of *Amis and Amiloun*. Despite the multitude of small dif-

⁶⁶ *Amis and Amiloun*, ed. by MacEdward Leach, EETS 203 (1937). Leach, pp. xciv-xcvii, found that MSS SD, both derived from a common ancestor, preserve a common reading in 179 instances, MSS AH in 140 instances. These last two manuscripts seem to have been independently derived from Z, the lost original of all four English texts. Leach's conclusions were essentially in accord with those of Kolbing in his edition of the poem, p. xii.

ferences in wording and order between the four English texts of this romance, they make no essential change, in the imitative lines, of meaning or of the phrases or the actual rime patterns found in *Guy*, A². Except for a very rare chance omission in one or two of the manuscripts of *Amis*, the imitative lines appear in all the texts. No matter how many of these lines be dismissed singly as inevitable recurrences in a poem having a highly conventionalized phraseology and verse form, these successive groups of lines related to *Guy*, A², by sequences of linked phrases and linked rimes, remain absolutely unparalleled. Beyond question, on the evidence of the *Amis* manuscripts, all these riming sequences were incorporated in the original English version of this romance.

SELECTION III

GUY OF WARWICK, A ²	AMIS AND AMILOUN ⁶⁷
st 15	st 6
<p>{ Perl Rouhaud as swiþe dede <i>sende</i> (1)</p> <p>After lordinges fer & hende</p> <p>þat þris wel told <i>in tour</i>, .</p> <p>*Wip mirþe & michel anour (6)</p> <p>*Miche semly folk was gadred þare</p> <p>*Of erls, barouns lasse & mare,</p> <p>*& leuedis brizt <i>in bour</i></p>	<p>{ (A duk was) lord of þat lond, 62</p> <p>(Prys <i>in tou</i>)n & <i>tour</i>,</p> <p>(Frely he let) <i>sende</i> his sonde,</p> <p>(After erles, barouns), fre & bond,</p> <p>*(And ladies bryȝt) <i>in bour</i>; . .</p> <p>*(Wip myrth and g)ret honour 72</p> <p>(Cf. II 415-17 below)</p>
st 16	st 124
<p>{ þan spoused sir Gij þat day</p> <p>Fair Felice, þat miri may,</p> <p>Wip iore & gret vigour.</p>	<p>{ & seþþen wip iore opon a day 1510</p> <p>He spoused Behsent, þat may</p>
st 16	st 125
<p>{ When he hadde spoused þat swete wiȝt (1)</p> <p>(Cf st 55(1) below)</p> <p>(Cf st 17(12) below)</p> <p>þe feste lasted a <i>fourtenniȝt</i>, .</p> <p>Wip erl, baroun, & mani a kniȝt (4)</p> <p>(Cf. st. 17(6) below)</p> <p>*þer was mirþe & melody, (10)</p> <p>*And al maner menstracie</p>	<p>{ When he hadde spoused þat flour 1515</p> <p>st 9</p> <p>þat riche douke his fest gan hold 97</p> <p>Wip erles & wip barouns bold,</p> <p>*As ȝe may listen & liþe,</p> <p><i>Fourtenniȝt</i>, as me was told,</p> <p>Wip erles & wip barouns bold,</p> <p>*To glad þe bernis bliþe;</p> <p>*þer was mirþe & melody</p> <p>*& al maner of menstracie</p>

⁶⁷ Leach reproduces MS S to line 98, and MS A from there on. Despite their fragmentary condition, lines 62-72 are here given from the A text with lost words supplied in parenthesis from S. With the exception of line 101, all the rest is the same as in Leach's edition. To his variants I have added, for the sake of emphatic comparison, brief references to *Guy*, A². In order to indicate the relationship of stanzas in the two romances, I have supplied stanza numbers for *Amis*.

<p>st 17</p> <p>{ <i>*Her craftes for to kipe</i>, . . (3)</p> <p>{ <i>*To glad þo bernis bliþe</i> . . (6)</p> <p>{ <i>*As 3c may list & liþe</i> (12)</p> <p>st 18</p> <p>{ <i>*On þe fiften day ful 3are</i> (7)</p> <p>{ <i>*Þai toke her leue for to fare,</i> <i>& þonked hem her gode dede</i></p> <p>st 55</p> <p>{ <i>So it bifel þat riche Soudan</i> <i>Made a fest of mani a man,</i> . . <i>þe þridde day of þat fest</i> <i>þat was so riche & so honest</i> <i>(Cf st 15(7-9) above)</i></p> <p>st 189</p> <p>{ <i>Al þe folk in þat cite was,</i> (1)</p> <p>{ <i>*Litel & michel, more & las,</i> st 270</p> <p>{ <i>Bliþe were þe Ingls men ichon.</i> . (1)</p> <p>{ <i>þai toke sir Gij þat tide,</i> (3)</p> <p>{ <i>& ladde him to Winchester town</i> <i>*Wiþ wel fair processoun</i> <i>Ouer al bi ich a side . .</i> <i>No lenger he nold abide</i> (11)</p> <p>(cf st 15 (6) above)</p> <p><i>*As prince proude in pride</i> 20 (3)</p>	<p>st 113</p> <p>{ <i>Alle þe lordinges þat þer were</i> 1369</p> <p>{ <i>*Litel & michel, lasse & mare</i></p> <p>Ful glad þai were þat tide . . .</p> <p>For noþing þai nold abide; 1374</p> <p>þai com ozaines him out of town</p> <p><i>*Wiþ a fair processoun</i>⁶⁸</p> <p>Semliche bi ich a side</p> <p>Anon þai ladde him to þe tour 1378</p> <p><i>*Wiþ ioie & ful michel honour,</i> <i>*As prince proude in pride</i></p>
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MS VARIANTS FOR *AMIS* AND *AMILOUN*

62. douty duke D. was lorde off H wonyd in SD.
63 And prins of H. towne & tour H. town D toun and toure S. Cf *Guy*, 15(3)
64 Frely. For D sende: *om* S. sonde honde S
65. erle baroun H, erles *om*. D.
66. boure SDH.
72 merpe & moche H, and: of S. gret grete S. Cf also *Amis*, 1379, *Guy*, 15(6).
1510 And afterward vppon a day SD Cf. *Guy*, 15(9, 11).

⁶⁸ Of particular interest for this *toun' processiou* couplet is Zielke's list in his edition of *Orfeo* (Breslau, 1890, p. 16) of similar instances in seven romances. But only the stanzaic *Guy* and *Amis* alike combine in one stanza this familiar couplet with *three* other lines of similar context and the same rime words, *tide*, *side*, *pride*, *abide*. We could hardly ask a more convincing illustration of textual borrowing, or one that more clearly emphasizes the difference between specific borrowing and the mere recurrence of a conventional couplet.

1511. feire may S Cf *Guy*, 15(11)
 1515 *The stanza containing this line is omitted in SD* Cf *Guy*, 16(1)
 97 þat þe SDH Cf *Guy*, 53(1), þat riche
 98 Wiþ Of SDH wiþ of S, om. DH.
 100 A fourtenyzt SH me was men DS, men me H
 101 *The A scribe in obvious error repeats here line 98* With meet and drynke,
 meryst on mold S meryst. & myrth D meryest H on yn H
 102 gestes S, barouns D þere þay were all blythe H Cf *Guy*, 17(6)
 103 mirþe &. gamen and blee with melody S, game & HD Cf *Guy* 16(10)
 104 & Off D, Of H, With S of om DH mynstralcy SDH Cf *Guy*, 16(11).
 105 craftes gestys H kiþe kepe D Cf *Guy*, st 17 (3)
 106 Opon Tyl SDH fyztene S, xv D, sexte H Cf *Guy*, 18 (7)
 107 her om SDH. forto and wolde D
 108 þankyð SHD Cf *Guy*, 18 (9). a om SHD.
 409 So om SH, And D Cf. *Guy*, 53 (1) a þat DH tel rede SD, talkyn H.
 ieste D Cf *Guy*, 18 (12), 279 (3), In gest also we rede.
 410 held S, made D, ded make H
 412 *This line stands after 413 in SDH.* And ther D a gentil a ryche SDH.
 413. þei were honest D Wiþ metes & drynkes of gret honest H
 415 Mony fressh folk S; Moche folk DH Cf *Guy*, 15 (7). were com S, were
 serued DH.
 416 Of erls SH, with erles D
 417 And ladies D S omits this line. Cf *Guy*, 20 (5), As prince proude in pride.
 1369 And all D, Cf *Guy*, 189 (1) lordes S were SD.
 1370 & om S lesse D. mere S.
 1371 Ful . . . were. Thanked god SD Cf *Guy*, 270 (1).
 1374 No lenger wil (wold D) he abyde SD
 1375 þey ledde (lad D) him into þe toun SD
 1377 And went (And song S) by euery syde SD. Cf *Guy*, 270 (6) bi iche a side
 1378 And after had him into the toure D, And swiþ þei lad him into þe tour S
 1379. & ful michel & grete S, and moche D. Cf *Guy*, 15 (6)
 1380 As lord and princes (prynces) in prede SD. Cf *Guy*, 20 (5).

Even on the basis of the thirty-eight lines quoted above, the essential fact is apparent that a substantial number of lines from the stanzaic *Guy* reappear in *Amis*, A. Their number, order, grouping, make it impossible to ascribe them to anything but direct textual borrowing. Groups of two to three lines from the same stanza (st. 15) in *Guy*, A², are found in three stanzas of *Amis* (st. 6, 35, 124), groups of lines from 16-18, successive stanzas in *Guy*, A², are united to form one stanza (st. 9) in *Amis*, A; lines from two related stanzas in *Guy*, A² (st. 189, 270) again form one stanza (st. 113) in *Amis*. The fourteen starred lines are practically identical in the two texts,⁶⁹ and all fourteen occur in borrowed groups of lines that have

⁶⁹ In Moller's complete list of parallels, seventy-two lines are either wholly identical or differ at most in one or two words

the same rimes, the same phrasal patterns, as those found in *Guy*, A². In all there are *seventeen* of these stanzas in *Amis*, A, that are thus linked to *Guy*, A², by groups of *three, four, or even five* lines.⁷⁰ Our thirty-eight lines, like hundreds of others indicated by Dr Moller, appear, except for a very few accidental omissions,⁷¹ in all the manuscripts, and must, therefore, have been in the original English version. It is certain that the Auchinleck MS could not itself have been that original, for the scribe's errors in repeating line 98 for line 101 and in transposing lines 412 and 413, do not occur elsewhere. All other manuscripts, moreover, have one whole stanza (st. 174, lines 2113-2124) which is omitted in *Amis*, A.⁷² But it is equally certain that this Auchinleck text is, of all those containing the English romance, the nearest to what we must now recognize as the chief supplementary source of that romance. The agreements with *Guy*, A², range from simple verbal identities, even in spelling,⁷³ to the special cor-

⁷⁰ The seventeen stanzas may be grouped as follows

A. Stanzas having the same three rimes

- tour, anour, bour—*Guy*, A², st. 15, *Amis*, ll. 63 ff
- kiþe, bliþe, liþe—*Guy*, A², st. 17, *Amis*, ll. 99 ff
- honour, tour, flour—*Guy*, A², st. 19, *Amis*, ll. 463 ff
- pride, ride, hide—*Guy*, A², st. 20, *Amis*, ll. 495. Same order
- corn, biforn, born—*Guy*, A², st. 164, *Amis*, ll. 1431 ff. Same order
- born, -lorn, biforn—*Guy*, A², st. 22, *Amis*, ll. 2137 ff
- man-kinne, blinne, winne—*Guy*, A², st. 6, *Amis*, ll. 2250 ff

B. Stanzas having the same four rimes

- oȝain, sain, fayn, tvain—*Guy*, A², st. 9, *Amis*, ll. 121 ff. Same order
- wigt, fourtennigt, knigt, brigt—*Guy*, A², st. 16, *Amis*, ll. 433 ff
- fong, hong, wrong, strong—*Guy*, A², st. 111, *Amis*, ll. 879 ff.
- alon, -gon, anon, mon—*Guy*, A², st. 23, *Amis*, ll. 1753 ff
- day, way, jurne, se—*Guy*, A², st. 32, *Amis*, ll. 962 ff
- mode, wode, ablode, stode—*Guy*, A², st. 97, *Amis*, ll. 1311 ff.

C. Stanzas having the same combinations of different rimes

- fare, zare, care, sare, mode—*Guy*, A², st. 34; *Amis*, ll. 253 ff
- stille, ille, wille, spille, don—*Guy*, A², st. 27, *Amis*, ll. 637 ff. Same order
- tide, toun, processoun, side—*Guy*, A², st. 270, *Amis*, ll. 1372 ff. Same order
- dring, wiþ-outen lesing, ful mende—*Guy*, A², st. 281, *Amis*, ll. 2191 ff. Same order.

⁷¹ Of the thirty-eight lines here quoted from *Amis*, A, only two lines are omitted in any other manuscript. S omits line 417, SD omit the whole stanza in which line 1515 appears.

⁷² Cf Leach, p. xcvi. "A omits a stanza at line 2113 which is present in γ" (*i.e.*, the source of H and SD).

⁷³ The rimes in the lines quoted from *Amis*, A, are kept intact in all the manuscripts except in two cases of obvious scribal error. 64, AHD have sonde, S has wrongly honde; 105, AHS have kiþe, D has wrongly kepe. Against the other three manuscripts *Amis*, A, agrees with *Guy*, A², in the following instances: 97, þat A, þe SDH, 103, mirþe & melody A, gamen and blee S, game & HD, 104, menstracie A, mynstralcy SDH; 107, her A, om SDH; 108, þonked A, þankyð SDH; 415, Miche A, Mony S, Moche DH, 409, So A, om. SH, And D.

respondences of such whole groups of lines as those in *Amis, A*, lines 102–107 and 415–417. No other text is *consistently* so close to the stanzaic *Guy*,⁷⁴ and this is precisely what we should expect if *Amis, A*, was the first, and so, presumably, the closest copy of the original English version. In the nature of things it can hardly have been anything else, for the original cannot have been composed until the stanzaic *Guy* was complete, and the stanzaic *Guy*, with its sequel *Reinbroun*, unless the evidence altogether deceives us, was specifically made for the Auchinleck MS. All three romances would seem, therefore, to have been composed and copied almost contemporaneously, although it is certain that *Guy, A*², preceded both *Reinbroun* and *Amis and Amiloun*.

In objection to this conclusion concerning the origin of the three English romances, certain issues might be raised. Though it must be granted that the author of *Amis* borrowed largely from the stanzaic *Guy*, is it not possible to suppose that another copy of *Guy, A*², was in circulation and that the *Amis* author, wherever he was, simply made use of it? Is it possible to think that the original *Amis* was composed for the Auchinleck MS and yet was faultily copied in it?

Such queries would rest, I believe, on questionable assumptions. Apart from the reasons already given for the probably genuine uniqueness of the stanzaic *Guy*, we must again remember the unlikelihood, outside London itself, of such quick circulation of English texts (and we are here, fortunately, considering, not possible oral versions, but only texts and textual borrowings) as would be indicated by the almost simultaneous borrowing from the stanzaic *Guy* if the translators of both *Reinbroun* and *Amis* were in different places. All three poems, it must be remembered, seem to have been composed within the years 1300–1330. If the authors of the last two romances, or as we might add for good measure, the author of the Auchinleck version of the *Short Metrical Chronicle*, who borrowed extensively from the Auchinleck version of *Richard Cœur de Lion*,⁷⁵ if these men did not work in the same place, then we must assume

⁷⁴ In a few very minor instances in our thirty-eight lines other manuscripts of *Amis* agree, though in always different groupings, even more closely with *Guy, A*², than does *Amis, A*. Cf. *Amis*, 98, *wip barouns A, wip om DH, Guy*, st. 16(4), *wip om*; *Amis*, 416, *Erls A, Of erls SH, Guy*, st. 15(8), *Of erls, Amis*, 1374, *For noþing þai nold abide A, No lenger wil (wold D) he abyde SD, Guy*, st. 270 (11) *No lenger he nold abide*.

⁷⁵ Cf. Zettl's edition of the *Chronicle* (see note 20, above), pp. xc–xcvii. The highly independent author of the Auchinleck version added all told, according to Zettl, p. cxxxii, about 1500 lines to the original text of the *Chronicle*. One of these additions, concerned with a local London legend, is of particular interest. See below, note 92.

It has seemed inadvisable, within the necessary limits of one article, to attempt further illustration of the inter-relations of the Auchinleck texts. It is a subject that invites co-operative study.

such a rapid, early, and wide-spread circulation of English texts as in itself constitutes a strong improbability.

The free and easy copying apparent in the Auchinleck *Amis* certainly calls for comment. As Professor Leach has observed, this text omits a stanza, has thirty-seven unique lines, and a large number of small variant readings, in this, as in *each of the three other extant texts of Amis*, "minor differences in wording and order meet the eye on almost every line." In other words, all the *Amis* texts reveal the same freedom in transcribing the original, and each one may be considered a typical instance, though it was written at a different time and place from each of the others, of the little insistence there was anywhere on the accurate copying of secular English texts. The particular habits of the *a*-scribe, who was certainly the busiest of the five employed on the Auchinleck MS, have never been studied comparatively, apart from linguistic considerations, although, as was suggested more than thirty years ago, it is an urgent desideratum.⁷⁶ As revealed, however, by the *Amis* text alone, he is shown, like other copyists described by Professor Chambers in connection with manuscripts of *Piers Plowman*,⁷⁷ to have been always quick to relieve the boredom of exact copying by small substitutions—which did not affect the meaning of his original. In the very number and ease of his substitutions, there is a quality of compositional freedom which in itself suggests habits not only of the hack scribe but of the hack author as well. In the work-a-day milieu which we are envisaging as the place of origin for the Auchinleck MS, there can have been no hard and fast distinction drawn between the obscure men who translated and composed, and those who copied such texts as these. We need not identify this *a*-scribe who copied the stanzaic *Guy* with the actual author of *Amis*, although, as remarked above, this has been done, but we can maintain that even if he had composed the original text of *Amis*, it is entirely unjustifiable to suppose that he, any more than any one of the later scribes concerned with the romance, would have felt any obligation to copy it with exactitude. Indeed, if he were the author, he might have felt even more free to change his copy as he went along. But whether he was the translator-author of *Amis* or merely the copyist of a text made by some other obscure Englishman like himself, it must be urged that the *a*-man's free or faulty copying of *Amis*, which-

⁷⁶ See above, note 20

⁷⁷ R. W. Chambers and J. H. Grattan, "The Text of *Piers Plowman*," *MLR*, xxvi (1931), 15, make the following illuminating remarks: "There were institutions where consistent accuracy in transcription was demanded. But there were also, quite clearly, transcribers of English manuscripts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries who relieved the monotony of their work by constantly allowing themselves to make small substitutions of words and phrases, without altering the meaning . . . Scribes were addicted to the substitution of similars."

ever way one chooses to regard it, proves nothing at all. The ancient scribal tradition of exact copying survives in many grave and costly manuscripts that were deemed truly important by the later Middle Ages; for lesser manuscripts, and especially for secular texts written in the vernacular, there seems to have been no such restraining influence.⁷⁸ If all through the fourteenth century even the most important English authors, such as Chaucer and Gower, could take the apologetic tone which they did take over the matter of *composing* in English,⁷⁹ how much less seriously must the scribes in general have taken the business of transcribing in this still, so-little regarded English! Time has made us reverential about all medieval texts, but there is not the slightest reason for supposing that in the Middle Ages any text of its vernacular popular poetry was regarded as sacrosanct, not even those religious texts that, in England, were most devoutly intended for the instruction and edification of the layman. Though the fact has been all too little emphasized, every cultural and psychological element of the first half of the fourteenth century in England that is now known to us should forbid us to assume that any scribe of the period, no matter how professional, no matter what the origin of the secular text he was given to transcribe, would have copied with scrupulous accuracy or regarded its English verse with entire seriousness. He would have been more apt to treat it as the well-cursed Adam Scriveyn, some fifty or sixty years later, was to treat even Chaucer's own transcendent poem, *Troilus and Criseyde*, with characteristic "negligence and rape."

Our observations of the four romances here considered, the couplet and the stanzaic versions of *Guy of Warwick*, the sequel, *Reinbroun*, and *Amis and Amiloun*, as found in the Auchinleck MS, and of the *Chronicle's* use of *Richard Cœur de Lion*, lead to certain conclusions which are at odds with a good many previous theories. For one thing it becomes impossible to suppose that minstrels and their oral versions had anything to do with any one of the four English romances, or with the *Chronicle*. The

⁷⁸ For a good illustration of what a contemporary scribe could do in the way of twice copying the same passage from the same source (*Manuel des Pechiez*), see C. Laird, "A Fourteenth Century Scribe," *MLN*, LV (1940), 601.

In his study of "Thomas Hoccleve, Scribe," H. C. Schulz, *Speculum*, XII (1937), 71-91, shows that, as scribe, Hoccleve wrote both court and book hands, and that, in copying his own work some twenty years after its composition, he exposed his text "not only to the common errors of a copyist, but also to the legitimate substitution of words, and to other errors incidental to the suspension of scribal discipline." This specific instance of what happened when author and scribe were identical has pertinence for the study of the Auchinleck text of *Amis*, at least for those who continue to accept the identification of its author and scribe. Of interest, too, are Dr. Schulz's brief comments (p. 72) on monastic and commercial scriptoria.

⁷⁹ Cf. the references to English in the *Chaucer Concordance*.

texts are self-explanatory and predicate written texts alone. Only the circumstance that the first four have never been observed as a group has prevented the realization of their textual relationship and its significance. The unique separation of *Guy of Warwick* into three separate romances indicates, as clearly as anything could, a deliberate intention and purpose which can only be ascribed to the man responsible for making the manuscript, its supervising director, or, as we should say, its editor. His control of the content put into these romances and of the versifiers who composed them, is as plain as the single format he imposed on the five men who transcribed the book. That the "authors," the translators and versifiers, worked in some sort of unison, at approximately the same time and place, is shown by the use they made of each other's texts, by the dependence of the stanzaic *Guy* upon the couplet *Guy*, by the dependence of both *Reinbroun* and *Amis and Amiloun* upon this same stanzaic *Guy*, by the *Chronicle's* use of *Richard*. In days when there can have been very little circulation of English texts, such interinfluence between the texts, must indicate that the "authors" were in association with each other. No less than the scribes who copied these romances, the English authors likewise evidently worked in group association. And that association, since the volume itself was so largely written by London scribes, would most naturally have been in a London bookshop.

This conclusion clashes also, it must be admitted, with certain previous studies based solely on linguistic evidence. Though it has long been agreed that all four romances, to speak of them alone, are in the Midland dialect, it has been suggested that the couplet *Guy* came from South Warwickshire, also from the South-East;⁸⁰ that the stanzaic *Guy* came from a slightly more northern region,⁸¹ *Reinbroun* from a region somewhat more to the North-West;⁸² *Amis* from the North-East.⁸³ A vehement attempt has been made to claim all three of the tail-rime romances for East Anglia,⁸⁴ an attempt which has been vigorously disputed.⁸⁵ Even

⁸⁰ A. Brandl, *Mittelengl. Lit.*, 1100-1500, in Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie* (Strassburg, 1893), II, Abt. I, p. 636, suggested a south-west Midland origin for the couplet version of *Guy*, possibly South-Warwickshire. Moller, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-21, believed the author came from south-eastern England in the neighborhood of Kent.

⁸¹ Oscar Wilda, *Über die örtliche Verbreitung der zwölfzeiligen Schweifreimstrophe in England* (Breslau, 1887), 46-55, suggested Essex for the home of the author of the stanzaic version. Moller, pp. 22-35, felt assured of the more southern origin of the couplet version.

⁸² Möller, pp. 36-47 "mochte ich den *Reinbrun* etwas südlicher (bezw. südwestlicher als *Guy*, A²) verlegen" (p. 46).

⁸³ Kolbing, *Amis and Amiloun*, pp. xxiv-xxxiii, Leach in his edition (Preface) accepted Kolbing's results.

⁸⁴ Trounce, *Medium Aevum*, II, 45 "The vocabulary of *Amis* proves Norfolk beyond a doubt." "The close relationship of *Guy* and *Amis* to each other gives irrefragable support to

if there were agreement about these more specific allocations, as most certainly there is not, it must be emphasized that not one of the linguistic studies just cited has given any consideration to the scribes who copied these texts, moreover, not one has admitted, as is only too generally true in dialect studies, that after all *speech habits do travel with a man*; he does not lose his provincialisms at the moment he changes his environment. Some of the men who composed the originals from which these four poems were copied may, indeed, have come from the regions to which they have been assigned, but if we admit, for the sake of argument, that their poems were actually composed in those regions, into what baffling difficulties and problems are we plunged! How are we to account for *Reinbroun* which exists only by virtue of passages omitted in the stanzaic *Guy*? The contents of these two unique versions prove beyond question that the original authors worked in some sort of conjunction with each other. If the author of *Amis* lived exclusively in Norfolk, just how, we must ask, did he get immediate access to the stanzaic *Guy* that was so palpably designed for the Auchinleck MS, or just why, granting that he did get access to it, should his own original *Amis* and *Amiloun*, replete with borrowings from *Guy*, A², return so promptly, so unerringly, to the very shop in which that poem had been produced, there to be copied by the same scribe and in the same book as *Guy*, A², itself? Or why, if the stanzaic *Guy* originated in East Anglia, was there such perfect dove-tailing with the couplet version of *Guy*, supposedly produced in South Warwickshire or in the South-East? These and other questions will occur to any one who attempts to reconcile the self-revealing evidence of these texts as to their actual relationship with the theory of completely different origins in different places. If, however, we accept, as there seems such good reason for doing, this linked nucleus of popular English romances as indicative of the nature of their immediate origin, we are provided with an explanation which resolves the problems of relationship and language. For Midland London, as is universally admitted, was the meeting place of many languages, many dialects, it had its established booksellers and their shops, shops in which might be found some small working collection of texts not only for sale, but for copying purposes.⁸⁶ London was the

East Anglia as the locality for both of them" "We may claim Suffolk for *Guy*, as Norfolk for *Amis*, or, at any rate, East Anglia for both of them" (p. 49) "*Reinbroun* is plainly connected with *Guy* in matter and style, but is rather more South-eastern (so also Moller),—Suffolk towards Essex" But cf. Moller's own words as quoted in note 82 above

⁸⁶ George Taylor, "Notes on Athelston," *Leeds Studies in English*, iv (1935), 47–57. He remarks: "The stanzaic *Guy*, *Amis*, and *Horn Childe* support one another in their non-East Anglian origin, one cannot agree that the 'fountain head of the style' does belong 'beyond any doubt to East Anglia'."

⁸⁶ No question seems to have been raised as to the collection of English texts which the

chief center of the book trade in England and to it, then as now, writers of all sorts, must have been drawn. In these four romances we see such men at work, men of diverse local origins, but here united with each other in the entirely realistic business of manufacturing popular romance for sale, of creating some *neue thinges*, some new tales, from old.

We shall never, in all probability, know the names of the Master of the bookshop or of the workmen, the translators, the scribes, the illuminator, who produced the Auchinleck MS, but it is something, nevertheless, to have these obscure yet enterprising English bookmen defined for us as a group. They were "publishing" one of the first really important collections of Middle English verse; they were helping, however unconsciously and carelessly, to establish English verse forms and the language itself as having a rightful domain. In the very scope and variety of the Auchinleck texts, we discern something about the alert and practical intelligence of the compiler, the editor, who may well have been the Master of the shop. How up-to-date he was, how much approximately new material he included in the volume, can be judged, not only from the romances,⁸⁷ but from the two poems on the just-ended reign of Edward II, from the *Chronicle* with its allusion to the young Edward III,⁸⁸ and by the fact that of all the forty-odd still extant poems in the volume, only eight are now known in texts which are thought to antedate the Auchinleck MS.⁸⁹ Though many others may, indeed, have existed, still the element of new-

compilers of the Auchinleck MS must have had before them. Though we may well suppose that a patron might buy or order such a book as the Auchinleck MS as a single book of English verse, the necessary antecedent collection of English originals can best be accounted for as having belonged to some bookseller who made a business of collecting such texts, perhaps for his minstrel clients, or of himself producing those English texts that were still so little valued by the erudite or the wealthy.

⁸⁷ On the modernity, for their own times, of the medieval romances, cf. D. Everett, "The English Medieval Romances," *Essays and Studies*, xv (1929), 103. "The romances were popular because, unlike so much of the Latin literature known to medieval readers, they were up-to-date in their ideas and properties." Cf. Sir Walter Raleigh, *Romance* (London, 1916), 25. "The note of this romance literature is that it was actual, modern, realistic at a time when classical literature had become a remote convention of bookish culture."

Only four extant manuscripts containing English romances antedate the Auchinleck MS. They are: Cambridge University Library, Gg. 4.27.2 (*King Horn*, *Floris and Blanchefleur*), Cotton Vitellius D. III (*Floris and Blanchefleur*), Harley 2253 (*King Horn*), Laud Miscellany 108 (*King Horn*, *Havelok*).

⁸⁸ *On the King's Breaking Magna Carta*, *On the Evil Times of Edward II*; *Short Metrical Chronicle*. For the first two, see above, not 42, for the last, see notes 21, 22, 86.

⁸⁹ The eight Auchinleck poems for which earlier English texts exist are the following: *St. Margaret*, *St. Katherine*, *Body and Soul*, *Harrowing of Hell*, *Floris and Blanchefleur*, *Our Lady's Psalter*, *The Thrush and the Nightingale*, *The Sayings of St. Bernard*. Cf. Carr, *op. cit.*, II, 152, n. 1.

ness in the book is attested not only by its contemporary poems of satire and complaint, but by the evidence given above showing that some new versions of old stories were made for this very manuscript, and by its inclusion, in the *King of Tars*,⁹⁰ of a text that cannot possibly antedate 1300 and may be one or two decades later. The element of local pride and interest in this presumably London-made book is also apparent, for two of the longest topographical passages in the whole volume deal with London and its environs. The Auchinleck *Beves of Hamtoun*, in a passage unknown to the French versions, tells, with many incidental allusions to the Thames, to Westminster, to Tower Street, to Charing, to Chepe, to London Gate, to London Stone, to Bow Street, etc., of a great battle in the streets of London,⁹¹ the Auchinleck version of the *Short Metrical Chronicle* alone contains a long account of the consecrating of Westminster by no less a person than St. Peter himself.⁹² Such passages must have enhanced, for London readers, the interest of the book. For us they emphasize other evidence as to its probable place of origin.

Although in this initial attempt to consider the Auchinleck MS as a whole, it has only been possible in a few ways to suggest what a mine of unquarried information lies hidden within its leaves, it should, nevertheless, be possible for English-speaking people to take new pride in the venerable volume. For it shows us that more than one hundred and thirty years before Caxton's Sign of the Red Pale, there must have been in England, and probably in medieval London itself, a bookshop where, for English laymen, texts of many kinds were newly copied, and some newly translated into English. Between the two shops there was only one great difference; in Caxton's—for the weal or the woe of the world—books were no longer *manu-scripti*.

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⁹⁰ See above, note 49. In *Speculum*, xvi (1941), p. 414, Dr. Hornstein remarks "Within perhaps less than two decades after Ghazan's death (1304), a miracle story of this great khan. . . had found its way into the Auchinleck MS."

⁹¹ *Beves of Hamtoun*, ed. E. Kolbing, EETES 46, 48, 65 (1894), lines 4287-4538. *Apropos* of this passage Kolbing remarked (Introductory, p. xxxvii), "The last of the English poet's additions deals with Beves's and his sons' heroic resistance against the inhabitants of London."

Here the English author shows that he has a pretty exact knowledge of the topography of London." As this episode appears in all the Middle English manuscripts of *Beves*, it must have belonged to the original English version. The Auchinleck is the oldest of all surviving copies.

⁹² *Anonymous Short English Metrical Chronicle*, ed. Zettl. *op. cit.*, pp. lxxvii, 72-75. This is only one of the many unique and important additions to the original text which were made by the author of the Auchinleck version. As Zettl has pointed out in his fine edition of the *Chronicle* (p. xlvii, xlix, li, etc.), this redactor was a writer of special enterprise and independence. His use of the Auchinleck version of *Richard Cœur de Lion* (cf. note 75 above) would suggest that he wrote within the same milieu that produced the volume itself.

FIVE NEW GRETHAM SERMONS AND THE
MIDDLE ENGLISH MIRRUR

AMONG the treasures in the Henry E Huntington Library is a copy of Robert de Gretham's *Le miroir, ou les évangiles des domnées*, which has some importance for the Anglo-Norman original, and more for the relationship of the *Miroir* to the Middle English translation, known as the *Mirrur*. The manuscript (now HM 903) has been known for some time,¹ but it was not listed by Vising or Russell² nor employed by Miss Aitken in her extracts from the *Miroir*.³ It is bound with a copy of the *Manuel des Pêcheurs*, so that it occupies folios 68–205 of the present manuscript book. The copy is fragmentary at the beginning and accordingly was misbound, with a rubric and an illumination at the top of what appeared to be the first folio; the proper sequence of folios is 140–205, 68–139. The poem thus begins,

Car lui riche est aysetz	foll 140a, col. 1
Et lui pouer est mesaisetz	
Et deus dist qe lui ouerér	
Est digne d auer lour lower	

This passage was not printed and numbered by Miss Aitken, but by using the description of her W¹, it would appear that the present manuscript begins about line 577.⁴ Since the manuscript is written 35–44 lines to the column, there probably are four folios missing. In addition, what should have been folio 206 has been cut away, leaving remnants of the illuminated initials. A check of the lines suggests that one folio only has been

¹ *First Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1874), p. 45b, William H. Robinson, *Catalogue Number 12* (London, 1925), No. 384, Seymour de Ricci, *Census of the Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935), I, 77; *MLN*, LV (1940), 601–603. *Stanford Studies in Language and Literature* (1941), pp. 109–110. Doubtless there is a description in E. J. Arnould, *Le Manuel des Pêcheurs, étude de littérature anglo-normande (xiii^e siècle)* (Paris, 1940), a work of which few copies escaped occupied France.

² Johan Vising, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature*, Language and Literature Series (London, 1923), Josiah Cox Russell, *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England. Special Supplement No. 3 to the Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (London, New York, Toronto, 1936).

³ Marion Y. H. Aitken, *Étude sur le miroir ou les évangiles des domnées de Robert de Gretham, suivie d'extraits inédits* (Paris, 1922). For briefer extracts see *Romana*, xv (1886), 298; *XXXII* (1903), 29, *XLII* (1913), 145; *Z r Ph*, I (1877), 543.

⁴ *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton preserved at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, Historical Manuscripts Commission*, LXIX, 220.

lost at this point, folio 205 breaks off in Pentecost, and folio 68 takes up in Trinity, apparently near the beginning. In addition, at least one passage has been omitted. Thus HM 903 seems to lack the following passages: about 576 lines at the opening of the Prologue, some 170 lines from Pentecost and Trinity, beginning a little past line 9000, and lines 15663-15968, lost for non-mechanical reasons from the sermon for the sixteenth Sunday after Trinity.⁵ In all, a little more than 1000 lines are lacking. In spite of these lacunae, HM 903 contains nearly 22,000 lines, some 3500 lines more than the "complete" manuscripts which Miss Aitken numbers to 18,491 lines. This difference is accounted for by five additional sermons in HM 903, which total about 4600 lines. They will be considered below.

The manuscript is probably related to the older copy at Wollaton Hall (Miss Aitken's W¹) and to Cambridge University Gg I. 1 (Miss Aitken's U). In construction of the manuscript tree for Gretham, major reliance has been placed upon errors in variants,⁶ the correspondences of these errors with readings in HM 903 may be tabulated thus:⁷

⁵ This passage is printed by Miss Aitken. The correspondences of HM 903 with the printed extracts is as follows:

Aitken (lines)	HM 903 (folios)
1-470	(wanting)
993-1076	142b, col 1 to 143a, col 1
1539-1584	154b, col 2 to 155a, col 1
3360-3445	170a, col 2 to 170b, col 2
4340-4429	176a, col 2 to 176b, col 2
5084-5231	180b, col 2 to 181b, col 1
5733-5805	184b, col 1 to 185a, col 1
5935-5978	185b, col 2 to 186a, col 1
6463-6580	189a, col 1 to 189b, col 2
8134-8249	198a, col 1 to 198b, col 2
10622-10763	74b, col 1 to 75b, col 2
11368-11791	79b, col 2 to 82b, col 1
12530-12661	87a, col 2 to 88a, col 1
13806-13871	95a, col 1 to 95b, col 1
15431-15610	104b, col 2 to 105b, col 2
15619-16114	105b, col 2 to 107a, col 1
16291-16442	108a, col 1 to 108b, col 2
17325-17370	114a, col 1 to 114a, col 2
17485-17604	117b, col 2 to 118a, col 2
18404-18491	120b, col 1 to 121a, col 1
18820-18827	123a, col 1

From the passage printed by Miss Aitken as 15619-16114, lines 15663-15968 are wanting from HM 903. The matter printed as 17485-17604 is probably out of order in HM 903, since there the twenty-second Sunday after Trinity appears before the twenty-first.

⁶ Aitken, *op cit*, pp 15-16

⁷ The symbols for manuscripts are those adopted by Miss Aitken.

An asterisk represents essential agreement between HM 903 and another manuscript, a

	Like W ¹	Like U	Like W ²	Like L	Unique
1570	*				
1625	*	*			
2883	*(?)				
1692			*(?) ⁷		*(?)
1473		*			
2826					*
5342					*
2817	*	*			
1679	*	*			
2466			*	*	
963	*	*			
1301	*	*			
13419	*(?)	*(?)			*(?)

Obviously, this tabulation suggests that HM 903 is related to W¹ and U, not to W² and L. The common readings employed by Miss Aitken show the following correspondences with HM 903:

	Like W ¹	Like U	Like W ²	Like L	Unique
2444			*	*	
4687	*	*			
4933					*
10198	*(?)				*(?)
13436			*	*	
8725	*	*			
3364					*
3460	*(?)	*(?)			*(?)
9997			*	*	

question mark usually indicates some similarity between HM 903 and more than one other manuscript. The correspondences with variants used by Miss Aitken are as follows: 1570, W¹—*ti pensers t'afole*, U—*ti sens t'afole*, W²L—*ts pensers est fole*, HM—*ts pensers tafole*; 1625, W¹U—*ki nus avere*, W²L—*ki nus are*, HM—*ge nos auaie*, 2883, W¹—*e sul le veir mult haum*, U—*del sul veer hysdour avum*, W²L—*E sul de veer aucun haum*, HM—*Et soul de veer haur auomes*, 1692, W¹—*sevrer*, U—*pur veer*, W²L—*Mes les regnes chacun par ser*, HM—*Mes les regnes trestut parler* (t written over an erasure), 1473, W¹—*li uns*, U—*li message*, W²L—*li melz*, HM—*le messages*; 2826, W¹U—*nurreture humaine*, W²—*nature humaine*, L—*nature d'hume*, HM—*humaine nature*, 5342, W¹U—*seinz lius*, W²—*sec*, L—*set*, HM—*ou il euz sei mist*, 2817, W¹U—*centurion*, W²L—*centuir*, HM—*senturione*, 1679, W¹U—*de pais*, W²L—*pais*, HM—*de pays*, 2466, W¹U—*foler*, W²L—*folazer*, HM—*folazer*; 963, W¹U—*Tost foillist l'arbe e tost flurist*, W²L—*Tost flurist l'arbe e tost flestrist*, HM—*Tost fuillist larbre tost flurist*, 1301, W¹U—*les queors*, W²—*les oilz*, HM—*le quer*, 13419, W¹—*Ki l'escriture ne suit ne vout*, U—*suvre ne vout*, W²L—*ne set no ot*, HM—*ne croire ne volant*, 2444, W¹U—*ne si ordes ne si mesfaz*, W²L—*ne si horribles li mesvaiz*, HM—*Ne si orbles lez mesfazs*, 4687, W¹U—*einzne degre*, W²L—*eine grez*, HM—*ain degrez*, 4933, W¹U—*dunc n'est co*, W²L—*dunc est il*, HM—*dunque prent*; 10198, W¹—*si un seigneur li mandast rien/De un commandement terrien*, U—*Si si sires terrien/Li commandast aucune rien*, W²L—*si si*

This evidence is less convincing, but scarcely controverts the testimony of the errors common to W¹, U, and HM 903. The manuscript under consideration thus has some importance, in that it provides us with another copy of the manuscript tradition which Miss Aitken considered oldest, but of which she found no version worthy of being used as the basis of a text.

As a sample of the readings provided by HM 903, it would seem best to select the "Dominica ii post pasch," since it has been printed from two other manuscripts.⁸ Here it reads as follows:

- | | | |
|------|--|-----------------------|
| | Dount il a vint a vn prestre | fol 198a, col. 1 |
| | Qe de knaresburgh estait mestre | |
| | Quant lenges y out conuerse | |
| | Si est encontre lyt couche | |
| 8140 | Et quant il quida deuier | |
| | Deuaunt li vint vn bachiler | |
| | La maine lui tendi sui lui dit | |
| | Veignez tai oue mai & il issi fist | |
| | Ou ne vousist ou ne deignast | |
| 8145 | Couent lu qil ou li ⁹ alast | |
| | Et plusurs heus cil lamena | |
| | Et motz des choses lui demustra | |
| | Denferne ly monstra le parfound | |
| | Et lez paines qe illoques sount | |
| 8150 | Et plus la menat vers le ciel | |
| | Ou il vst & troua tut el | fol. 198, col. 1 ends |
| | Mes quant il al ciel aprocherent | |
| | en lair mout grant fu trouerent | |
| | L1 feus ert a mornaille grant | |
| 8155 | Et mout oribles & mult ardent | |
| | L1 guirs il est lors entrez | |
| | Et lui prestres y est arestez | |
| | Einz en la feu lui guirs entra | |
| | Mes vnqes lui fu nel toucha | |
| 8160 | A taunt agarda il le prestre | |
| | Si dit viegne auant dan mestre | |
| | Ia de cest fu ne te est le pys | |
| | Fors soul de taunt qe as mespris | |
| | Taunt arderas en ceste feu | |

freres li mandast rien/Dunt il ad seigneur terrien, HM—*Si cil siur li mandast rien/De qi il ad son honour terrien*; 13436, W¹U—*demande nul rien*, W²L—*requis nule rien*, HM—*nonn demande rien*; 3364, W¹U—*alargir*, W²L—*alaissier*, HM—*alez*, 3460, W¹U—*semaille*, W²L—*semence*, HM—*sema*; 9997, W¹U—*de volunte*, W²L—*en verite*, HM—*en verite*.

⁸ Aitken, *op cit*, pp 154–157, Paul Meyer, *Romania*, xv (1886), 302–305.

⁹ *Li* has been altered from *u*.

- 8165 Come tu as *pris* & nient rendu
 Mout enuis & mout pensiss
 Ly prestres en ceo fu test mys
 Le fus dez tutz partz estait
 Mes vnqe point ne lade fait
- 8170 Tut cel fu vit il repleni
 Dalmes ardant oue *grant* crie
 Et lez deblez turmenterent
 Et lun sur lautre oue crokes ereuerent
 Oue crokes ardauntz mes fernz erent
- 8175 Lez almes sanz mercie getterent
 Nul estait par saie seueral
 Mes chescoun a altre mal
 Chescon ert a altre paine
 Si crient a dure alaine
- 8180 Del crie del plur del *grant* guayment
 Ert lui prestres en *grant* turment
Quant vint en la feu ben auant
 E fuiut vn deable a fort criaunt
 Les oilz ardauntz moult reuollut
- 8185 Et de sa bouche eschignout
 Vn alme ardant en son crok tient
 Et *vers* le prestre a *grant* cours vint
 Et criout fort en son eslais
 Dy mai traiture fel maluays
- 8190 Preuk celui qⁱ tu as tue
 Si ad l¹⁰ alme sur lui rue
 Lalme descendit sur le prestre
 Si lui art lespaul destre fol 198 ends
 Lui arseon si *grant* mal lui fesait
- 8195 Celui ert vis qe morir^e deuait
 Qe del arsoun^e qe del espontaille
 La quida^t remaindre sanz faille
 Al chief de tour mout haut escrie
 A songniour^e demande aye
- 8200 Et il luy dist ne *vous* esmaiez
 Taunt ardrez come *vous* mespris auez
 Puiuz serrez en ceo fu
 Ardras taunte come nas rendu
 Ore vos veez si vos conussez
- 8205 Cesti pur qⁱ *vous* si ardetz
 Et lui prestre respount ataunt
 Ieo le conus a ma peine *grant*
 Delui oi a son moriaunt

¹⁰ The *l* was written in by a later hand.

- Vn chape mes *par* son grant
 8210 Mes ne lui ay rendu pas *taunt*
 Come ieo lui oy encouenant
 Et sachez q*i par* vbhaunce
 Lay fait & nient *par* voillance
 Dount ad li aungel lalme *pris*
 8215 Et del fu lad arer mys
 Lespaule al prestre lors toucha
 Et la dolour del fu ousta
Par my le fu leu ad mene
 Et del ciel luy ad mout monstre
 8220 La glorie luy monstra en vair
 Tant cum laist al homme sauair
 Et puis lad conduit a son corps
 Et lui prestre reuesqui lors
 Car trestut cil qe al corps erent
 8225 *Par* treis iours morte le *quiderent*
 Et puis vesqui il longement
 Si se content moult saintement
 Mes l arsun q el la resceut
 Tutdis el corpse puis lui parut
 8230 Men escient deus vont ceo faire
 Qe l homme ne dust pas mesclair
 En son viuante s amenda cy
 Qest appele saint fursi

HM 903 offers us a late copy of the *Miroir*, and, as we should expect, it does not contain the best available text, even though it may provide some useful readings. It is perhaps most interesting for its additions to the *Miroir* as the work appears in other extant manuscripts. The most extensive of these additions occurs at the end. The *Miroir* proper ends with the following lines.

Issi finissent les omelies
 Des Ewangels brefment exponies¹¹
 Ore prie touz qe les oent & dient
 Qe il pur lalme del leypon¹² prient
 Qe deu maintigne salme finie
 Et *par* lui sait en sa baillie
 Cy termine le mirour
 Dez omeliez la doucour

fol. 123a, col. 1

¹¹ *Des Ewangels brefment* has been written over an erasure

¹² A space has been erased, and "del leypon" written in. There would have been room for "Robert" or "Gretham," but not for "Robert de Gretham."

In HM 903 there remain more than seventeen folios, which contain three homilies, which begin and end as follows:

Rubric: Hoc est preceptum meum vt diligatis. In the margin De apostlis

Running title Ewangel de apostlis

Begins: En cele contemple ihu crist fol 123a, col 1

A cez desciples issi dist
 Ceo est le meen comandement
 Ke amez entrechaungeablement
 Graindre amour nas nul homme vifs
 Qe metre sa alme pur ces amys . . . (about 700 lines)

Ends: Deu nos doint issi suir lour vie
 Qe oue eux viegnom al fitz marie
 Et issi garder lour doctrine
 Qe saiomes a eux en la court diuine fol 127a, col 2

Rubric: Qui uult venire post me abneget etc. Running title Ewangelum
 de martirez

Begins: Ihc as sons dit sans desraie fol 127a, col 2
 Qe veet venir apres may
 Sa mesmes deme & eschue
 Et pregne sa croiz & si mesue
 E il qe salme voudra saluer
 Il la perdra tut primer . . . (about 825 lines)

Ends. Par nomes ensample de cesti
 Par moustreer enferral enemy
 Kant al ciel cest secle poy vaut
 Ihc nos meigne oue li en halt fol 132b, col 1

Rubric: Videns ihc turbas ascendit in montem. Running title pluri-
 morum martirum

Begins. Ihc lez tourbes esgarda fol 132b, col 1
 Et en la montaine amonta
 Et quant il se fut assis
 Les sons se sount pre d ly mys
 Et il sa bouche dunque vurit
 Si enseigat par ices dit . . . (about 1150 lines)

Ends: Car trestut ceste encombrement fol 139b, col. 2
 Lui tourne a grant esleescement
 Quant en le ciel serra oue ihu
 Ou deu nous maint par sa vertu amenn

Issi [erasure] Romaunt

We have here three sermons of the conventional sort, intended for

other occasions than the tempora: the common of an apostle (John xv, 12), the common of one martyr (Mat. xvi, 24; Second Mass of a Martyr Bishop) and the common of many martyrs according to the Sarum use (Mat. v, 1).¹³ They are much like sermons in the body of the work. First there is the statement of the gospel text, then a transitional couplet like the following:

Le text auomes oie breuement
Ore oimes ceo qe a nos apprent

The main body of the sermon is doctrinal, with much use of Biblical material as examples, there are no extended tales. The first sermon, for instance, deals with the power and the worth of love, it might be summarized as follows:

Christ asks us to love one another because love is the root of virtue. Charity shows love, and love will save the soul, which animates the body. Saint John, "who is called Saint Baptist," showed us how to save the soul from its enemies. If you want to have heaven, be like Jak and John, sons of Zebedee, not like Hanap. One should have love in his heart and charity on his tongue; great are love and charity, for they are of the nature of God. With charity the apostles did God's will; so did the saints. They will have eternal life. He is a fool who will not take the example of Christ and the apostles, and gain the joys of heaven. We should honor the glory of the Son of Mary, "for he who reigns in Heaven, Seignurs, will judge us at last."

In addition to the three sermons added at the end of the *Miroir*, two have been inserted into the text. After the sermon for the third Sunday after Advent, occurs the following rubric: "Missus est anglus Gabriel etc." (Luke I, 26) and a sermon appears under a running title, "feria iiii post iiii dominica in adventu"; it begins and ends as follows:

Begins:	El temps qe deu auoit affis Est laungel Gabriel tramys En vne cite de Galilee Qe Nazareth estoyt nomee E vne pucele espose Joseph de la Daud meisne . . .	fol. 145b, col. 1 (about 1375 lines)
Ends:	Priomes marie escordiemment Q1 ele son fitz prie omnipotent Qil consolt & garde celes rerage Pur qui il prist en lui humage Jhesus lo trait guu deu vite Ore piere & ore saint espirite Miserunt judei ab ierosolom etc.	 fol. 154a, col. 2

¹³ Frederick E. Warren, *The Sarum Missal in English* (London, 1913), II, 24.

That is, this first insertion is intended for the mass of Wednesday in Ember Week. The second insertion follows the early evangel for Christmas, the running title of which reads, "Ad primam missam in Nativitate Domini." This insertion is preceded, as usual, by a rubric giving the opening words of the text, as follows: "In principio erat verbum & verbum," (John i, 1) The running title reads, "Ewangel in Die Domini . . . in principio . . ." The sermon begins and ends as follows

Begins	In le primere le verbe estait Et oue deu le verbe manait Et deu mesmes le verbe estait El primour od deu [erasure] estait Trestouz riens par lui sont faitz Et [erasure] sanz lui est nient faitz	fol 157b, col 1 (about 650 lines)
Ends	Qe vidue est gard sa viducte Et virge nette sa virginitee ¹⁴ Ki pechours pense del amender Riens vint pur pecheurs saluer Rienas nos doint tel amendement Qi oue li sauomes sanz finement	 fol 161b, col. 2

Presumably this is the evangel for St Stephen, since according to the Sarum use, John i, 1-14 was the gospel text for the third mass on Christmas.¹⁵

Thus these additions in HM 903 are presumably three commons, a feria, and an evangel

These additional sermons seem not to occur in other known manuscripts of the *Miroir*, but may be present in the Middle English version, the *Mirrur*.¹⁶

¹⁴ This line has been written over an erasure.

¹⁵ Warren, *op cit*, i, 105.

¹⁶ At least four manuscripts are extant: Corpus Christi College 282, Pepys MS 2498, Harley 5085, and Holkham Hall 672 Cf respectively Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College* (Cambridge, 1912), 2 vols., ———, *Bibliotheca Pepysiana, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepys* (Cambridge, 1914-23), 3 parts, Hope Emily Allen, *Mod Phil*, xiii (1916), 741-742, Alfred J Horwood, *The Manuscripts of the Right Honourable the Earl of Leicester, Holkham Hall, Norfolk, Ninth Report of the Commission on Historical MSS*, Appendix, ii (1884), pp 364-372 Cf also Margaret Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge, 1920), p 316, Gerald Robert Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England, an Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period ca. 1350-1450* (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 241-242; *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum with Indexes of Persons, Places, and Matters* (London, 1808-1812), 4 vols; Seymour de Ricci, *A Handlist of Manuscripts in the Library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall abstracted from the Catalogues of William Roscoe and Frederic Madden and annotated etc.* (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1932).

At the end of Corpus Christi College MS 282 appear five additional sermons, identified as follows: (1) *Of our lady in aduent*, (2) *In makyng mynde of apostoles*, (3) *In þe comune of on martir*, (4) *of mani martirs*, (5) *of on confessour*, the last seems to be combined with "þe pistel of þe Sunday of quinquagesima"¹⁷ The first four of these probably are translations of the sermons in HM 903, and the fifth may be The first would seem to be the feria after the third Sunday in Advent, having the text "Missus est angelus Gabriel etc." The second, third, and fourth sermons are doubtless the three sermons added at the end of HM 903, the commons of an apostle, of one martyr, and of many martyrs. The fifth sermon may be the "Ewangel in Die Domini" of HM 903, at least the English version appears within the body of the work in Pepys 2498.¹⁸ In HM 903, as we noted above, it constitutes an additional evangel for the third mass on Christmas, and seems only indifferently suited to "on confessour", it is composed roughly of three parts. first, an exposition of the belief that the word was existent and uncreated, second, a tribute to John, in whom the writer confuses both John the Baptist and John the Apostle, and third, an admonition to persevere in well-doing. Whether these five sermons occur also in Harley 5085 and Holkman Hall 672, the descriptions of these manuscripts do not indicate. That the additional sermons were taken into account by the translator, or by a subsequent copyist, is indicated by the Prologue to the *Mirrur* as it has been printed from Harley 5085. It includes the following advice: "whan 3e han wille forto reden takeþ forþ þis boke. þe godspelles of þe sonundaies and a parti of oþer massedaies 3e schul finde hereinne." The corresponding lines of the Anglo-Norman (70-71) say that you will find the evangels very properly put into Romance, but have nothing equivalent to the "oþer massedaies."¹⁹

Thus HM 903 would seem to stand close to the manuscript used by the redactor who has given us the *Mirrur*, it probably will prove important for a study of the relationship of the Anglo-Norman to the Middle English work.²⁰

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¹⁷ James, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College*, II, 48

¹⁸ *Ibid.* ¹⁹ Unfortunately, the Prologue has been lost from HM 903.

²⁰ I hope to compare the works when microfilm are available again

ANALYSIS OF IMAGERY: A CRITIQUE OF
LITERARY METHOD

LET us suppose that an irate wife complains to her husband. "We used to live like love-birds; now you act as if you were loony, and when I tell you that your behavior is as rude as that of a savage, you respond by roaring like a lion and repeating parrot-like everything your brother says about your being henpecked." Let us suppose, moreover, that she repeats this indictment over a number of years, in a series of letters to her sympathetic relatives and friends. A commentator on these letters might be tempted to conclude that the lady was fairly familiar with Africa (probably had even been big-game hunting and clearly had been more impressed by the fauna than the flora), that she was aware of and concurred in medieval notions concerning the effect of the moon on the mind, and, finally, that she must have lived for some time on a chicken farm.

This imaginary situation may appear to be an impious *reductio ad absurdum* of many of the results obtained by literary critics of imagery after assorting and tabulating images. But it is intended merely to indicate obvious dangers inherent in a method which not only psychoanalyzes the creator but reconstructs his physical environment on the basis of the frequency of metaphors. The current revival of interest in imagery¹ thus calls for a revaluation of methodology and conclusions, and a warning.

That the study of imagery has some usefulness may be admitted—a study which would include not only themes and subjects, but also structure and dramatic significance. Such an investigation as an adjunct to literary criticism can illuminate the text by deepening our understanding of the emotions of the dramatic characters created by the author, and may throw into relief the techniques and span of imaginative interests of the artist; a collection of images may indicate linguistic patterns and the thoughts inspired by purely verbal associations. Where the range of images and the nature of the craftsmanship can be established, isolated, and limited from the known works of an author, the investigation may prove a valuable adjunct to textual criticism and help in determining the canon. And a comparative study of the imagery in two treatments,

¹ At the 1941 convention of the M L A at Indianapolis, imagery was the subject of two papers; at the 1940 meeting at Boston, of three papers; it is also the subject of a recent dissertation, Marion B. Smith, *Marlowe's Imagery and the Marlowe Canon* (Philadelphia, 1940).

for example, of the Troilus story, may reveal the ways of thinking about the world in different generations, may reflect not so much Chaucer and Shakespeare's habits of eating and drinking as the interests of the age.

But the collectors of images seek to go beyond these benefits. They work on the assumption that imagery (the association of ideas) always has a direct basis in physical experience and that the percentile tabulation of images will reveal the corresponding proportions of everyday, environmental experiences in the life of the man. Serious problems arise at the very outset of the procedure.

The statistician in imagery, while apparently making nothing more than an objective scientific classification, in reality is concerned with a subjective evaluation (which may be more revelatory of the collector than of the subject) of a three-fold phenomenon. The first aspect of it is a definition of what constitutes an image and a decision as to the sensory appeal of the image: for example, if the phrase concerned is *sin is foul*, does the image refer to taste, smell, or sight? The second is a determination of a method of estimating relative importance whether the possibly casual figure of a single word or one 'unconsciously' chosen is to be given more or less weight than an elaborated and pervasive figure or a recurrent one. Finally, there must be a judgment as to the valid inferences to be drawn from the tabulations, which will sometimes include popular figures or ones readily obtainable from secondary sources, or a preponderance of certain figures and the absence of others. The first two of these problems, although fundamental, are concerned, however, only with the means to the end. The third problem involves the end itself: the pursuit of an individual personality in his special environment. It is therefore to the pitfalls of the third problem and its inferences that this paper primarily directs attention. Admitting that an author is visible in his work, that different times and periods, the personalities about a man, his training, reading habits, activities, inherited sensitivities will produce varying ranges of interests and varying kinds of expression—of which the image is one, how revelatory is the image, and where does revelation end and dramatic objectivity begin? Unless the critic is willing, without fear or favor, to apply his surmises to all authors whose imagery provides similar data, his deductions are without logical validity, if he does so, he may discover that his conclusions about an individual author are extremely tenuous, if not fatuous.

Although the third problem, that of the inference, is as has been suggested the most serious, the first two difficulties cannot be passed over without some further comment, since they raise issues which cannot be resolved by strict preliminary definitions; yet if valid tables are to be drawn up, it is a *sine qua non* of all mathematical reasoning, that com-

ponent elements must be constant *Image* must have a meaning and the same meaning to all who use the method. This ideal situation seems impossible of achievement as between different critics. One may find it hard to think of *jewels*, *human relations*, *light and fire* as images from domestic life² and of the figure "wrapped within his [the River Danube's] scarlet waves"³ as a clothing image. Miss Spurgeon considers "dressed myself in such humility"⁴ an image of movement, whereas one of her ardent disciples classifies a similar passage as a clothing image.⁵ Even with one author and one critic, the psychological interpretation of circumstances when the word represents an *image* is one not only of philological and historical semantics, but of verbal associations, which may have been completely 'unimaginative' for the author but ring with overtones for the critic. As John Erskine wrote, in considering the present conception of Shylock as a tragic character, "The reason men have said that great artists are inspired, is that great artists create more than they know—meanings they have not heard of, beauty they have not seen."⁶ So, for example, Miss Spurgeon considers a *time* image the passage

to be wise and love
Exceeds man's might, that dwells with gods above.⁷

Was Shakespeare in this passage leaving the way open, as Miss Spurgeon says, "for the possibility of a condition or a consciousness beyond the temporal, where love may survive in a timeless reality"? More likely he was merely paraphrasing the familiar couplet,⁸ which had appeared as the first emblem to the March Eclogue of the *Shepherd's Calendar*.

To be wise and eke to love
Is graunted scarce to god above

Or when Shakespeare in the *Merchant of Venice*, III. ii. 75 says:

In law what plea so tainted and corrupt,
But being season'd with a gracious voice,
Obscures the show of evil?

is he, as Miss Spurgeon believes, proving the "value he attaches to seasoning and its effect on the attractiveness, and indeed the essential good-

² C. F. E. Spurgeon, *Shakespeare's Imagery* (New York, 1936), p. 16. I have selected most of my illustrations from this study since it is the pioneering analysis upon which other studies apparently rely as a model. ³ Smith, p. 47.

⁴ Spurgeon, p. 51. ⁵ Smith, p. 47.

⁶ John Erskine, *The Delight of Great Books* (Indianapolis, 1928), pp. 23-24.

⁷ Spurgeon, p. 180.

⁸ M. P. Tilley, "Elizabethan Proverb Lore in Lyly's *Euphues* and in Pettie's *Petite Palace*," *Univ. of Michigan Publications*, II (1926), p. 329, No. 692, and see p. 218, No. 415.

ness of food”⁹ The passage cited seems to mean that seasoning can disguise unwholesome food

Secondly, in weighting the image, one has no reason to assume that in one phase of his work, in the creation of characters and the pronouncement of their opinions, the author is “objective,” but that he suddenly becomes completely “subjective” in the imagery,—sections of which are thereby assumed to have been “unconscious.” Nor is there any validity in the correlative arbitrary assumption that the image from a play is a more reliable indication of personality than an image from “pure poetry.” Granted that images which spring to the poet’s mind spontaneously may be significant of personal experience even though consciously elaborated imagery may not be, we are not in a position to draw the distinction between “conscious” and “unconscious” creative activity. Dr. Smith admits that “even the living poet cannot tell with any degree of accuracy what was in his mind when he wrote a certain phrase.”¹⁰ How much more presumptuous then is the attempt of the literary psychoanalyst who goes beyond mind to the specific physical environment of a character 300 years dead! Moreover, the entire theory of glorification of the “unconscious image” leads its followers into fundamental inconsistencies, for while they draw on dramatic images, all of which were presumably produced in a godlike but non-conscious white heat of inspiration,¹¹ they also rely on the images from the non-dramatic works, poetry and sonnets,¹² which were normally objects of more careful revision. Miss Spurgeon boasts of her “completeness”—as to Shakespeare. Her comparisons with other writers are thereby invalidated unless they too are studied “completely,” i.e., by an analysis including images from their non-dramatic poetry.¹³

That these fundamental difficulties are present even in a work as carefully developed as Miss Spurgeon’s and that apparently they cannot be eliminated without going to the essence of the method seems clear. But even if they were resolved, the dilemma of the proper inference to be drawn remains. It must be repeated that if the image is objective evi-

⁹ Spurgeon, p. 84 ¹⁰ Smith, p. 3

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 102, but compare pp. 87 and 125, which indicate that the imagery was used consciously “for the sound,” for “deliberate elaboration,” for characterization, Spurgeon p. 44.

¹² *E.g.*, *ibid.*, *passim*, and pp. 66, 73, 80, 179, 185, 186, 201. After five pages of images on death from the plays, Miss Spurgeon turns (p. 185) to Sonnet 146 for Shakespeare’s real opinion of what “he himself thinks about death.” She thereby, in addition, abandons the statistical method. Incidentally, the theme of the sonnet, the conflict of the body and soul, had appeared not only in Latin and Anglo-Saxon poetry, but had provided whole schools of medieval poets with a subject. Again, when for purely subjective reasons, Miss Spurgeon dislikes an image, she discounts its value by a statement (*e.g.*, p. 182) that “we cannot feel that anything of Shakespeare’s own hope or experience is expressed in [these] words.”

¹³ Cf. Smith, pp. 50 and 59; Spurgeon, p. 33.

dence, it has the same evidential value wherever it is found, the purpose of my paper is to show the unreliable conclusions to which we are directed when we examine in this way figures which Miss Spurgeon considered of great significance in revealing Shakespeare's personality.

Shakespeare, we are told, displayed unusual interest in the shifting color of the face as an indication of emotion, exemplified by the lines from *Venus and Adonis*, 345-348:

To note the fighting conflict of her hue!
 How white and red each other did destroy!
 But now her cheek was pale, and by and by
 It flash'd forth fire, as lightning from the sky

Other contemporary poets (besides earlier medieval ones), however, likewise observed and described the tender symptom. A similar reference was made at least six times by Spenser,¹⁴ e.g., *Faerie Queene*, II. ix. 41. 3-7:

And ever and anon with rosy red
 The bashfull blood her snowy cheekes did dye,
 That her became, as polisht ivory
 Which cunning craftesman hand hath overlayd
 With fayre vermilion or pure castory

Recognizing then, as we must, that this observation was not peculiar to Shakespeare, may we draw any deductions from its use? We might be forced to conclude that Spenser and untold others blushed with conspicuous frequency (which, even if true, is too general a conclusion to mean much). But have we any right to deduce merely from these images as evidence that Shakespeare was "fair and flushed easily and that possibly in youth he suffered from the ease with which, under stress of feeling, he betrayed his emotions through blushing and pallor"?¹⁵

A similar difficulty is raised by imagery drawn from proverbs. Although Miss Spurgeon does admit upon occasion that many Shakespearean images were popular ones,¹⁶ she does not give appropriate weight to this fact; the *general* significance of images is immediately reduced by the recognition that they were current coin in the period, or had attained proverbial status long before Shakespeare's time. How valid is the inference that "Shakespeare is especially sensitive to the feeling of revolt and the dulling of the palate on eating too much of any one thing, however good,"¹⁷ when based on *Romeo and Juliet*, II. vi. 11:

the sweetest honey
 Is loathsome in his own deliciousness
 And in the taste confounds the appetite.

¹⁴ *Faerie Queene*, I. xi. 51. 4, III. ii. 5. 6, IV. x. 50. 5, V. v. 30. 2, *Epith.* 226

¹⁵ Spurgeon, pp. 61 and 202.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 45 and 128.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

The expression "too much honey cloyes the stomach" was proverbial. It occurs in the Bible, Proverbs, xxv. 16, and was cited by Chaucer.¹⁸

And Salomon seith, "If thou has founden hony, ete of it that suffiseth, / for if thou ete of it out of mesure, thou shalt spewe . . ."

The phrase in variant forms, moreover, appears four times in Lyly.¹⁹ If we are to measure aesthetic sensitivity by statistics, Lyly is in this respect more sensitive than Shakespeare. Shakespeare's quoting a proverbial idea is hardly proof of special awareness of "the dulling of the palate." What he has done here to the simple "too much honey cloyes the stomach" is what his magic diction does to almost every thought it appropriates—to grace it with his own felicitous phrasing.

On the other hand, where an image is not compelling, the weakness may be linguistic, not psychological or experiential. Many of Shakespeare's early images dealing with sickness are "somewhat perfunctory, and such simple remedies as salve for a sore wound, purgation or blood-letting are constantly used as similes in a somewhat detached and obvious way."²⁰ We must remember, however, that "a salve for every sore" was a common proverb, and consequently its use would not indicate that Shakespeare was deliberately or even consciously referring to medical diagnosis or advice. As a matter of fact, a writer on legal proverbs considers this phrase an old variant of a legal maxim *ubi jus ibi remedium*.²¹ The expression was of course used by other Elizabethans, including Gascoigne,²² Lyly,²³ and Spenser. In the *Faerie Queene* (III. ii. 35. 7), it appears as "For never a sore but might a salve obtain," and later (VI. vi. 5. 9) as "Give salves to every sore, but counsell to the mind." If, however, one persists in regarding Shakespeare's lines as a "perfunctory" sickness image, may not part of the explanation for them be that in these instances we read the proverb in its common form, without the happy turn or embellishment which Shakespeare's genius generally gave to his line?

In further discussion of the 'sickness' images, as in *Hamlet*, IV. iii. 9:

¹⁸ "Tale of Melibeus" 1415 f, ed F N Robinson (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), p. 214, B. J. Whiting, *Chaucer's Use of Proverbs* (Harvard University Press, 1934), p. 120.

¹⁹ John Lyly, *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, Euphues and his England*, ed M. W. Croll and H. Clemens (New York, 1916), pp. 76, 145, 417; *Campaspe*, II. i. 73-74, in *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed R. W. Bond (Oxford, 1902), II, 331, Tilley, p. 190, No. 342.

²⁰ Spurgeon, p. 129.

²¹ D. F. Bond, "English Legal Proverbs," *PMLA*, LI (1936), 921. Cf. John Heywood, *Proverbs and Epigrams* [1562] (Publications of the Spenser Society, Issue No. 1, 1867), p. 17, G. L. Apperson, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases* . . . (London, 1929), p. 549.

²² *Supposes*, II. i. 63, noted by B. J. Whiting, *Proverbs in the Earlier English Drama* (Harvard University Press, 1938), p. 241.

²³ Tilley, p. 264, No. 533, cf. p. 256, No. 514.

diseases desperate grown
By desperate appliance are relieved,
Or not at all,

we are told that these images are "accompanied by the impression that for such a terrible ill the remedy must be drastic"²⁴ The proverbial statement²⁵ occurs twice in Shakespeare. It is to be found five times in Lyly,²⁶ e.g., *Campaspe*, III 5 54.

And sith in cases desperate there must be
used medicines that are extreme

and in *Euphues*, p 304:

Thinking so desperate a malady was to be
cured with desperate medicine

One would hardly in seriousness venture the conclusion on the basis of these statistics that Lyly was a far more progressive medical theorist than Shakespeare. Nor can one agree that Shakespeare be placed "far ahead of his age" because he sees the disadvantages of over-eating;²⁷ for, "surfeit (gluttony) kills more than the sword" was a proverbial expression²⁸ not only in English but also in Greek,²⁹ Latin,³⁰ Italian and French.³¹ Neither of these figures therefore can be adduced to reflect a deeply specialized medical knowledge, that scientific understanding which, according to Miss Spurgeon's whimsical surmise, was acquired by Shakespeare during walks in the garden with doctor son-in-law John Hall.³²

Shakespeare in the garden presents an attractive picture. It appears that while he conversed with Dr. Hall and pondered medicinal theories, he also was making superior observations of flowers. "The similes of other dramatists [that is, other than Shakespeare]," we learn, "are chiefly of the most obvious kind . . . , with sometimes a display of real ignorance, as in this of Beaumont and Fletcher's [*Valentinian* 5. 6]:

In whome thou wert set
As roses are in rank weeds "

Although Miss Spurgeon believes that "roses are not in the habit of

²⁴ Spurgeon, p 133

²⁵ *Ibid*, pp 317, 359, 370, Apperson, p 142, A Henderson, *Latin Proverbs and Quotations* (London, 1869), pp 19 and 114.

²⁶ Tilley, p 280, No. 574

²⁷ Spurgeon, pp 117 and 203.

²⁸ Tilley, p 295, No 607

²⁹ Apperson, pp 248 and 426.

³⁰ Henderson, p 232; cf pp. 101, 163, 233, 311, 330.

³¹ H. G. Bohn, *A Polyglot of Foreign Proverbs* (London, 1867), pp. 29 and 111; cf. pp 29, 234, 255.

³² Spurgeon, p 137

growing in the midst of rank weeds,"³³ it was and still is a commonplace idea that "no ground [is] so good but that it bringeth forth weeds as well as flowers"³⁴ The figure of roses among weeds is at least as old as Chaucer in English.

Next the foule nettle, rough and thikke,
The rose waxeth swote and smothe and softe³⁵

It occurs in Gascoigne's *Glass of Government*:

For even as weedes, which fast by flowers do growe,³⁶

it was used by Spenser (*Faerie Queene*, III 1. 49. 6):

Eamongst the roses grow some wicked weeds,

and has been traced³⁷ to Ovid (*Remedia Amoris*, 45).

Terra salutare herbas, eademque nocentes
Nutrit, et urticae proxima saepe rose est

Were all these writers "ignorant"?³⁸

What valid inferences are to be drawn from Shakespearean comparisons of evil to weeds? Shakespeare expresses the idea "that it is the richest nature which has the greatest capacity for evil,"³⁹ in *2 Henry IV*, IV iv. 54.

Most subject is the fattest soil to weeds.

The figure, occurring in English at least as early as *Piers Plowman* (c. XIII 225), had appeared in the *Similia* of Erasmus, and was used by Lyly,⁴⁰ *Euphues*, p 99:

Doth not common experience makes this common unto us that the fattest ground bringeth forth nothing but weeds if it be not well tilled? That the sharpest wit inclneth only to wickedness if it be not exercised?

This particular illustration, a proverbial figure,⁴¹ can therefore hardly

³³ *Ibid*, p 90 ³⁴ Tilley, p 367 (Appendix A, No 69)

³⁵ "Troilus and Criseyde," I 948-949, ed. Robinson, p. 466; Whiting, *Chaucer's . . . Proverbs*, p 56 ³⁶ Whiting, *Proverbs in Drama*, pp 246 and 247

³⁷ *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, Variorum ed (Baltimore, 1934), III, 212, note to *Faerie Queene* III 1 49 6.

³⁸ Cf Spurgeon, p 108, where again Shakespeare's contemporaries are condemned because they never show the "little touches of love and sympathy" which the following line suggests to Miss Spurgeon "As true as truest horse, that yet would never tire" This line (*MND*, III. i. 98) shows not sympathy but burlesque hyperbole Had the writer of this line been anyone but Shakespeare, would not Miss Spurgeon have considered this line proof of his "ignorance"? ³⁹ Spurgeon, p 164 ⁴⁰ Tilley, p. 146, No 218

⁴¹ R. Jente, "The Proverbs of Shakespeare," *Washington University Studies*, Humanistic Series, XIII (1926, No. 2), 440, No. 339

be admitted as a revelation of Shakespeare's unique preoccupation with gardening problems.

Shakespeare may have been "keenly conscious of the disastrous effects of spring . . . frosts on tender buds and flowers",⁴² but when in *Love's Labours Lost*, I i. 100 he says that

Biron is like an envious sneaping frost,
That bites the first-born infants of the spring,

Shakespeare is merely giving superlative expression to the proverbial sentiment that "sharp frosts bite forward springs"⁴³

In the re-creation of the physical environment, one of the most picturesque claims is made: "there can be no question that the flooded river, swollen and raging, overflowing its banks and bearing all before it, was one of the—probably recurrent—sights of boyhood which made the most indelible impression on Shakespeare's imagination"⁴⁴ To support this pretty hypothesis there are collected twenty-six images of different aspects of the river in flood, eight of which are of the river overflowing its banks, typically as in *The Rape of Lucrece*, 1118.

a gentle flood,
Who, being stopp'd, the bounding banks o'erflows,

but the literary expression of a great flood bursting its bounds is not significantly original. It occurs in Spenser at least thirteen times,⁴⁵ as, for example, in the *Faerie Queene*, II iv. 11. 9:

The bankes are overflowen, when stopp'd is the flood,

and is, in fact, to be found in Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Ariosto, and Tasso⁴⁶ There was a popular Elizabethan variant, "the stream (current, tide) stopped, swells the higher."⁴⁷ Shakespeare's use, then, of this image, does not necessarily result from direct observation. It was trite and common rather than intimately personal. Its frequency may be attributable to its serviceability, and is not proof inevitable that the author had lived through so many floods of the Avon that they had impressed themselves indelibly upon his youthful mind—any more than Spenser's images indicate that he had seen a river overflow one and a half times more often than had Shakespeare. Miss Spurgeon's emphatic reliance on this image to reconstruct Shakespeare's physical background ("I feel as sure as I

⁴² Spurgeon, p. 88.

⁴³ Tilley, p. 167, No. 279

⁴⁴ Spurgeon, p. 92.

⁴⁵ *Faerie Queene*, I. i. 21 1-4, II iv. 11 9, II. x. 15 5, II xi. 18 4-5, III vi. 8 7, III. vii. 34. 1-4, IV iii. 27 6, IV. vii. 32 9, IV x. 35. 5, VI. i. 37. 9, VI iv. 30 9, *Shep Cal*, May 94, *Runs of Rome* xiii 11, see also *Faerie Queene*, III 1 51 6

⁴⁶ *Works of Spenser*, Varior. ed. (Baltimore, 1933), II, 341, note to *Faerie Queene*, II xi. 18 4-9.

⁴⁷ Tilley, p. 288, No. 592.

can be of anything")⁴⁸ casts considerable doubt on the value of her other inferences.

Nor is Shakespeare any more revelatory by his comparison "of fire to human passions, which, when suppressed, become more fierce and unruly,"⁴⁹ as, for example, in *Venus and Adonis* 331-334:

An oven that is stopp'd or river stay'd,
Burneth more hotly, swelleth with more rage.
So of concealed sorrow may be said,
Free vent of words lov's fire doth assuage

The figure appears at least four times in Spenser,⁵⁰ e.g., *Faerie Queene*, I ii 34. 4-6:

He oft finds med'cine who his griefe imparts,
But double griefs afflict concealing harts,
As raging flames who striveth to suppress.

In using this figure neither Shakespeare nor Spenser was original,⁵¹ that is all that can be said. This aspect of the Shakespearean comparison cannot be regarded as holding arresting significance.

Similarly, we cannot assume that any special attributes of Shakespeare's personality or conscience are revealed because "evil in Shakespeare's imagination is dirty, black and foul, a blot, a spot, a stain."⁵² The association of black with evil, death, tragedy on the one hand, and of beauty and goodness with light was common throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance and inspired numerous symbolic treatments and religious *exempla*. The figure was attached to all forms of sin and evil, starting with the story of Adam and Eve. Some traditions held, for example, that as soon as Adam and Eve listened to the serpent their new, gleaming white raiment turned black and fell from them,⁵³ it was sometimes thought that Cain's punishment was that his face turned black.⁵⁴ In the Dominican habit, the white denotes purity of life, the black, mortification and penance.⁵⁵ In Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, Feirefis

⁴⁸ Spurgeon, p. 96. Similarly, Miss Spurgeon (p. 73) cites as an example for the plays of Shakespeare's "closest and most accurate observation of" birds, 2 *Henry VI*, III. ii. 40 "The cock that is the trumpet to the morn." The phrase is patently trite and undistinguished. ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁵⁰ *Faerie Queene*, I ii 34. 4-6, II xi 32, III viii 26. 4-6, V v. 53. 7-9.

⁵¹ Jente, p. 415, No. 134, traces the figure to Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4. 64, Tilley, p. 151, No. 233, Hyder E. Rollins, ed. *The Poems*, New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare (Phila., 1936), p. 40. ⁵² Spurgeon, p. 158.

⁵³ Ernst Böklen, *Adam und Qain, im Lichte der Vergleichenden Mythenforschung*, Mythologische Bibliothek (Leipzig, 1907), I, 86.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 112-114, Baring-Gould, *Legends of the Patriarchs and Prophets* (New York, n.d.), p. 74.

⁵⁵ A. Jameson, *Legends of the Monastic Orders*, 4th ed. (London, 1867), p. 356; A. T. Drane, *The History of St. Dominic* (London, 1891), p. 250 f.

is spotted white and black to show the mixture of heathen and Christian blood⁵⁶ In Ottoman poetry,⁵⁷ in fairy tales,⁵⁸ even in African folk-lore,⁵⁹ black is the sign of misfortune or evil In Spenser beauty is usually *brightness*; evil (as in the description of Duessa) is filthy, foul-smelling dark.⁶⁰ Multiplication of illustrations is supererogatory One can stamp neither the figure nor its users as distinctive One can make no personality evaluations or deductions of religious or social adjustment on this basis⁶¹

Other Shakespearean contrasts, such as red-white,⁶² love-fear,⁶³ heaven-hell⁶⁴ are likewise paralleled in the writings of Shakespeare's predecessors and contemporaries Even without the images, we might safely have inferred that for Shakespeare "hell is a place of noisy strife, discord and clamour, [and] he very much loved the one [heaven] and hated the other [hell]" The very concepts, by definition, as well as the literary, social and religious traditions to which Shakespeare was exposed, would have made any other reaction surprising.

When we turn from the heaven-hell concept to Shakespeare's Biblical knowledge, we expose another vulnerable spot in Miss Spurgeon's method. Unwilling to consider references and relying only on images Miss Spurgeon finds that "Bacon's mind is steeped in Biblical story and phrase in a way of which there is no evidence in Shakespeare."⁶⁵ Other

⁵⁶ Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival und Titurel*, ed. Karl Bartsch (in *Deutsche Classike des Mittelalters*, ix, 65) 1 1695-1702, see *La Grande Encyclopédie* (Paris, 1886), I, 1178

⁵⁷ E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry* (London, 1900-09), iv, 72, n. 6

⁵⁸ J. & W. Grimm, *Kinder- u. Hausmärchen* (Stuttgart & Berlin, 1906), p. 436, No. 135 Bolte-Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu . der Bruder Grimm* (Leipzig, 1913-32), III, 152 ff and III, 85 ff ⁵⁹ G. M. Theal, *Kaffir Folk Lore* (London, 1886), p. 67 f

⁶⁰ *Faerie Queene*, I ix 46-49, see Smith, p. 44. The similarity of light images in Bacon and Shakespeare is commented on by F. E. C. H. [abgood] and W. S. M. [elsome], "Professor Spurgeon and Her Images," *Baconiana*, xxv (July, 1941), 213, 225, 235

⁶¹ Even the color of Buddha's skin is said to have become light on the night of his attaining perfect enlightenment. See *The Sacred Books of the East*, ed. Max Muller (Oxford, 1879-1910), xi, 81, and 82n.

⁶² Spurgeon, pp. 63-65, so in *Faerie Queene* III ii 49 9, II xi 45 5, III ix 2 1-4 III xii 20, *Epith* 207, *S C F* 130, so also in Marlowe, see Smith, p. 44

⁶³ Spurgeon, pp. 154-155, so in *Faerie Queene* IV, Pr V "Fear is cold" so in *Faerie Queene* II ii 9 3, v xi 2 6, "It benumbs" so in *Faerie Queene* IV vi 21 3, *D* 419, "Fear is: low vassal" so in *Faerie Queene* VI x 53 3, v x 15 5, "Fear is disintegrating . . . 'distill't Almost to jelly with . . . fear'" so in *Faerie Queene* I xi 73 5, see also *Faerie Queen* IV vi 21 3, I III. 14 5, I III. 34 5, I II 10 7, III I 15 5, *Gn* 310

⁶⁴ Spurgeon, p. 78, see *Faerie Queene* I. v 32-34 The concept of the heavy weight of sin (Spurgeon, p. 163) had already achieved proverbial status in the sixteenth century. See Whiting, *Proverbs in Drama*, p. 153

⁶⁵ Spurgeon, p. 19 Cf. F. E. C. H. and W. S. M., "Professor Spurgeon and Her Images," *Baconiana*, xxv (July, 1941), 217

respected authorities reach the diametrically opposite conclusion: "In this interpretation and application of Scripture, . . . Shakespeare was exceptional . . . ; [whereas] Bacon often misinterpreted and misapplied Scripture."⁶⁶ Miss Spurgeon's response that "the light thrown by *images* of a writer on his knowledge and interests bears quite a different evidential value from that given by his deliberate *references*,"⁶⁷ does not, as Allardyce Nicoll remarks, "explain the discrepancy nor does it obviate the difficulty of founding general 'character' judgments"⁶⁸ on material which is not only not supported by other evidence from the plays, but is absolutely refuted by it. This discrepancy, of course, confronts Miss Spurgeon in other instances, where the inferences from images and references conflict.⁶⁹

Miss Spurgeon also uses the Freudian method of interpretation, drawing an opposite inference from an affirmative statement (or, in this case a literary image). But this necessitates a supernatural penetration to determine when an author used an image because he had had an experience and when he used it because not having had the experience he subconsciously wished he had. When the same materials and method lead to diametrically opposed inferences, how are we to select the sound one? Miss Spurgeon, for example, concludes that "only one who was himself an experienced swimmer could have written

Like an unpractised swimmer plunging still
With too much labour drowns for want of skill,"⁷⁰

that "screw'd to my memory"⁷¹ indicates at least an amateur carpenter; and that his "marked delight in swift nimble bodily movement leads one to surmise that . . . Shakespeare himself was as agile in body as in mind"⁷² It is just as reasonable to conclude that Shakespeare desired and praised that which he did not possess, since Miss Spurgeon has herself provided us with a precedent for this kind of inference. In discussing Dekker, she says that he has a "remarkably large number of images . . . from 'wings'. . . Is it fanciful to imagine that this delight in . . . unfettered flight indicates a reaction from . . . long years [in] an Elizabethan

⁶⁶ Richmond Noble, *Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge* (London, 1935), p. 98

⁶⁷ Letter to *L T L S*, Dec. 14, 1935, p. 859, col. 3-4

⁶⁸ "Shakespeare," *Y W E S*, xvi (1935), 178, see also *Y W E S*, xvii (1936), 131

⁶⁹ Similarly in *Hamlet*, Spurgeon finds (p. 370) only four images from the theatre; but J. H. E. Brock, *The Dramatic Purpose of 'Hamlet'* (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 31-34 points out eleven important passages in that play which he believes deal with the theatre and concludes (p. 46) that "the one subject which could be relied on to draw Hamlet out of his reserve was drama and the stage." Noted by Nicoll, *Y W E S*, xvi, 177, see Spurgeon, p. 101

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 99

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

gaol?"⁷³ Not to be overlooked is Miss Spurgeon's own admission that the "perfect image" may result from "instinct."⁷⁴ It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that perhaps in many other instances Shakespeare similarly hit on the perfect figure "by instinct." The admission goes far toward invalidating the whole procedure.⁷⁵

From a wealth of illustration and Miss Spurgeon's synthesis, one finally learns that Shakespeare "dislikes stale or dry tasteless things, dry biscuits, dried pears, stale dry cheese, musty or tainted meat, ill-baked doughy bread, sodden or greasy food, a carelessly boiled egg [raw on one side, burned on the other] or an over-roasted joint . . . that ginger and cordial appeared to him of more comfort than cold porridge . . ."⁷⁶ *Quaere*, whether the absence of the images from which this deduction was made means that we couldn't safely assume that Shakespeare (or any other poet) disliked "musty or tainted meat"? And because there are "very few food images at all"⁷⁷ after *Antony and Cleopatra*, are we to conclude that during the last decade of his life Shakespeare neither enjoyed his food nor suffered heart-burn—or perhaps had stopped eating altogether?

It is in this happy hunting ground of negative evidence that theorists in imagery find themselves evoking sprites out of nowhere. Since of Shakespeare's twenty-four fishing images, eight employ only an obvious use of the word *bait* and the others are similarly lacking in vividness, the inference is made that Shakespeare "had little personal knowledge of or interest in the sport of fishing."⁷⁸ This characteristic is attributed to Shakespeare's non-meditative nature (proof of which is never attempted). In Spenser,⁷⁹ too, the image of the bait and the hook is used in as obvious a way as, and even more frequently than, in Shakespeare. Shall one conclude that Spenser was not of a meditative nature? Or must one go beyond Spurgeon to Freud to seek esoteric explanations in the unknown childhood? Is it not easier to recognize that the figure of the

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 40, see pp. 105 and 110, cf. *L T L S*, Oct. 3, 1935, p. 609, col. 1, cf. Smith, p. 68. ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁷⁵ A passing concession by Miss Spurgeon (pp. 175, 183) that Shakespeare may have been using a figure because he and his audience were accustomed to it similarly tends to destroy her fundamental thesis. ⁷⁶ Spurgeon, p. 123 f. ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 100; cf. H. N. Ellacombe, *Shakespeare as an Angler* (London, 1883), pp. 8, 9, 27; for Marlowe see Smith, p. 55, who quotes the following proverb (see Tilley, p. 77, No. 36) as evidence that "only one of the images . . . hints at close personal acquaintance with the art":

Thus having swallow'd Cupids golden hooke,
The more she striv'd the deeper was she strook.

⁷⁹ *Faerie Queene* I i. 49. 6, I iv. 25. 9, II i. 4. 9, II xii. 29. 2, III ii. 38. 9, V v. 42. 6; V v. 43. 1; VI ix. 34. 4, *Amoretti*, XLVII. 4; *Colin Cl.* 871; cf. Tilley, p. 193, No. 348.

hook under the bait was a common one, a metaphor well-adapted to a variety of situations, indeed, almost irresistible where deceit and false allurements were to be indicated?

Speculation on imagery rests on a two-fold assumption that the image is a true indication of interest (and *always* direct observation, unless the creature doesn't exist, e.g., a mermaid), and the absence of an image is an indication of lack of knowledge or lack of interest. To test this premise in another way, it occurred to the writer to examine the work of a man whose name is synonymous with devotion to fishing, to see how many such images are developed in his writing. Even granted that the use of imagery in prose may differ from that in poetry, is it possible for a celebrated fisherman to write an essay without revealing his interest—without a single fishing image? Unfortunately for the theorists in imagery, the answer is 'yes.' A study of Izaak Walton's *Life of Donne*⁸⁰ reveals eleven images: three deal with the garden or farm, two with a comparison to light, two with tempests, one each with music, food, medicine and a bird. There is not a single fishing image. Had we not Walton's *Compleat Angler*, the erroneous conclusions about his interests and knowledge which could be drawn from the imagery in his *Life of Donne* constitute a warning indeed. Corresponding illustrations in other fields are available, so, for example, "one would hardly know from Machaut's poetry that he was the greatest French musician of his day."⁸¹ The deductions based on negative evidence—that is, *absence* of figures about any specific activity—are thus demonstrably false.

The unreliability of Miss Spurgeon's method can be demonstrated by further checking the necessary inference drawn pursuant to her method against the known and incontrovertible facts. From a paucity of images of the town and stage,⁸² one would, without the known facts to prevent it, make totally erroneous conclusions about Shakespeare's environment

⁸⁰ In *Lives* (Oxford University Press, 1927)

⁸¹ Clair C. Olson, "Chaucer and the Music of the Fourteenth Century," *Speculum*, xvi (1941), 90

⁸² Spurgeon, pp. 45 and 370. Miss Spurgeon's verbalized conclusions are frequently in contradiction with the normal inference to be drawn from her mathematical tabulations. Even though, in computing the images in *Hamlet*, she finds that mathematically there are fewer images of sickness than of each of three other groups, to wit, *Animals*, *Sports and Games*, and *Nature* (pp. 367 and 368), nevertheless she discovers (p. 316) that "the idea of an ulcer or tumour, as descriptive of the unwholesome condition of Denmark morally, is, on the whole, the dominating one." Similarly, from Miss Spurgeon's own tables (pp. 369 and 370), it would appear that *War*, *Weapons*, and *Explosives* with twelve images were three times as important in Shakespeare's life as the theatre, with only four images out of 279. Likewise (pp. 364–366), *Romeo and Juliet* has two images from the *Theatre*, but nine from *Sea*, ten from *Wars and Weapons*, two from *Fabulous Animals*, two from *Cupid's (love's) wings* (which Miss Spurgeon calls a bird image). Does this prove that Shakespeare

and work during the last twenty years of his life Marlowe's images, likewise, fail to disclose that he was once a boy (indulged in "boyhood pursuits")⁸³ and that in later life he lived in the town and had an interest in the theatre.⁸⁴ These basic discrepancies between the established biographical data and the normal inference from Miss Spurgeon's method of tabulating images constitute one essential critique of the method and warn us not to accept inferences about unestablished biographical surmises.

Because we are dealing with so poetical a phenomenon as a figure is no reason why we should neglect logic. Now, on the positive side, reasoning about imagery assumes that the presence of an image means the existence of a quality or experience, i.e., $I \text{ (Image)} < E \text{ (Experience)}$. This conclusion rests on the unexpressed premise that the image will occur only where the experience has been present, i.e., *only* $E > I$. This premise has not been proved. In fact, it is admitted that an artist can employ with what we now feel to be superb realism a figure clearly not traceable to the personal environment. On the strength of this admission, logically it can be concluded that no figure is *necessarily* dependent on environmental experience. On the negative side, the absence of an image is presumed to indicate lack of knowledge or experience. This inference would require, as a matter of logic, proof first that all those who had certain experiences used the correlative images.

Miss Spurgeon's theory thus is illogical and unsupported by the facts, in short, no more justified than the other biographical heresies which she herself dismisses.⁸⁵

The scattered examples from *Shakespeare's Imagery* have been collected with no intention of indulging in carping criticism of detail, but in order to illustrate the dangers into which biographic inference based on tabulation of images must inevitably lead, and thus to give concrete expression to a general warning. Negative evidence is clearly less reliable than affirmative evidence. Even the latter cannot be interpreted or evaluated in complete disregard of other factors which may be responsible for the use of the figure rather than physical environmental experience. It may be true that fondness for some one figure (such as a flooded river) may be an accurate reflection of the physical environment or a psychological revelation of almost embarrassing intimacy. But it must first be

had been to sea and to war more often than he had seen a play, and that dragons and cockatrices were a more vital part of his experience than the theatre? Long before this point, Miss Spurgeon has abandoned her own method, and admitted (p. 36) that she can find nothing to indicate "a direct knowledge of war or fighting."

⁸³ Smith, p. 74.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁸⁵ Spurgeon, p. 201.

proved by the collector of statistics in metaphor that such comparisons did not circulate in the general current of trite proverb and comparison from which all daily speech draws, or as a literary residuum from secondary sources. When your urban friend complains that he is as hungry as a bear, he may never have been outside the city limits—or even have visited the zoo (*De te fabula!*)—any more than Shakespeare visited the court of Oberon and Titania in the fabulous “woods near Athens.”

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THE MERRY WIVES QUARTO, A FARCE INTERLUDE

THAT strange dramatic compound of "gross corruption, constant mutilation, meaningless inversion, and clumsy transposition,"¹ the 1602 quarto of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, has furnished Shakespearean scholars with one of their best puzzles. The garbled condition of the text has long been considered as being the result of the "stolne and surreptitious" method of obtaining the copy. But there are fundamental conditions in the quarto which are hardly to be accounted for thus. The material and the manner of treatment continually suggest some special influence, some distinctive and integrated molding force other than the effort to obtain the play by oblique devices.

One who comes to the quarto fresh from a considerable reading in the interludes and moralities is likely to sense a strange familiarity in the milieu. As he notes more carefully the special peculiarities of the text, he can hardly escape the belief that they are more than accidental, they resemble too closely the substance and method of the interlude. An examination of these characteristics will reveal their significance more fully.

That the basic material of *The Merry Wives* is essentially of the farce type is self evident. The element of domestic intrigue immediately places it. This was indirectly noticed a century ago. In 1842, Halliwell published five novelle from Straparola as analogues of *The Merry Wives*.² With this group he included also "The Fishwife's Tale of Brainford"³ from *Westward for Smelts*. He did not point out, however, that *The Merry Wives* was thus linked with the line of farce in English drama reaching back to *Dame Sirith* of the century before Chaucer.

More recently, Chambers stated the relation quite fully:

. . . its complexities of domestic intrigue make the piece [*The Merry Wives*] a farce in the modern sense, but it answers more precisely to the older conception of the form which prevailed in fifteenth century France. Such farce you may define, if you will, as acted fabliau. And as acted fabliau, *The Merry Wives* is the best English specimen, just as Chaucer's *Miller's Tale* and *Reeve's Tale* are the best English specimens of fabliau in narrative. It has all the well-known characteristics of the genre: the realistic portraiture of contemporary types, the frankness, not to say coarseness, of manners, the light esteem for the marriage tie, the love of "scoring off" someone, and by preference in a matter of venery.

¹ W. W. Greg, *Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor, 1602* (Oxford, 1910), p. xxvi.

² J. O. Halliwell, *The First Sketch of Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Shakespeare Society Publications*, ix (London, 1842).

³ Can it be mere coincidence that "the fat woman of Brainford" comes into the play as a means of trapping Falstaff?

The fact that the someone is a man of rather better birth can only give an added spice to so bourgeois a literary type as the fabliau has always been ⁴

If this is warranted for the accepted version of *The Merry Wives*, it is doubly so for the quarto, for in it everything is done to stress the farce elements. Its very brevity suggests an effort to meet the common limits of the interlude. Instead of the 3018 lines of the folio, it is reduced to 1624. *Hyckescorner* and *Jack Juggler* run approximately a thousand lines each, while *The Four PP* has 1236.

But the brevity of the quarto has more significance than the mere fact of shortness. It is in the method of attaining this brevity that we find the key to the purpose and character of the quarto. The compression which is everywhere so conspicuous is according to plan. Things which are not in the interlude manner are cut out, and things which are typical of the interlude are emphasized and heightened. This treatment and its effects are seen in almost every element of the play.

The first result of such compression is greatly to increase the tempo of the action. As noted by Hart, we have in the quarto "the unusually numerous gallery of actors that the full play presents, but in a much reduced space" ⁵ It matters little if motivation and logical relationship are often wrenched violently, or that the plot thread is frequently broken by inversion and omission. And if the underplot impedes the swift onward rush, why, out it must go. The interlude must have action, vigorous and raw. The ruthless cutting and reshaping for this purpose is excellently shown in the opening scene of the play. Justice Shallow has the stage in both versions. The folio gives his words thus:

Sir Hugh, perswade me not. I will make a Star-Chamber matter of it, if hee were twenty Sir Iohn Falstaffs, he shall not abuse Robert Shallow Esquire.

The quarto starts instead with this abrupt, melodramatic manner: "Nere talke to me, Ile make a star-chamber matter of it." But even so, the adapter apparently found the going too slow. For, to obtain the next sentence, which concludes the speech, he skipped lightly forward to line 35 (though actually line 119 is more nearly what he uses): "The Councell shall know it." The intervening thirty lines or so of the folio, occupied with the "most pleasant and excellent conceits" promised in the title page, must have been mere padding to the adapter. "Action! Action!" he seems to demand, much in the manner of the modern movie director. Accordingly, Page is introduced as the second speaker, although in the folio he doesn't appear until line 80. His words borrow the conciliating business assigned to Evans in the folio. Slender and Sir Hugh "make

⁴ E. K. Chambers, *Shakespeare: A Survey* (London, 1925), p. 170

⁵ H. C. Hart, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (London, 1904), p. xx.

fritters of English" in a speech apiece Shallow protests that though Falstaff be a knight (instead of the folio's "if he were twenty Sir Iohn Falstaffs"), he shall not "carrie it so away." Abruptly then, he turns to Page with the announcement:

For you
Syr, I love you, and for my cousen
He comes to looke upon your daughter

To which, Page, without turning a hair, responds

And heres my hand, and if my daughter
Like him so well as I, wee'l quickly have it a match

Falstaff, Pistoll, Bardolfe, and Nim now enter and through 35 lines braid strands of humor with ambiguous answers for their double crimes In 13 lines more, "Mistresse Foord, Mistresse Page, and her daughter Anne" appear to announce dinner, and allow Falstaff an opportunity to kiss Mrs Page by mistake for Mrs Ford.

With such seven-league boots we simply touch the peaks of the story. All shades and tones of difference, the force of minor incidents as they point toward major consequences, the careful harmonizing of doer and deed—these are not even of shadowy concern Instead, abrupt thrusts, bursts of speed, and shocks of surprise are desired, for they will stop the breath and win the heart of the interlude audience Therefore the adapter next plunges *in medias res* and from the center of the play lifts six lines (folio, III, iv, 63–68) in which Slender struggles through the preliminaries of a proposal to Anne.

Here, as elsewhere, inconsistencies resulting from a considerable suppression of underplot are passed over with a wink. The action is driven so relentlessly forward that Bardolph is forgotten and not permitted to speak his lines even after he is brought on the stage; and poor Simple is quietly, thoroughly annihilated. So ends, after 109 lines, what occupies the first scene of the folio, where it requires 326 lines, three times as much. It cannot be denied that the movement of the play is thus speeded up But at what a price! However, such is the manner of farce

As might be expected, characterization in the quarto is a sad and meager affair The chief figures were such as to delight the patrons of interludes. Bully, roistering Falstaff, loquacious, empty headed Quickly; the bombastic Host, the pair of foreigners (stupid, of course, in their bungling of the language), Justice Shallow (ridiculed enough to satisfy any "lewd" man), Slender, the rich fool—what an array for farce! But to make sure they are fully appreciated, their special talents are played up until the characters go far toward becoming caricatures. The more amplified and humanized persons of the folio were evidently not vivid

enough. Illustrations of how the character-revealing speeches are slashed to little more than outlines are found everywhere in the quarto. For instance, Falstaff's account of his epic ride in the buckbasket is cut from 31 lines to 13. But the garrulous flood of Quickly's speech is quenched even more completely. Typical of her in the folio is this torrent.

Marry this is the short, and the long of it you have brought her into such a Canaries, as 'tis wonderfull the best Courtier of them all (when the Court lay at Windsor) could never have brought her to such a Canarie yet there has beene Knights, and Lords, and Gentlemen, with their Coaches, I warrant you Coach after Coach, letter after letter, gift after gift, smelling so sweetly, all Muske, and so rushling, I warrant you, in silke and golde, and in such alligant termes, and in such wine and suger of the best, and the fairest, that would have wonne any womans heart and I warrant you, they could never get an eye-winke of her I had my selfe twentie Angels given me this morning, but I defie all Angels (in any such sort, as they say) but in the way of honesty and I warrant you, they could never get her so much as sippe on a cup with the prowdest of them all, and yet there has been Earles nay, (which is more) Pentioners, but I warrant you all is one with her.

This, with two other of her long speeches, totaling 84 lines, is rendered by these two fatuous lines: "I sir, and as they say, she is not the first Hath bene led in a fooles paradise " Surely this illustrates the difference between holding the mirror up to nature, and the stringing together of a company of eccentrics who are involved in intrigue. But one does not look to farce for a mirror of life.

If the humanizing of character suffers thus in the quarto transformation of *The Merry Wives*, what shall we expect for the more delicate and intangible qualities of poetic beauty, and the artistic in concept and expression? Shakespeare generally contrives to relieve the coarseness of his low-life groups so that their vulgarity is somehow submerged under a stronger atmosphere of decency and refinement. A little of this elevating power is discoverable in the folio of *The Merry Wives*. But even that little is squeezed out of the quarto. For instance, Fenton's justification of Anne at the end of the folio, has a heroic ring and tends to bring the play back to a world of nobility and fine idealism. All this is lost in the quarto, replaced by these two miserable lines:

Married to me, nay sir never storme,
Tis done sir now, and cannot be undone.

Indeed the whole final act in the folio takes on the color of fairy pageantry, with definite gleams of delicacy and beauty. Even Quickly is made the mouthpiece of magic incantation. For her poetic part, the quarto substitutes this horrible doggerel:

Away begon, his mind fulfill,
 And looke that none of you stand still
 Some do that thing, some do this,
 All do something, none amis

Not only is this like the interludes in ignoring everything but the simple primary effect to be achieved by the plot, but the banal and wooden phrasing is the very pattern of interlude style

The style of the quarto is obviously and strikingly inferior to that of the folio. Even more, the inferiority is of a special type—the type that characterizes the moralities and interludes. It is stiff, conventional, mechanical. Its phrases are stereotyped, frequently falling back on stage jargon. The choice of words is generally bare, flat, and wooden

It is not possible to go into this point as fully as it deserves. However, the qualities of style in the quarto may be considered as falling into three groups: first, the thin, flat, pedestrian wording of the interlude, so lacking in the life and variety characteristic of Shakespeare, second, the actual stereotypes or counters of expression which weigh down the interludes; and third, the mechanical and obvious indication of stage action. A few specimens will be cited without going too much into detail

Consider Anne's speeches at the rather delicate but annoying moment of Slender's protestation of love. The quarto makes her burst out petulantly:

Now forsooth why do you stay me?
 What would you with me?

The approach in the folio is much more in the tone of refinement and good taste which we should expect of Anne. After she has politely suggested to Shallow that Slender be allowed to speak for himself, she turns to that timid wight with: "Now, Master Slender . . ." And after he vapidly echoes her, she perseveres pleasantly: "What is your will?" Though he turns this into stupid humor, she still encourages him: "I mean, Master Slender, what would you with me?" Such crude, bald directness as exhibited by the quarto could be duplicated scores of times in the interludes. For instance we may take the opening of *Nice Wanton*:

Barn. Fye, brother, fye! and specyally you, sister Dalila!
 Sobrenes becommeth maydes alway.
Dal What, ye dolt! Ye be ever in one songe!
Ism Yea, sir, it shall cost you blowes ere it be longe!

Or compare with this from *Hyckescorner* (428–430):

Imag. Now, by Kockes herte, thou shalte lose an arme!
Hycke. Naye, syr, I charge you, do him no harme.
Imag. And thou make to moche, I wyll breke thy heed, to!

Conventional stage phrasing, found not only in the oaths⁶ but also in various kinds of stereotypes, helps to lend the quarto the old-fashioned tone of the moralities. Such expressions as "pray, sir," "marry, was it," "that will I do," "nay, prithee," "with all my heart," "a word with you, sir," "how now, woman," and a host more, are the very stamp of interlude and morality diction. The point is not that they are unknown to Elizabethan drama, even to Shakespeare, but that they are used so constantly in the quarto as to become a sort of verbal medium of exchange.

In the stage tags and cues are further links with the interlude manner. Phrases such as "let us about it then" (quarto, 235), "I am glad I am got hence" (307), "I now will seek" (790), "stand aside" (923), "well, let's about this (1297), "my name is John Simple" (292), "my name is Nym" (374) are surely the echoes of earlier forms like these: "nede I must departe now" (*Hyckescorner*, 153), "I must go hence" (*Nice Wanton*, 433), "I wyll go nowe as fast as I may" (*Johan, Johan*, 286), "now wende I wyll" (*Mundus et Infans*, 808), "Wanton is my name" (*Ibid.*, 76).

Shakespeare's humor in *The Merry Wives* is broad and farcical, yet it is by no means all on the lowest plane. Instead, it is built on at least four levels. In relation to the plot, the basis of humor is the confusion and conquest of an intriguer caught in a series of practical jokes. In the secondary lines of action, the humor is founded on good-natured satirizing of love match-making by elders, of explosive passion growing out of rivalry, and of madness in jealousy. On a third level, that is, in character, we have these same strains of satire pursued but with additions supplied by the personalities of Shallow, Evans, Host, Quickly, Nim, and others. And on the fourth level, the humor often rests on puns (many unsavory), on fantastic word twists, on errors caused by unfamiliarity with English, and on double meaning or word play. The folio amplifies the subtler forms such as character foibles. But this is exactly the type which the quarto minimizes or omits while at the same time building up the cruder and coarser forms. Such emphasis of the gross and vulgar is the mode of farce. The distinction is not altogether a matter of substance; it is, in fact, often largely a matter of proportion and emphasis.

Of course it is useless to look for much of the finer art or deeper philosophy of Shakespeare in *The Merry Wives*. And yet in the folio there are a few marks of the master. For instance, after Mrs. Page reads Falstaff's letter, she falls into a meditative questioning of how such a thing could be. This is destroyed in the quarto, where instead, she rails like the conventional termagant:

⁶ Greg's interesting parallel-column list of oaths from the quarto and folio shows a considerable taming of the folio group. Greg, *op. cit.*, liv-lvi.

Why what a Gods
name doth this man see in me, that thus he shootes
at my honestie?

Falstaff and the Host and even the addled Quickly are philosophers after their fashion. But most of this phase is cut from the quarto. Farce is essentially a disparagement, a discounting of the serious values in life. It is incompatible with sincere study of character and action. We are not surprised, therefore, to find beauty and truth rejected by the quarto.

A final hint that the quarto was early considered in the light of farce is provided by the title-page which gives full notice to the lighter comedy elements thus.

A Most pleasant and excellent conceited Comedie, of Syr Iohn Falstaff, and the merrie Wives of Windsor

Entermixed with the sundrie variable and pleasing humors, of Syr Hugh the Welch Knight, Iustice Shallow, and his wise Cousin M. Slender

With the swaggering vaine of Auncient Pistoll, and Corporall Nym

This is in marked contrast with the usual rather simple and direct statements on the title-pages of Shakespeare's plays.

In view of all this, it is not unreasonable to suppose that some adapter, habituated to the manner of the interlude, and recognizing the special excellence of *The Merry Wives* as interlude material, revamped the play, shortening it and accentuating its more obvious and crude appeals. While such a possibility does not necessarily preclude the theory of a devious and illegitimate mode of securing the copy, it may render such an explanation of the quarto defects unnecessary.

There is much reason, therefore, for believing, with Greg, that the quarto is an adaptation of an earlier version—not an “unskilful adaptation”⁷ so much as an adaptation for a special type of audience, which Greg also felt, even going further and considering it “adapted to the palate of a London audience.”⁸ There are evidences that this audience was one which was served by a school-boy company—but that is another story.

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⁷ *Op. cit.*, 88, notes on lines 1436 ff

⁸ *Ibid.*, 89, notes on 1473-78.

STYLISTIC DEVICES IN CHAPMAN'S *ILIADS*

THE verse preface which Chapman addressed "To the Reader" in 1609 when he brought out the first twelve books of the *Iliads* contains a succinct statement of his doctrine of translation. This preface is fairly well known as one of the significant critical essays of the English renaissance, but his translation of the *Iliad* itself has not been fully explored in the light of his doctrine. When the poem is measured against the precepts, it can be observed that nearly all of the stylistic idiosyncrasies of Chapman's translation, as distinct from the conceptual divergencies of his rendering, accord with his stated principles. In fact, the pertinent passage from the epistle makes the best possible introduction to a study of the poetic style of the translation. The lines run as follows:

since, so generally,

Custome hath made euen th'ablest Agents erre
 In these translations, all so much apply
 Their paines and cunnings, word for word to render
 Their patient Authors, when they may as well,
 Make fish with fowle, Camels with Whales engender;
 Or their tongues speech, in other mouths compell
 For, euen as different a production
 Aske Greeke and English, since as they in sounds,
 And letters, shunne one forme, and vnison,
 So haue their sense, and elegancie bounds
 In their distinguisht natures, and require
 Onely a iudgement to make both consent,
 In sense and elocution, and aspire
 As well to reach the spirit that was spent
 In his example, as with arte to pierce
 His Grammar, and etymologie of words.
 But, as great Clerkes, can write no English verse,
 Because (alas! great Clerks) English affords
 (Say they) no height, nor copie, a rude tounge,
 (Since this their Natue) but in Greeke or Latine
 Their wits are rare, for thence true Poesie sprong
 Though them (Truth knowes) they haue but skil to chat-in,
 Compar'd with that they might say in their owne,
 Since thither th'others full soule cannot make
 The ample transmigration to be showne
 In Nature-louing Poesie So the brake
 That those Translators sticke in, that affect
 Their word-for-word traductions (where they lose
 The free grace of their naturall Dialect

*Of Translation, and
 the naturall difference
 of Dialects, necessarily
 to be obserued in it*

Irony

And shame their Authors, with a forced Glose)
 I laugh to see, and yet as much abhorre
 More licence from the words, then may expresse
 Their full compression, and make cleare the Author.
 From whose truth, if you thinke my feet digresse,
 Because I vse needfull Periphrases,
 Reade *Valla*, *Hessus*, that in Latine Prose,
 And Verse conuert him, reade the *Messines*,
 That into Tuscan turns him, and the Glose
 Graue *Salel* makes in French, as he translates
 Which (for th'aforesaide reasons) all must doo,
 And see that my conuersion much abates
 The licence they take, and more shoves him too
 Whose right, not all those great learn'd men haue done
 (In some maine parts), that were his Commentars.

*The necessarie near-
ness of translation to
the example*

10-54

In other words, he is not going to make any such effort as Stanyhurst did to wrench English syllables into the metre of classical verse, and he is going to give a free translation in the belief that a periphrasis is sometimes necessary to render fully the true meaning of the poet, which may be lost in a literal translation

In spite of his decision not to attempt classical prosody since the Greek and English tongues "shunne one forme, and vnison," Chapman is still faced with the eternal problem inherent in the translation of classical verse into English: namely, the fact that the majority of English words are short as compared to Latin or Greek. For rhyming purposes, Chapman preferred the English language to the French and Italian, and writes in the same preface:

Our Monosyllables, so kindly fall
 And meete, oppos'd in rime, as they did kisse,

but when it came to filling out a line of verse, they offered a problem.

Chapman had one device with which he tried to circumvent the superabundance of short words in English; it is his one effort to play a trick on his native tongue. This is his liberal invention of compound epithets, in imitation of the Greek: that handcuffing of words together—as Lowell put it—"Till they halt along, melancholy and irregular, like a coffle of slaves under the eaves of the Capitol."¹ There are many of these chain gangs in the *Iliads*, although the use of them in this poem is a triumph of moderation as compared to that in the *Odysseys*. In the *Iliads* we find such efforts as:

¹ James Russell Lowell, *Conversations on Some of the Old Poets* (Philadelphia: McKay, 1883), p. 157.

whose tongue pour'd forth a flood
 Of more-than-honey-sweet discourse, (I 247) ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων
 ῥέεν αὐδὴ
 His golden-riband-bound-man'd horse (v 344) χρυσάμπυκας
 Unblest, great-high-deed-daring man (v 384) ὀβριμοεργός
 The far-off-working Deity (v 425) ἐκαέργος.
 a mortall-man-made wound (v 867) (No equivalent in Homer)
 Not-to-be-suffr'd Jupiter (VIII 408) αἰνότατε
 Much-to-be revered friend (XI 566) αἰδοῖος νεμεσητός
 the excellent-in-bows, the Rainbow (xv 49) (No equivalent in Homer)
 these much-medicine-knowing men (xvi 23) πολυφάρμακοι
 the cold-weed-gathering shore (xxiii 602) φυκίοντι.
 First-down-chinn'd (xxiv 307) πρῶτον ὑπηγήτη.

Of these eleven fairly representative examples, six are translations of single Greek words, three of phrases, and two gratuitous inventions. The desired effect evidently is to add speed to the line such as only polysyllabic words can give, but the end is most certainly not attained. One invariably halts over these uncouth compound epithets and stutters one's way through them, oblivious of the metre.

But the chief interest that attaches to this study is an analysis of what in his translation constitutes the "free grace of his natural dialect." He says that the literal word-for-word translators lose this free grace, whereas he retains it. Of what, then, is it constituted? Most conspicuously, of added figures of speech and plays on words which provide the "adornment" of his translation and yet are at the same time "natural" to the poetic conventions of his time, to poetic "dialect." And secondly, of "natural" English colloquialisms and of the use of "natural" English words which are anachronisms in a translation of Homer. These secondary elements of "free grace" are far less conspicuous than the first, and may be briefly dispatched.

The anachronisms bespeak a certain critical naïveté which Chapman shared with his predecessors in English translation. His Homer is peopled with Dukes, Rectors, Pastors, Colonels, Angels, and even Fairies. The Dukes, Rectors, Pastors, and Colonels are simple variants of the regular Homeric title, "leader of the people," and were an easy device for avoiding the repetition of a stock phrase. An Angel is synonymous with "a god," and useful when a two syllable word is required; and Goddess Fairies are a convenient substitute for "nymphs." Characters in the epic are occasionally clothed in silk, and swords are damasked, specific and "natural" ways of varying the formulae of "fine raiment" and "highly wrought." Such anachronisms lend a certain element of quaintness to the translation, but do little to distort it, for they are purely verbal.

A far more striking anachronism is the treatment of Homer's physiological and anatomical detail. It provided P. A. Robin with a wealth of illustration for his absorbing little treatise on *The Old Physiology in English Literature*. As he says,

When Chapman translated the *Iliad* he adapted his author to his readers by interpolating many physiological ideas which were not in the original. Where Homer says (*Il.* viii 477) simply "I care not for thy wrath," Chapman writes, "I weigh not thy displeased spleen." In translating the phrase *παρὰ λαπάρην* (iii 359, vii 25) ("along the flank," i.e., between ribs and hips), which occurs in several passages, Chapman varies his interpretation, in one place he says "in that low region where the guts in three small parts begin", and in another, "his manly stomach's mouth." Instead of the base of the skull (v. 73) he says, "the fountain of his nerves," and in a description of the effect of fear, where the Greek is "nor is my heart steadfast," (x 94), he says, "my heart, the fount of heat, with his extreme affects made me cold." These and many other instances that might be cited afford strong evidence that the many medical allusions in Shakespeare and other Elizabethan dramatists were no particular sign of learning, but that an acquaintance (no doubt superficial) with Galenic physiology was part of the general knowledge of the day.²

Part of Chapman's physiological lore derived, as Robin states, from the general education of his day, part from his own scholarly researches. The material in Robin's book shows that it was a general belief that the Brain, Heart, and Liver were the three "noble" organs. Chapman calls the base of the skull, the "fountain of his nerves," and the heart, "the fount of heat." This figure seems to have been a cliché. So, Davies in his Introduction to *Nosce Teipsum* (1599) calls the liver, "the fountain of the veins,"³ and King James I in his *Counterblaste to Tobacco* calls it the "fountain of blood."⁴ The theory that the Brain was the "fountain of the nerves," the Heart of heat, and the Liver of the blood was Galenic, and hence, of course, post-Homeric. But the phrases which Robin quotes as translations of the simple Homeric "along the flank" do not equally reveal mere general information on the subject. Chapman had done some research of his own on the Homeric phrase *παρὰ λαπάρην* which led to the rendering: "in that low region where the guts in three small parts begin" (iii. 372). In another place he translates *κατὰ λαπάρην* with the addition of even more specific detail:

wounding him in that part that is plac't
Betwixt the short ribs and the bones, that to the triple gut
Have pertinence. (xiv. 432-434)

² P. A. Robin, *The Old Physiology* (London: Dent, 1911), pp. 15-16.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

and adds the note:

Ὅτα κατὰ λαπάρην, &c, *vulneravit ad ilia* it is translated, and is in the last verses of this Book, where Menelaus is said to wound Hyperenor. But *λαπάρην dicitur ea pars corporis quae posita est inter costas nothas, et ossa quae ad ilia pertinent, quòd inanis sit, et desiderat* Hipp. in lib. *περὶ ἀγμῶν*, and therefore I accordingly translate it. And note this beside, both out of this place, and many others, how excellent an anatomist our Homer was, whose skill in those times, methinks, should be a secret.

A "secret" is just about right, since Homer's "skill" lies simply in the use of a common word without anatomical explanations. But Chapman would have him a fore-runner of Hippocrates. He got this idea from his regular source of recondite information, Scapula's lexicon. He looked up the word, *λαπάρην*, and found two definitions: one of an adjective, the other of the noun, blithely combined the "authority" given for the first, with the definition of the second, and carried over the Latin *pertinent*, into the "Have pertinence" of his translation.⁵ So it is perfectly clear that not *all* of the anatomical or physiological information contained in the translation was simply "in the air."⁶

The physiological and anatomical diction is one rather striking part of what Chapman would have called the "free grace of his natural dialect." We have nearly done with that aspect of his version which I have characterized as simply *English* and of Chapman's day, hence anachronistic to Homer. A few more illustrations of the same quality will suffice. We find here and there, though not with great frequency, colloquialisms which add a certain degree of liveliness to the translation at the same time that they militate against its dignity: such phrases as the following (The phrases in italics have no equivalent in the Greek.)

The horses "lay down and *cool'd their hoofs*" (III. 340)

"Ajax did fetch his run" (XII. 394)

A "*strait-lac'd*" spinster. (XII. 426)

"This sound stuff Hector lik'd" (XIII. 667)

"Jove's thunder being no laughing game" (XIV. 348)

"This threat even nail'd him to his throne" (XV. 138)

⁵ (1) *Λαπαρός*, οἰ, ὁ, vacuus, inanis, Arist. hist. anim. lib. 8 . . . ventres evacuantur. Item tenuis, mollis Hippocr. in lib. *περὶ ἀγμῶν*.

(2) *Λαπάρην*, *λαπαρόν*, dicitur ea pars corporis etc. (as above in Chapman's note)
II γ α. η

⁶ For further illustrations of current concepts, however, see

Humours xvii. 208

xi. 201-202

Liver xi. 507-508

xvii. 300-301

xx. 417

Nerves xx. 383-386

Spirits xi. 496

xv. 221-223

Spleen xxiii. 488-489

"Come, mind our business." (xv. 437)

"In such a ruff wert thou " (xxiii 517)

"A tall huge man, that to the nail knew that rude sport of hand " (xxiii 581)

There are not nearly so many colloquialisms, however, as may be found in most of the translations of Chapman's predecessors ⁷

The second type of natural freedom which Chapman allows himself is the adornment by means of added figures of speech and plays on words. This freedom, according to Matthew Arnold, is Chapman's chief fault as a translator of Homer. He says of Chapman:

between Chapman and Homer there is interposed the mist of the fancifulness of the Elizabethan age, entirely alien to the plain directness of Homer's thought and feeling ⁸

The ballad-manner—Chapman's manner—is, I say, pitched sensibly lower than Homer's. The ballad-manner requires that an expression shall be plain and natural, and then it asks no more. Homer's manner requires that an expression shall be plain and natural, but it also requires that it shall be noble ⁹

Arnold here, I feel, hits on a part of the truth, but not the whole. He sacrifices too much for the sake of antithesis and point. It is hard to reconcile the mist of Elizabethan fancifulness with the plain ballad-manner. I should accept most certainly his description of the fancifulness, but reject entirely his epigram on the ballad-manner. Even in his use of the fourteener, by varying freely the cesural pause, Chapman has departed far from the ballad meter. No—Chapman is seldom plain, with a ballad plainness, and is sometimes noble, though not with the "grand style" of Arnold's definition.

Elizabethan fancy plays over the whole of the *Iliads*, but in this poem, diffused as it is throughout, it is really nothing more than a thin ground mist. It does not penetrate deeply into the essence of the translation, nor is it of as metaphysical and abstruse a character as in the *Odysseys*. The added figures of speech, though often clumsy, are not designed to carry any particular weight of meaning.¹⁰ Only rarely does he heighten a whole passage through the extended application of a figurative device. I choose one on which he has let himself go. Achilles has just slain Lycaon.

⁷ See H. B. Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman, 1477-1620* ("University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature" xxxv, Madison 1933), *passim*; and compare Phaer whose practice in this matter is not unlike Chapman's.

⁸ Arnold, *On Translating Homer*. Lecture I in *Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1914), p. 251. ⁹ *Ibid.*, Lecture II, p. 276.

¹⁰ Here is a typical selection. The italics indicate words which are a forth-right addition to the original; figurative phrases not in italics are a recasting of an Homeric phrase.

II 452 And those that dwell where Cephisus casts up his silken mists.

564 *their glasses all were run.*

Then gript Æacides his heel, and to the lofty flood
 Flung, swinging, his *unpined corse*, to see it swim, and toss
 Upon the rough waves, and said. "Go, feed fat the fish *with loss*
Of thy left blood, they clean will suck thy green wounds, and this saves
 Thy mother tears upon thy bed Deep Xanthus on his waves
 Shall hoise thee bravely to a tomb, that in her burly breast
 The sea shall open, where great fish may keep *thy funerall feast*
 With thy white fat, *and on the waves dance at thy wedding fate*,
Clad in black horror, keeping close inaccessible state
 So perish Ilians, till we pluck the brows of Ilion
Down to her feet, you flying still, I flying still upon
Thus in the rear, and (as my brows were fork't with rabid horns)*
 Toss ye together (XXI 118-130)

* The word is *κεφάλισμα*, which they translate *caedens*, but properly signifies *dissipans*, ut
boves infestus cornibus

The "they" in Chapman's note is Divus' Latin version in Spondanus, the
 definition is Scapula's, as usual unhappily chosen. It accounts for the
 quaint picture we get in the last line of the passage when Achilles com-

-
- V 253 *I will not blow the fire*
Of their hot valours with my flight, but cast upon the blaze
Thus body borne upon my knees
- VI 103 Thus Hector, *toiling in the waves, and thrusting back the flood*
Of his ebb'd forces, thus takes leave
 [Andromache to Hector]
- 441 Thy mind, inflam'd with others' good, will set thyself on fire
 (this thy hardihood will undo thee)
 [Hector tells Andromache the day will come]
- 487 When sacred Troy shall shed her towers, *for tears of overthrow*,
 When Priam, all his birth and power, shall in those tears be drown'd
 (the day shall come for holy Ilios to be laid low, and Priam
 and the folk of Priam of the good ashen spear)
- VII 56 till Mars, by you, *his ravenous stomach fills*
With ruin'd Troy
- 137 his big bulk lay on earth, extended here and there,
As it were covetous to spread the centre everywhere
- XIV 1 Not wine, *nor feasts*, could lay their *soft chains* on old Nestor's ear
- XVII. 650 Yet as a sylvan hill
 Thrusts back a torrent, that hath kept a narrow channell still,
 Till at his oaken breast it beats
- XVIII 158 Of thy friend's value than let dogs make him a monument
Where thy name will be graven
- XX 226 Why then *paint* we, like dames, the face of conflict with our words?
 (like children)
- XXII. 353 *all the town veil'd with a cloud of tears*
 381 *These two thus vented as they could*
Their sorrow's furnace.
 420 *a hell of moan.*

pare himself to a horned animal. The additions made up to that point are all for greater emphasis and horror: an increase in the number of active verbs, and an extension of Homer's statement that the fish will feast upon his fat. The feast here is appropriately called a "funeral feast", and then, because antitheses are always striking, we have apposed a "wedding" at which the fish will dance in their funeral garb—all very grim, and all very fantastic.

The constant use of personification as a figurative adornment is a constituent part of the Elizabethan mist of fancifulness which covers the translation. It was perfectly natural for Chapman when Homer wrote that "night came" to elaborate the statement with some such figure as "But now night lays her mace on earth" (vii. 247), or "peacefull night treads busy day beneath her sacred feet" (xi. 177), when he spoke of "fate" to make it more grim with "Her own steel fingers" (xxi. 53), or to call "contention," "that black fiend" (xviii. 100). We are continually meeting such figures as Memory, Authority, Chance, Revenge, Conquest, Deceit, Force, Grief, Calamity, Peace, Death, Delicacy, Winter—all stalking in human, or godlike guise through the poem. Where Homer was content with an abstraction, Chapman adds hands, feet, wings, and all manner of inner human attributes as well. He writes one note on the subject, in eager defense of Homer's personification of Sleep and Death who, in Book xvi, had carried Sarpedon's body to Lycia. He had read in Spondanus Eustathius' objections to this passage, and quotes both him and Spondanus most disparagingly for their blind reasonableness. His defense gives him a good opportunity to point the eternal moral and inner significance of Homer:

Nor would Homer have any one believe the personall transportance of Sarpedon by Sleep and Death, but only varieth and graceth his poem with these prosopopeias, and delivers us this most ingenious and grave doctrine in it. That the hero's body, for which both those mighty hosts so mightily contended, Sleep and Death (those same *quaedam inania*) took from all their personall and solid forces. Wherein he would further note to us, that, from all the bitterest and deadliest conflicts and tyrannies of the world, Sleep and Death, when their worst is done, deliver and transfer men; a little mocking withall the vehement and greedy prosecutions of tyrants and soldiers against, or for that, which two such deedless poor things takes from all their empery. And yet, against Eustathius' manner of slighting their powers, what is there, of all things belonging to man, so powerfull over him as Death and Sleep? And why may not our Homer (whose words I hold with Spondanus ought to be an undisputable deed and authority with us) as well personate Sleep and Death, as all men besides personate Love, Anger, Sloth, &c? Thus only where the sense and soul of my most worthily revered author is abused, or not seen, I still insist, and glean these few poor corn ears after all other men's harvests.

"As all men besides personate Love, Anger, Sloth, &c"—that is the point. This type of prosopopeia was so much a part of poetic tradition, Chapman probably turned Homer's abstractions into persons without thinking twice. It was a manner of poetic speech so natural to the language in which he was translating, we can readily imagine that the phrases flowed from his pen without theory or hesitation.

Chapman's jugglery with words and phrases is another aspect of his fancifulness, and another of the qualities in the translation which is typically Elizabethan. He has, for instance, a lovely time with the gods and goddesses, particularly the goddesses, substituting fanciful descriptions of their attributes for their proper names. So Aphrodite is at times: "the Queen that rules in amorous blood" (v. 243), "this kind Queen of love" (v. 400), "the loving Dame" (v. 402), "love's golden Arbitress" (v. 414), "the Queen, that governs chamber sport" (v. 822), "the Queen that lovers loves" (III 396), "Love's Empress" (III, 407). And Iris appears in almost as many guises, as: "the thousand-colour'd Dame" (III 145), "She that paints the air" (v. 348), "the windy-footed dame" (v. 352), "She that wears the thousand-colour'd hair" (xxiii 182), and "the Dame that doth in vapours shine, Dewy and thin" (xxiv 92-93). Likewise the changes are rung on the white arms of Hera, and so on through the stock attributes of the various deities. Chapman fails entirely to arouse the comfortable feeling of recognition which we constantly have in reading Homer—of finding the same old phrases over and over again.

There is nothing particularly subtle about the game which Chapman plays with single words, he throws them up like balls, usually two at a time. The result is a great deal of repetitiveness of words not at all in the Homeric manner. For where Homer repeats many phrases and stock epithets, Chapman rather particularly avoids doing so, and instead repeats words in such a way as to give them an apposite or antithetical meaning. The poem is thickly decorated with these dexterous antitheses, perhaps the most striking single evidence of the Elizabethan fancifulness which plays over it. To use a Chapmanesque turn: an exhaustive catalogue of them would be exhausting. This, however, is the way they run:

The like-wise falling sun
And I, together, set; my life was almost set too;
(I 574-575)¹¹

Adrestus sought to save
His head by losing of his feet, and trusting to his knees,
On which the same parts of the king he hugs, and offers fees
Of worthy value for his life, and thus pleads their receipt
(vi. 42-45)¹²

¹¹ I 592-593

¹² vi 45.

(an ambush)

Was lodg'd for him, whom he lodg'd sure, they never rais'd a head
(vi 194)¹³

That, what their fiery industries have so divinely wrought
In raising it, in razing it thy power will prove it nought.
(vii 386-387)¹⁴

the man, so late so spiritfull,
Fell now quite spiritless to earth (xii 194-195)¹⁵

(Jove) Who, as he poll'd off his dart's heads, so sure he had decreed
That all the counsels of their war, he would poll off like it,
And give the Trojans victory, (xvi 112-115)¹⁶

Patroclus, so enforc't
When he had forc't so much brave life, was from his own divorc't
And thus his great divorcer brav'd. (xvi. 760-762)¹⁷

Make my shores periods
To all shore service In the field let thy field-acts run high,
Not in my waters (xxi 202-204)¹⁸

To move these movers (movers = knees) (xxii 333)¹⁹

These illustrations will suffice. The game is clever, but scarcely graceful.

From these adornments which we feel immediately to be simply a poetic manner, we turn to a rhetorical device which we have reason to know was part of a conscious poetic theory. namely, the extended application of similes.

Elsewhere I have had a good deal to say about Chapman's rendering of one of Homer's similes, that of the bees in the second book.²⁰ Briefly, the point which he made in his note to the passage was that it was false to think that Virgil excelled as a writer of similes simply because he extended his application further. Homer implied in his similes as much as Virgil, but often left the reader to complete the entire application by "pervial" discernment. Therefore he castigates Spondanus for saying that a simile must *uno pede semper claudicare*. In the translation of this simile of the bees, however, Chapman did not entirely trust the reader to get the full point, and so extended his translation in such a way as to include that part of the application which he says Homer had simply implied. Therefore, we can say that whereas in his note he furiously denied Virgil's superiority as a maker of similes, in his translation he tacitly ap-

¹³ vi. 189-190

¹⁴ vii 463

¹⁵ xii. 186.

¹⁶ xvi. 120-122.

¹⁷ xvi. 827-829

¹⁸ xxi. 217.

¹⁹ xxii. 387-388

²⁰ "Chapman's Revisions in his *Iliads*," *ELH, A Journal of English Literary History*, II, no. 1 (1935).

proves Virgil's method. And the same thing happens, though without reference to Virgil, in many other places. Chapman distinctly prides himself on his translation of Homeric similes and treats them with particularly lavish care.

Occasionally he comments upon their beauties or expounds their inner significance. A characteristic example may be chosen from the lines that describe an impasse between the Lycians and the Greeks, when neither can gain on the other.

But as two men about the limits strive
Of land that toucheth in a field, their measures in their hands,
They mete their parts out curiously, and either stiffly stands
That so far is his right in law, *both hugely set on fire*
About a *passing-little ground*, so, *greedily aspire*
Both these foes to their severall ends, and all exhaust their most
About the very battlements (*for yet no more was lost*) *
(XII 412-418)

* *Admiranda et penè inimitabilis comparatio* (saith Spond), and yet in the explication of it, he thinks all superfluous but three words, *ὀλίγη ἐν χώρῳ*, *exiguo in loco*, leaving out other words more expressive, with his old rule, *uno pede*, &c

This simile is exactly twice as long as the original (XII 421-424), and it is hard to see what Spondanus (or rather, Divus) had left out in the "explication of it " The comparison lay in the narrow space of land which was being contended for, but the phrases which Chapman amplifies or adds indicate that he wanted the reader to be sure to see how *strife* was involved in both parts of the figure. the Lycians and Greeks being equally "greedy" to possess that "passing little ground " So this is the aspect of the comparison which he chooses to emphasize, even though Homer, and of course the literal translator, has left it implicit.

He does this kind of thing frequently and the passages in which he does are both interesting and eloquent, for he felt in his translation of Homer's similes an artistic challenge which it delighted him to meet. See through the italicizings in the following passage how he amplifies Homer's descriptive touch of the fen in which the poplar grew in such a way that it becomes a fundamental part of both halves of the simile. Ajax has just smitten Simoeisus.

And as a poplar shot aloft, set by a river side,
In moist edge of a mighty fen, his head in curls implied,
But all his body plain and smooth, to which a wheelwright puts
The sharp edge of his shining axe, and his soft timber cuts
From his innative root, in hope to hew out of his bole
The fell'ffs, *or out-parts of a wheel, that compass in the whole*,
To serve some goodly chariot, *but, being big and sad*,

*And to be hal'd home through the bogs, the useful hope he had
 Sticks there, and there the goodly plant lies withring out his grace.
 So lay, by Jove-bred Ajax' hand, Anthemion's forward race,
 Nor could through that vast fen of toils be drawn to serve the ends
 Intended by his body's powers, nor cheer his aged friends*
 (IV 520-531)

"In such fashion did heaven-sprung Aias slay Simoeisius son of Anthemion," says Homer in concluding the simile (IV 482-489), but Chapman makes sure we remember that fen, which he would have said Homer meant to compare to the toils of battle.

So Chapman works his way through the similes of Homer amplifying many of them in such a way as to bring out all the possible implications to be found in the "explication" of the simile, and amplifying the "applications" in order to catch up the implications stated in the first half. Once he admits in a note (XVIII 184) that "The further application of this simile is left out by mischance," but a conference of his lines with the original will show that he has agreeably supplied it.²¹ Though he would have been the first to lay the charge squarely on the shoulders of the unperceptive reader, it is evident that he felt a kind of unbalance in Homer's similes, which he felt called upon both to remedy and to defend. For the very reason that he stopped over the similes and put so much care into the translation of them, they remain, if not the most faithful, at least among the most eloquent and attractive features of his work.

But Chapman has a way of catching up on himself. Where at one time he has slowed down, and added, at another he takes a hasty sprint forward. Sometimes he tires of the similes altogether and recklessly omits them, thus, we miss the figure of the stalled horse in XV, the mountain-bred lion in XVII, and the ox in the same book, besides a few more short passages here and there. For instance in Book XXI he seems to tire of the wounded Artemis once he has got her back to Olympus "her incorrupted veil Trembling about her," and leaves her there without translating her

²¹ With XVIII 184-189 compare Homer 219-221.

Compare also XII 424-432 Chapman with 432-438 Homer *

XV	78-83	80-83
XV	374-380	410-413
XVI	205-212	212-214
	364-376	384-393
XVII	44-52	53-60
	335-344	389-396*
	587-593	674-680
XXI	340-346	350-354
	360-365	375-380

* See particularly Chapman's commentaries on these passages.

brief conversation with Zeus, in order to get back to the main action on the Trojan plain. There seems to be no consistent plan behind his omissions, just impatience.

Another, less obvious, means of gaining speed is the change from direct to indirect discourse. What he loses dramatically in this way he probably felt he made up by avoiding the necessity for setting the stage. He easily tires of the simple "thus spake" and will have no traffic with the formula of "winged words", so simply to fall back into indirect discourse spares him the effort of working up a preparation. I find thirty-seven passages in the *Ihads* in which he has made this change, most of them where the discourse in Homer ran only to a few lines.

These means of acceleration are apparent only to one who has the Homeric text in hand. One does not, however, have to keep an eye on the Greek to become aware of Chapman's efforts to lend an increased liveliness or vigor to certain passages. Many of the passages which a reader would be likely to quote as characteristic of Chapman at his best—Chapman the lively, the vigorous, if often the rugged, are passages in which he has heightened the emphasis in Homer, and in which we receive a kind of compensation for the loss of nobility in style through a certain fervor of movement.

This fervor is most often gained through a happy and lavish use of active verbs. In passages of excited action, he not only chooses the most vivid English verb he can think of to represent Homer's, but also often adds an extra dash by piling one strong verb on another. This habit is well illustrated by three similes which follow close on each other in the Eleventh Book.

Thus as a *dog-given* hunter sets upon a brace of boars
His white-tooth'd hounds, *puffs, shouts, breathes terms, and on his emprise pours*
All his wild art to make them pinch, so Hector urg'd his host
To charge the Greeks, and, he himself most bold and active most,
He brake into the heat of fight, as when a tempest raves,
Stoops from the clouds, and all on heaps doth cuff the purple waves,
(xi 256-261)²²

And a few lines farther on:

As when the hollow flood of air in Zephyr's cheeks doth swell,
And sparseth all the gather'd clouds white Notus' power did draw,
Wraps waves in waves, hurls up the froth beat with a vehement flaw,
So were the common soldiers wrackt in troops by Hector's hand
(xi 267-270)²³

In these three similes the many verbs of the original Greek are repre-

²² xi 292-298

²³ xi. 305-309.

sented with English verbs of extraordinary liveliness, and in the first simile a string of violent verbs is thrown into the bargain in an effort to convey the full violence of the scene. Moreover, in the first simile, we have a whole "brace of boars" instead of a single boar, though the lion is omitted, probably through sheer impatience to get on with the activity of the scene. Such examples could be multiplied almost indefinitely.

The effect at its liveliest and best, of this full play of active verbs is seen in a vivid description of an earthquake in the Twentieth Book.

Beneath them Neptune tost the earth, the mountains round about
Bow'd with affright and shook their heads, Jove's hill the earthquake felt,
(Steep Ida) trembling at her roots, and all her fountains spilt,
Their brows all crannied, Troy did nod, the Grecian navy plaid
As on the sea; th'Infernall King, that all things frays, was fraid,
And leapt affrighted from his throne, cried out, lest over him
Neptune should rend in two the earth, and so his house, so dim,
So loathsome, filthy, and abhorr'd of all the Gods beside,
Should open both to Gods and men. Thus all things shook and cried,
When this black battell of the Gods was joining,

(xx 58-67)

In this description, though the details of Homer's scene are preserved pretty well intact and the earthquake is neither more nor less terrible, it is—shall we say—somewhat more frantic. Excluding participial forms, there are fifteen verbs in the ten lines of this passage as compared to the nine in the corresponding ten lines of Homer.²⁴ Since in this description Chapman has succeeded in making the number of his fourteeners exactly correspond with the number of the original hexameters, it is a particularly good place to observe the way in which he manages to fit in the additional verbs.

There are a few more tricks of style by which he occasionally steps up the excitement of a passage. One is to put commands or cries which were originally in indirect discourse into direct. He gains in this way a dramatic immediacy. "The king still cried, 'Pursue! Pursue!'" (xi, 154), "Call'd 'Rhesus! Rhesus!' but in vain; then still, 'Arm! Arm!' he cried." (x. 444); "out he cried: 'Deiphobus, another lance'." (xxii 256-257). Or again, he may turn affirmative statements into queries,²⁵ in order to effect a greater immediacy of excitement.

Like Stanyhurst, only a good deal more successfully, Chapman was particularly prone to play up sound effects: sometimes through assonance, sometimes through additional verbs. Typical effects can be read in the following brief passages wherein his additions are again noted.

²⁴ Compare xx 57-66.

²⁵ As. xxii. 171-175 and xxiii. 61-62.

And then, as in a sounding vale, near neighbour to a hill,
 Wood-fellers make a far-heard noise, *with chopping, chopping still,*
And laying on, on blocks and trees, so they on men laid load,
 And beat like noises into air, *both as they strook and trod.*

(xvi 586-589)

He by his side did fall,
 And his man-slaughtering hands impos'd into his *oft-kist* breast,
 Sighs blew up sighs, and lion-like, grac't with a goodly crest,
 That in his absence being robb'd by hunters of his whelps,
Returns to his so desolate den, and, for his wanted helps,
Beholding his unlookt-for wants, flies roaring back again,
 Hunts the *sly* hunter, many a vale *resounding his disdain*

(xviii 279-285)

and then *calm Peace*

Turn'd back the rough Winds to their homes, the Thracian billow rings
 Their high retreat, *ruffled with cuffs of their triumphant wings.*

(xxiii 206-208)

All three will be granted vigorous passages, though aiming at a more "imitative" effect than their originals²⁶

These selections are representative of the rhetorical devices in Chapman's free and periphrastic translation. In innumerable notes and glosses he hotly defends his right to use the "free grace" of his natural dialect: sometimes by resort to scholarly authority and mistaken references to Scapula's definitions, sometimes by resort to his own mystic understanding of Homer. Whatever the explanation, the stylistic eccentricities here noted compose the veil of language which is dropped between the Homeric poems and the English renaissance versions of George Chapman.

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²⁶ Cf. Homer, xvi. 633-635, xviii 317-322; xxiii 228-230.

DONNE AND THE COUPLET

And I must confesse that to mine owne eare those continuall cadences of couplets used in long and continued Poemes are verie tyresome and unpleasing, by reason that still, me thinks, they run on with a sound of one nature, and a kind of certaintie which stuffs the delight rather then intertaines it Daniel¹

He said to the King his master M G Buchanan had corrupted his eare when young & learned him to sing Verses, when he sould have read them Jonson²

THE early Elizabethan conception of a line of poetry is best illustrated by Puttenham, who compares it to a day's journey in which the traveler rests twice, at noon and at night.³ The end-stopped line which results from this conception gives increased importance to the rime; indeed, Puttenham considers it the equivalent of classical "currantnesse" of foot, which "passed the whole verse throughout, whereas our concordes keepe but the latter end of every veise." Rime is even placed above meter: "your concordes containe the chief part of Musicke in your meetre."⁴ The preference is clearly for rich heavy rimes, with an echo. For this reason monosyllables are most desirable, since "in them, if they finish the verse, resteth the shrill accent of necessitie, and so doth it not in the last of every *bissilable*, nor of every *polisillable* word."⁵ Rime is not merely good or bad, it has its own decorum: some words and figures are suitable for one style but not for others, and the same is true of "concord and measure."⁶ Thus rimes which fall on the last syllable are "sweetest and most commendable", those falling on the penultimate syllable are "more light and not so pleasant"; and those upon the antepenultimate syllable are "most unpleasant of all, because they make your meeter to light and triviall, and are fitter for the Epigrammatist or Comicall Poet."⁷ Light endings are for light verse, even Daniel seems to

A Defence of Rhyme Elizabethan Critical Essays, ed Gregory Smith (Oxford, 1904), II, 382.

² *Conversations with Drummond the Works*, ed Herford and Simpson (Oxford, 1925), I, 148. ³ *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 78

⁴ *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 80-81, 86 Puttenham is heartily contemptuous of the rabble who have "their eares so attentive to the matter, and their eyes upon the shewes of the stage, that they take little heede to the cunning of the rime"

⁵ *Ibid*, II, 80 Of course Spenser uses polysyllabic rime-words, and Harington prefers them, declaring that they are sweeter than monosyllabic rimes (*A Brieve Apologie of Poetrie, Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 221) But it is not the sweetness that Puttenham is worrying about, it is the possible lightness at the end of the line.

⁶ *Ibid*, II, 159. ⁷ *Ibid*, II, 84

agree with this opinion when he says that feminine rimes are "fittest for Ditties."⁸

In the verse of Spenser and the sonneteers rimes are usually rich, full, and often conclusive—observing the decorum of high style. But it is this extravagant constant use of elevated style, especially for subjects raised above their worth, that Donne, by his own manner of writing, is revolting against. And in this revolt he abandons the prevailing diction, imagery, and, to a considerable extent, the style of riming. It is matter over manner, and the ornamental qualities of rime must be made less important; not be allowed to ring and re-echo in full melodious tones and overtones, but made to serve a practical function in a new technique of the couplet.

The strict rule of Puttenham was that rime should be "true, cleare, and audible . . . and not darke or wrenched."⁹ But this clarity, and the perpetual end-stopped line, made no provision for avoiding monotonous repetition. This problem evidently did not exist for Puttenham, who cautioned against placing rimes too far apart, lest the ear "loose the tune and be defrauded of his delight."¹⁰ However, with the growth of flexibility in dramatic blank verse and in the lyric, it was only natural that some ears should wish to avoid too much regularity in the heroic couplet. Daniel's criticism, quoted at the head of this article, probably represents a widespread change in taste. As a remedy he proposes *enjambement*, which we shall discuss later, and cross-rime, "to avoyde this over-glutting the eare with that alwayes certaine and full incounter of Ryme."¹¹ That Daniel's remarks should have been made in a defense of rime lends all the more weight to his criticism.

Yet Puttenham and Daniel both agree in condemning one device for rime-variation, matching a feminine rime with a masculine.¹² This is the part of Donne's technique which we are now to examine. Apparently this

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 383 "J D," who in his preface to Joshua Poole's *The English Parnassus* borrows extensively from Daniel's *Defence*, also echoes this opinion "avoid faeminine rhythms such as *charity* and *parity* . . . which in a verse of ten syllables or *Heroick*, speaks a certain flatnes derogatory from the Majesty thereof and if any where they may be allowed, it is in *Ditties* and *Sonnets*, and there hardly, Poesie being now arrived to such purity and perfection" (1677 edition, sig. 6a, verso) ⁹ *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 79

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 86 Puttenham's contempt for feminine rimes is in part explained by his concern that the ear obtain its full rich measure of "delight" "for that the sharpe accent fallies upon the *penultima* or last save one sillable of the verse, which doth so drowne the last, as he seemeth to passe away in manner unpronounced" (II, 74)

¹¹ *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 382

¹² According to Puttenham, "This cadence is the fal of a verse in every last word with a certaine tunable sound, which, being matched with another of like sound, do make a *concord* . . . accent . . . is chiefe cause of the cadence" (II, 83) And Daniel asks, "Againe, who knowes not that we can not kindly answere a feminine number with a masculine Ryme" (II, 379)? "J D," in the preface to Joshua Poole's *The English Parnassus*, echoes

special practice, if at all observed, has been considered as an unpleasant characteristic of Donne's rough careless art, and therefore to be ignored by contemptuous critics, and overlooked by admirers. M. Legouis has made the only attempt at analysis, and that is based on insufficient data. In commenting upon the lines,¹³

First sweare by thy best love in earnest
(I, 145, 13)

Deigne with a nod, thy courtesie to answer
(I, 145, 20)

he expresses the opinion that in both instances "Donne probably wanted his readers to shift the stress to the last syllable". "I think it far more likely that Donne offered violence here to the language than to the metrical design."¹⁴ This opinion, based on intuition, is hardly so convincing as the many examples of Donne's systematic "violence" to the metrical design. But once having been expressed, it is accorded the dignity and weight of a precedent to be applied to another case:

The sinewes of a cities mystique bodie
(I, 145, 8)

Of this Legouis says that the fifth foot "defies slurring", "for 'bodie' is stressed on the second syllable to rhyme with 'tie,' as elsewhere 'earnest' rhymes with 'best,' and 'answer' with 'Courtier'."¹⁵

Legouis' opinion is insubstantial evidence, especially since he mocks Melton for thinking that "daughters," "waters," and "vanquish" are accented on the second syllable in Milton.¹⁶ It must be admitted that there is no statement by an Elizabethan prosodist that would indicate the riming of masculine and feminine endings was tolerable.¹⁷ But, with the sole exception of Campion's inconclusive references to the "Iambick licenti-

Daniel in this opinion as in others. He quotes Daniel's examples even, as he also does to illustrate the effect of trochees in an iambic line (1677 edition, sig. a5 verso and a6)

¹³ All references to Donne's verse are to Grierson's two-volume edition (Oxford, 1912), the references are to volume, page, and line, respectively. When illustrations are not from the *Satires*, the title is given, otherwise, not.

¹⁴ *Donne the Craftsman* (Paris, 1928), p. 86

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 87. In *The Extasie*, a poem which Legouis appears to have spent some time on, "body" occurs several times, always stressed on the first syllable. And in *The Litany* we find: "Thou in thy scatter'd mystique body wouldst" (I, 341, 85)

¹⁶ p. 87

¹⁷ Puttenham recognizes with disapproval "wrong ranging the accent" and change of spelling, "which be commonly misused and strained to make rime" ("Of Ornament," Chapter XI, ed. Willcock and Walker, 1936, p. 162). To him, as to M. Legouis, it would be more conceivable that a poet intended to distort his pronunciation than that he took a liberty with his meter.

ate,"¹⁸ there is hardly an admission that such a thing as stress-shift existed in contemporary verse. Puttenham seems to have genuine admiration for Wyatt, yet he never takes cognizance of Wyatt's unconventional riming. In one experiment, used often enough to be considered a part of his technique, masculine endings are rimed with feminine, as in the following:

Ye that in love find luck and swete abundance

Let me in bed lye, dreamyng of mischance¹⁹

So chanceth me, that every passion

Whereby, if that I laugh at any season.

Let me remember my missehappes unhappy

That me betide in May most commonly

Still another experiment is the riming of only the weak syllables:

What webbes there he hath wrought, well he perceaveth

Wherby then with him self on love he playneth²⁰

But we need concern ourselves with neither contemporary theory nor practise, Donne's practise, when we examine all the evidence, is plain enough. First, there is the riming of masculine and feminine endings, examples of which are distributed throughout all his poetry

Though use make you apt to kill mee,
Let not to that, selfe murder added bee

The Flea, I, 41, 16-17

the Hold and Wast

With a salt dropsie clog'd, and all our tacklings
Snapping, like too-high-stretched treble strings

The Storme, I, 177, 55-56

Or let mee creepe to some dread Conjurer,

That with phantastique schemes fils full much paper

Elegy XI, I, 98, 59-60

Wisheth himselfe delivered from prison,

But damn'd and hal'd to execution

Holy Sonnet IV, I, 323, 6-7

¹⁸ *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 334-338

¹⁹ *Tottel's Miscellany*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), pp. 35-36

²⁰ *Tottel's Miscellany*, p. 39

Yet such are thy laws, that men argue yet

 None doth, but all-healing grace and spirit
 Holy Sonnet xvi, i, 329, 9, 11
 Ran from thence with such or more hast, then one
 Who feares more actions, doth make from prison
 (i, 164, 153-54)
 Making them confesse not only mortall
 Great staines and holes in them, but veniall
 (i, 166, 201-02)
 Are made preyes? O worse then dust, or wormes meat,
 For they do eate you now, whose selves wormes shall eate
 (i, 169, 21-22)

Riming of only the weak syllables almost never occurs, but two examples may be noted:

Daily bread would be
 Scarce to Kings, so 'tis Would it not anger
 A Stoicke, a coward, yea a Martyr (i, 170, 63-64)
 Thou wouldst for more, and for all hast paper
 Enough to cloath all the great Carricks Pepper
 (i, 171, 84-85)

Donne's chief prosodic innovation is the frequent use of stress-shift in the fifth foot; and this provides a feminine rime which is invariably matched with a masculine. Examples are numerous and may be drawn from every period of the poetry:

Afflict thee, and at thy lives last moment
 May thyne swolne sinnes themselves to thee present
 Elegy xi, i, 99, 109-110
 or mollifie
 It with thy teares, or sweat, or blood, nothing
 Is worth our travaile, grieve, or perishing
 The First Anniversary, i, 244, 431-432
 Natures great master-peece, an Elephant,

Call a rough carelesnesse, good fashion, [×] [/]
 Whose cloak his spurres / teare, / whom he spits on [/] [×] [/] [×]
 He cares not (I, 167, 221-222)

Even if we were not aware of the frequency of stress-shift, or of the Elizabethan injunctions against distorting the accent for the sake of the rime, Donne's cultivation of a natural manner of colloquial speech would hardly be compatible with the amateur artificiality of forced rime. It is part of his purpose to secure variety by evading the full return of the rime-sound, and in this aim he is by no means unique among poets. Even runover lines may not provide enough variety in a long poem in couplets, as young Keats confesses by his experiments in *Endymion* ²¹

Young companies nimbly began dancing [/] [/] [/] [/] [×]
 To the swift treble pipe, and humming string [/]
 (I, 313-314)
 Guarding his forehead with her round elbow [/] [×]
 From low-grown branches, and his footsteps slow [×] [/]
 (I, 416-417)

But it is more than a desire for variety which is responsible for Donne's developing a new rime-technique. It is a taste for strong austere music that leads him to avoid the full sensuous melody of certain rimes.²² This he accomplishes by choosing rime-words without overtones, by riming masculine and feminine endings, mostly through introducing stress-shift or stress-shift by attraction in the fifth foot, and above all by his cultivation of runover lines. The technique is an involved one, and cannot properly be appreciated without understanding the functions of the run-over line. This we shall now attempt to do.

* * * * *

One may observe in Donne certain mechanical devices for making the rhythm flow from one line to another. Some of these he apparently developed by himself, or from his experience with the stanza; others he learned from the dramatic blank verse of Marlowe and his followers in the drama. For instance, there is the trick, first perfected by Marlowe, of ending a line with a polysyllabic word in order to lighten the last foot. Donne usually prefers to lighten the ending by other methods, but he by

²¹ Keats also rimes, without stress-shift, "fish" and "purplish" (*Endymion*, II, 110-111).

²² The riming by assonance in some modern poetry is probably a symptom of this same taste. So too the riming of masculine and feminine endings, and only the weak endings.

no means ignores the example of the dramatists, as a few lines will demonstrate.

And till our Soules be unapparelled→
 Of bodies
 (I, 146, 43)
 My precious Soule began, the wretchednesse→
 Of suiters
 (I, 164, 156)
 When supplications→
 We send to God
 (I, 170, 59)
 Oh, ne'r may→
 Faire lawes white reverend name be strumpeted,→
 To warrant thefts she is established→
 Recorder to Destiny (I, 170, 69-70)
 and now hungerly→
 Beg'st right (I, 171, 81)

More often, however, Donne places the cesura near the end of his line, where the start of a new rhythm, propelled by grammatical or rhetorical sense, will carry over:

By drawing forth heavens Scheme // tell certainly→
 What fashioned hats, or ruffles, or suits // next yeare→
 Our subtile-witted antique youths will weare.
 (I, 147, 60-62)
 to be→
 Then humble to her is idolatrie (I, 158, 101-102)
 And I seelily→
 Said (I, 160, 53-54)
 and thrise→
 Colder then Salamanders, // like divine→
 Children in th'oven (I, 155, 22-24)

This technique, when coupled with an extreme weakening of the last foot, apparently anticipates by several years the familiar style of Jacobean blank verse:

And whispered by Jesu, so often, that a→
 Pursevant would have ravish'd him away
 (I, 166, 215-216)
 I
 Thinke he which made your waxen garden, and→
 Transported it from Italy to stand→
 With us, at London, flouts our Presence, for→
 Just such gay painted things, which no sappe, nor→
 Tast have in them, ours are (I, 165, 168-173)

Stress-shifts are skilfully used to speed up the rhythm, and if they occur as late as the third foot, the two unstressed syllables coming together may provide enough impetus to carry the rhythm over the line.

Sooner may one guesse, who shall beare away→
 The Infanta (I, 147, 57)
 Prove the world a man, in which, officers→
 Are the devouring stomacke (I, 168, 17)
 O wretch that thy fortunes should moralize→
 Esops fables (I, 171, 88)

Stress-shift in the fourth foot has increased impetus:

Yet went to Court, But as Glaze which did goe→
 To'a Masse in jest, catch'd, was faine to disburse→
 The hundred markes (I, 159, 8-10)
 So much as at Rome would serve to have throwne→
 Ten Cardinalls into the Inquisition
 (I, 166, 213-214)

And stress-shift in the fifth foot, especially by attraction, has the strongest momentum of all

As though all thy companions should make thee→
 Jointures (I, 146, 35-36)
 Had all the morning held, now the second→
 Time made ready, that day (I, 165, 177-178)
 Making them confesse not only mortall→
 Great staines and holes in them
 (I, 166, 201-202)
 By having leave to serve, am most richly→
 For service paid (I, 169, 32-33)

When a stress-shift in the fifth foot is followed by a stress-shift in the first foot of the succeeding line, as in the first and second examples above, we have the unusual effect of a runover which does not run, or skip, or swoop, but marches with steady emphasis.²³ But the more customary ef-

²³ Cf Milton's *Samson Agonistes*

Comes this way sailing→
 Like a stately ship (713-714)
 O, how comely it is, and how reviving→
 To the spirits of just men long oppressed (1268-69)

fect in Donne is that of the third and fourth examples, the bringing of two unstressed syllables into close proximity, at the end of one line and at the beginning of the next ²⁴ This same effect is also accomplished by beginning a line with two light syllables:

Dar'st thou ayd mutinous Dutch, and dar'st thou lay→
 × × / /
 Thee in ships woodden Sepulchers
 (I, 155, 17-18)
 But having left their roots, and themselves given→
 × × / / × ×
 To the streames tyrannous rage
 (I, 158, 105-106)
 I must pay mine, and my forefathers sinne→
 × × / /
 To the last farthing (I, 164, 138-139)

This same rapidity at the beginning of a line may be produced by an extra syllable:

He tries to bring→
 × × /
 Me to pay / a fine to scape his torturing
 (I, 164, 141-142)
 (X) / × / × × /
 As prone to all ill, and of good as forget→
 × × /
 full, as proud, / as lustfull, and as much in debt
 (I, 159, 13-14)
 × / ×
 The mony which you sweat, and sweare for, is gon→
 × × /
 Into o/ther hands (I, 169, 40-41)

These—and the momentum provided by grammatical and rhetorical sense—are the principal devices for causing runover lines. But let us now examine other characteristics of Donne's style before attempting to piece these together for their wider significance.²⁵

It is clear that, whatever the ultimate cause, Donne's taste for sound is not the same as that of certain of his contemporaries and predecessors. This divergence in taste is by no means unusual in the history of art, sometimes it occurs even in the same artist during different periods of his

²⁴ This combination of feminine ending and runover is another device familiar in the relaxing—or as some say, “disintegrating”—Jacobean blank verse of *The Tempest*, v, i, 195-196, *The Winter's Tale*, i, ii, 424-426, 444-445, 455-456, 458-460.

²⁵ Before leaving this section I should say a word about the scansiones I have used. They are not entirely arbitrary, as some of them may perhaps seem, but are based on a prosody of Donne's verse, for which I have gathered and analyzed the materials. I publish these scansiones, though I cannot defend them here, because there has been an almost complete silence on the important subject of how—not generally, but specifically—individual lines in Donne should be read.

career In literature one thinks immediately of Horace, who put aside his lyric measures to write the verse of his maturity in the unsensuous low-pitched music of the *Sermones* and *Epistolae*. Or to come closer to Donne's own age, one thinks of Lipsius and Muretus, who achieved fame as the masters of the full harmonious Ciceronian style only to turn to the bare metallic manner of Silver-Latin prose. Even in Spenser, the master of Elizabethan melody, one may observe a certain change in taste during the composition of the *Faery Queene*. There is a marked toning down of color in the later books,²⁶ the rich purple patches appear to fade gradually from the pages, and the full sensuous harmonies of Books I and II become the sweet, simple, pastoral music of Book VI.

The luxurious musical beauty that one most often associates with Spenser charms the senses. It can succeed in putting the mind into a sort of trance, in which the emotional connotations of words and rhythms produce in the imagination nothing more energetic than dreams. No intrusion is allowed to disturb the reader; the metrical pattern is modulated gently, always with a gradual rocking and swaying sort of motion that is calculated to lull the senses. But what has Donne to do with rocking the reader to sleep? He is far more concerned with shocking him out of his normal lethargy. Every time his rhythm swerves sharply from the pattern, the effect is that of a bell-buoy which rings its warning when the waves are high enough to move it strongly. To the over-nice ear this is repellent, for such an ear cannot enjoy the vigorous music that shocks and stimulates, and gives the kind of pleasure to the mind that a spray of cold water gives to the body.

But this delight in explosive vigor, though especially important in the *Satires*, is only part of Donne's taste in sound. There is what one may refer to as the pitch of Donne's verse, that familiar low-flying melody of everyday speech:

Now thou hast lov'd me one whole day,
To morrow when thou leav'st, what wilt thou say?
Womans constancy, I, 9, 1-2
If yet I have not all thy love,
Deare, I shall never have it all
Lovers infinitenesse, I, 17, 1-2.

In lines like these, so typical of Donne, the rhythms and subtle harmonies of colloquial prose avoid with nonchalant perfection the underlying structure of the iambic pattern. The peculiar qualities of its loose monosyllabic flexibility and strength are opposed to the tense but deli-

²⁶ See J. V. Fletcher, "Some Observations on the Changing Style of *The Faerie Queene*," *SP*, xxxi (1934), 152-159.

cate flowing of syllables in longer words of Latin and French origin.²⁷ Not that Donne is unaware of the important secret of blending short words with long, this he often does, and very well. But it is the monosyllables that are predominant, that give the tone to the verse, and Donne reveals his taste time and again by stringing them together, for long stretches, in lyric of the highest pitch.

O more then Moone,
Draw not up seas to drowne me in thy speare,
Weepe me not dead, in thine armes, but forbear
To teach the sea, what it may doe too soone

A Valediction. of weeping, I, 39, 19-22

And his taste is even more evident in the low pitched but emphatic tones of the *Satires*

/ × / × × (×) / / × × /
 Keepe the truth which thou hast found, men do not stand
 / / / / / × × × /
 In so ill case here, that God hath / with his hand /
 Sign'd Kings blanck-charters to kill whom they hate,
 / / / / / /
 Nor are they Vicars, but hangmen to Fate
 / / / / × × /
 Foole and wretch, wilt thou let thy Soule be tyed
 To mans lawes, by which she shall not be tryed
 × × / / /
 At the last day? Oh, will it then boot thee
 To say a Philip, or a Gregory,
 A Harry, or a Martin taught thee this (I, 157, 89-97)

Other characteristics of Donne's taste, less important but nevertheless fundamental, may also be observed. For one thing, there is an evident pleasure in the strong music of verse in which the individual syllables are kept rigidly apart, by unyielding combinations of consonants, or by the emphatic rhythm of a series of stress-shifts. The passage from the *Satires*, quoted above, contains several examples of this. But Donne's practise is by no means limited to the *Satires*, and illustrations are frequent in all the poetry, from the *Songs and Sonets* to the *Divine Poems*.

Some that have deeper digg'd loves Myne than I
Loves Alchymie, I, 39, 1

Send home my long strayd eyes to mee,
Which (Oh) too long have dwelt on thee,
Yet since there they have learn'd such ill
The Message, I, 43, 1-3

²⁷ Gascoigne, no doubt recognizing the un-English daintiness of some mellifluous vocables, introduced patriotic considerations: "the more monosyllables that you use the truer Englishman you shall seeme" (*Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 51).

And life, by this death abled, shall controule
 Death, whom thy death slue, nor shall to mee
 Feare of first or last death, bring miserie
Holy Sonnets, i, 321, 5-7

In contrast to this stiff inflexibility Donne often goes to the other extreme and cultivates pliable rhythms that sometimes border on looseness. This he does by employing many elisions, and some of these constantly threaten to become extra syllables. A part of this effect is also produced by the frequent combination of two unstressed syllables, either after a stress-shift or in a pyrrhic-spondee unit. And finally, there are the actual extra syllables which are attracted into the rhythm by these other devices.²⁸

(×)
 So' it pleas'd my destinie
 (×) (×) × ×
 (Guldy of my sin of going,) to thinke me
 (×) (×) × ×
 As prone to all ill, and of good as forget-
 × ×
 full, as proud, / as lustfull, and as much in debt
 (i, 159, 11-14)

Still another characteristic which exerts an indisputable influence on Donne's versification is a marked taste for trochaic rhythms.²⁹ To this taste we may attribute Donne's extraordinary use of stress-shift by attraction. Most of the time these stress-shifts produce a steady metallic sort of melody, but they can also produce softer qualities, those of lyrical movement:

Once I lov'd and dy'd, and am now become
The Paradox, i, 70, 17
 Onely let mee love none, no, not the sport
Loves Usury, i, 13, 13
 Call us what you will, wee are made such by love
The Canonization, i, 15, 19
 By all paines, which want and divorcement hath
Elegy xvi. i, 111, 8

²⁸ For other examples, cf i, 157, 90, i, 167, 240; i, 169, 41, i, 170, 56-58

²⁹ The *Songs and Sonets* have many trochaic lines which recur at regular places in the stanza. For examples in the other poems of five-stress trochaic lines, cf i, 155, 33; i, 165, 176; i, 166, 201, i, 167, 238-239, i, 169, 21, i, 170, 63; i, 321, 6; i, 329, 11. For a six-stress trochaic line, see i, 171, 90.

One of the strangest and most beautiful couplets in English owes the mysterious and awed flow of its rhythm to an unbelievably bold use of stress-shift.³⁰

To walke in expectation, till from thence
Our greatest King call thee to his presence

Elegy xvi i, 112, 45-46

It is possible to point out other of these soft lyrical qualities; but though they are necessary for a complete picture of Donne's style, they are really most significant in emphasizing the settled nature of his characteristic taste. The qualities of sound that please his ear express with artistic fitness the thoughts and feelings of his verse, and in this perform the function intended for them. Naturally his taste in sound helps determine what to him seems artistically fit.

* * * * *

If, working backwards from certain elements in Donne's style, we study his characteristic attitude of mind, some of these stylistic traits appear almost inevitable. The precedence of matter over manner in Donne, though by no means so arbitrary as modern criticism would indicate, must nevertheless be accepted as an essential quality of his artistic expression. And if we examine this quality, not as an isolated phenomenon, but in its wider implications, we shall illustrate Donne's style, and piece it together, as microscopic study alone cannot.

In Elizabethan criticism the traditional tendency was to emphasize the importance of matter. George Gascoigne, though echoing Horace, interpreted a true English attitude towards art by according "pleasant woordes" and "apt vocables" only derivative significance. Invention is what counts: "grounde it upon some fine invention . . . that beyng founde, pleasant woordes will follow well enough and fast enough."³¹ Sir Philip Sidney's conception is much the same: "any understanding knoweth the skil of the Artificer standeth in that *Idea* or foreconceite of the work, and not in the work it selfe."³² Sidney's disregard for ornament is not disapproval, however; for his real intention is to emphasize the intrinsic difference between the true poet and the "many versifiers that neede never aunswere to the name of Poets."³³ And the versification that

³⁰ Something of the same effect may be seen in Elegy XI. i, 99, 108-110 and in *The First Anniversary*, I, 244, 430-432

²¹ *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 47-48 Cf Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 311. "verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur"

³² *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 157.

³³ *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 160.

is so attractive an ornament of his own poetry was naturally beyond the reach of these poet-apes

But near the end of the century, when smooth harmonious versification became the rule rather than the exception, there were signs that the critical indifference towards ornament was turning into declared hostility. Chapman expressed scorn for those who can "give a verse smooth feet," though they "in nought else have tolerable merits"³⁴ And Daniel, evidently not satisfied with his talents for melody, asserted that "it is matter that satisfies the iudicial . . . whilst seeking to please our eare, we enthrall our iudgement, to delight an exterior sense, wee smoothe up a weak confused sense."³⁵ Critics had by this time become tired of the superficial pleasures of smooth versification,³⁶ and many of them were finding bare strong-toned music more to their taste. Furthermore, an increasing distrust was being felt for the basic ornaments of verse. Rime, according to Campion, "inforceth a man oftentimes to abiure his matter and extend a short conceit beyond all bounds of arte."³⁷ And Ben Jonson had the same objection to the quatrain and the sonnet, both of which have a tendency to tamper with the sense for the benefit of the sound.³⁸ Verses, Jonson told Drummond, stood by sense, without "either Colours or accent."³⁹

We can hardly dissociate this elevation of sense above sound, matter over manner, from a parallel movement developing in the prose. During the last quarter of the sixteenth century the new anti-Ciceronian style of Muretus, Lipsius, and Montaigne was gaining inevitable momentum against the established cult of Cicero. The struggle, however, was not limited to competition between two prose styles. The development of this new style by Muretus, and its popularizing by Lipsius, seemed to provide the rising rationalism with an articulate voice.⁴⁰ The Ciceronian empha-

³⁴ *Poems and Minor Translations* (1875), p. 55

³⁵ *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 364, cf. 381

³⁶ It is interesting to contrast the attitude of Puttenham, who was more concerned about the externals of verse. cf. note 4

³⁷ *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 331, cf. Nashe, *Ibid.*, II, 242, cf. Joseph Hall, on translating Persius into English, in the "Postscript" of *Vergademiarum*.

³⁸ *Conversations with Drummond*, ed. Herford and Simpson, I, 132.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 143

⁴⁰ Professor Morris Croll interprets this movement so, and thinks that the unifying force was the renewed study of Silver-Age Latin, especially Seneca and Tacitus. In this literature, says Croll, Muretus found "the single and significant word to express at the same time his poetical, his moral, and his literary philosophy" ("Muretus and the History of 'Attic' Prose," *PMLA*, XXXIX, 293). Croll's account, to be found in this and several other articles, is the best available. See also his "Juste Lipse et le Mouvement Anticiceronien," *Revue du Seizième Siècle*, II (1914), 200-242, "'Attic Prose' in the Seventeenth Century," *SP*, XVIII (1921), 79-128, "Attic Prose. Lipsius, Montaigne, Bacon," *Schelling Anniversary*

sis on form was challenged by the new emphasis on reality and individual experience. Ciceronians, Bacon said, search "more after the choiceness of the phrase, and the round and clean composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses . . . than after the weight of the matter."⁴¹ The new style, however, deliberately broke up the symmetry of Cicero, using, either separately or in combination, a curt, compressed, pointed manner, or a loose, intimate, pliable style meant to reveal the workings of the mind. According to Bacon, such a style is likely to follow a time of oratorical luxury, and adapting a remark that Tacitus applied to Seneca, he says that this style "began not so long ago to prove itself adapted to the ears of our own time."⁴² The curt and loose styles are not only adapted to the ears, as Professor Croll has pointed out:

They represent two sides of the seventeenth-century mind: its sententiousness, its penetrating wit, its Stoic intensity, on the one hand, and its dislike for formalism, its roving and self-exploring curiosity, in brief, its skeptical tendency, on the other. And these two habits of mind are generally not separated one from the other, nor are they even always distinguishable.⁴³

The influences that form a kind of prose adapted to the ears and mind of an age may also be expected to manifest themselves in the poetry of that age.⁴⁴ This may best be illustrated if we turn for a moment to the Latin literature of the first century, which provided the necessary models, both in thought and style, for the anti-Ciceronian movement of the late sixteenth century. The prose of this period demonstrates impatience with the sensuous rhythms and symmetrical constructions perfected by Cicero, in contrast, it cultivates rhythms to suit the mood or impulse of the moment, and, by emphasis and point, tries to indicate that the matter is more important than the form. In the poetry between Horace and Persius the tendency of Latin versification shifted in a similar way. To Horace the chief danger was not that poetry would become too facile, but that it would become too rough and unpolished.⁴⁵ Ovid, who like Denham,

Papers (New York, 1923), 117-150, "The Baroque Style in Prose," *Studies in English Philology in Honor of Frederick Klaeber* (University of Minnesota Press, 1929), 427-456. See also George Williamson, "Senecan Style in the Seventeenth Century," *PQ* xv (1936), 321-352, "Strong Lines," *English Studies*, xviii (1936), 152-159.

⁴¹ *Philosophical Works*, ed. Spedding (1857), iii, 283

⁴² Quoted by Croll, "Attic Prose" in the Seventeenth Century, p. 125. Cf. Tacitus, *Annales*, xiii, iii "Ingenium amoenum et temporis eius auribus accommodatum."

⁴³ "The Baroque Style in Prose," pp. 452-453

⁴⁴ The reverse also is true, for in first-century Latin (where, incidentally, the influence of the schools of declamation made itself felt in poets as widely different as Juvenal and Lucan) there is likewise a "wholesale invasion of prose by the poetic element." J. Wight Duff, *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age* (New York, 1927), p. 20.

⁴⁵ See *Sermones*, I, iv, 8, x, 1, 44, 56-59, *Epistolae*, II, 1, 64 ff., 157-60, *Ars Poetica*, 263 ff.

Waller, and Dryden, was to teach easy methods of writing smoothly, was unknown to Horace, except in his earliest poems. But in the verse contemporary with Persius—in Calpurnius, the *Laus Pisonis*, the *Ilias Latina*—Ovid's influence is apparent, and we see the same kind of external perfection and internal emptiness that Jonson, Chapman, and Daniel censured in Elizabethan verse. In his first satire Persius ridicules the Alexandrian technique and its effeminate harmonies:

"torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis,"
et "raptum vitulo caput ablatura superbo
Bassaris," et "lyncem Maenas flexura corymbis
euhion ingeminat, reparabilis adsonat echo!"⁴⁶

Like Donne, he can ironically imitate a style he despises, securing a deliberate daintiness by affected alliterations, by parallelism in syntax and rhythm, and by a systematic avoidance of elision.

adsensere viri nunc non cinis ille poetae
felix? non levior cippus nunc inprimit ossa?
laudant convivae nunc non e manibus illis,
nunc non e tumulto fortunataque favilla
nascentur violae?⁴⁷

Both Persius and Donne have things to say, and they are more concerned to say them with emphasis and strength than with grace.⁴⁸ In this respect both Persius and Donne may be connected with the tendency in the prose of their respective ages, and Donne especially, since we have more information about the seventeenth century. The criticism that condemns the superfluous ornamentation and effeminate vanity of prose modeled after Cicero, cannot be blind and deaf to the same mannerisms in poetry modeled after Petrarch. We may expect that there will be an association of "Petrarchanism in verse and the estile culto of Guevara and Lyly in prose as two similar manifestations of the medieval love of rhetoric."⁴⁹ Montaigne's words are significant:

I perceive that good and ancient Poets have shunned the affectation and enquest, not only of fantasticall, new fangled, Spagniolized, and Petrarchisticall elevations, but also of more sweet and sparing inventions, which are the ornament of all the Poeticall workes of succeeding ages.⁵⁰

In the loosening of Jacobean blank verse and couplet one may see a still deeper significance than the development of taste or technique. The

⁴⁶ Lines 99–102.

⁴⁷ Lines 36–40.

⁴⁸ This important and overlooked bond, linking Persius and Donne (and Hall and Marston), I hope to demonstrate more fully in future publication.

⁴⁹ Croll, "Attic Prose Lipsius, Montaigne, Bacon," p. 137.

⁵⁰ "Of Books," *Essays*, II, x (Modern Library edition, p. 363).

ultimate source of this general stylistic movement, which is paralleled by a similar tendency in the prose, may be traced to an accumulating change in the intellectual attitude and in the approach to experience.⁵¹ For medieval minds, logic, based on *a priori* methods of thinking, opened the path to knowledge. But in the later Renaissance, when experiment and direct observation, preparing the way for modern science, challenged the adequacy of these methods, the exact communication of immediate individual experience became more important than the expression—no matter how beautiful or systematic—of general ideas. The polished persuading style, as Bacon realized, is limited to delivering knowledge only “in such form as may be best believed, and not as may be best examined.”:

Methods are more fit to win consent or belief, but less fit to point to action, for they carry a kind of demonstration in orb or circle, one part illuminating another, and therefore satisfy; but particulars, being dispersed, do best agree with dispersed directions. And lastly, Aphorisms, representing a knowledge broken, do invite men to enquire farther, whereas Methods, carrying the shew of a total, do secure men, as if they were at furthest.⁵²

And therefore, to become articulate, this new attitude of mind was forced to discover or invent a style that would record thoughts and feelings in motion, as they occurred, a style that would be as a protest “against easy knowledge and the complacent acceptance of appearances.”⁵³ Invention did not succeed, and not until Muretus, and through him Lipsius, began to cultivate the manner of Silver-Latin prose, did an appropriate style become available.⁵⁴ This style was Stoic in its chief associations, both in antiquity and in its sixteenth-century revival.⁵⁵ And the Stoics laid emphasis on the “exact interpretation in one’s expression of the mode of one’s thought . . . the proper and effective mode of impressing one’s hearers being, in fact, to render one’s own experience in the encounter with reality exactly, as vividly, as possible.”⁵⁶ For this reason Bacon recommends the naturalness of a loose (*soluta*) style, as providing a reader with the privilege of witnessing how thoughts come

⁵¹ By this I mean nothing so ridiculous as that the intellectual attitude and style both suddenly changed; but that a wearied and impatient taste made easier the acceptance of a style better accommodated to the ear and mind of the times

⁵² *Works*, ed. Spedding, III, 293, 405

⁵³ Croll, “‘Attic Prose’ in the Seventeenth Century,” p. 114

⁵⁴ Montaigne, apparently working by himself, was pursuing a similar course of development

⁵⁵ See Croll’s excellent summary, and his bibliography of ancient and modern accounts of the Stoic style, “‘Attic Prose’ in the Seventeenth Century,” pp. 109 ff.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 115–116.

into the author's head· "in the Magistral way, which merely announces the results of inquiry, one cannot see the thought grow"⁵⁷

There can be little doubt that these considerations influenced Donne's style, not only in his prose, but in his verse,⁵⁸ and we may be sure that, to a certain extent at least, he was aware of the theory behind his practise. A verse-letter, to Sir Henry Wotton furnishes valuable evidence:

Sir, more then kisses, letters mingle Soules,
 For, thus friends absent speake. This ease controules
 The tediousnesse of my life But for these
 I could ideate nothing, which could please,
 But I should wither in one day, and passe
 To 'a bottle' of Hay, that am a locke of Grasse
 (I, 180, 1-6)

Letters help him "ideate." Writing to a kindred spirit evidently draws him out, helps him to bring forth thoughts that might otherwise remain mute within him.⁵⁹ And since the reflective, evolving state of mind appears to be his most characteristic creative mood,⁶⁰ we may observe the results in much of his poetry. Artistic expression is not for him emotion recollected in tranquillity, nor the best possible articulation of what oft had been thought. Sometimes the driving force of his ideas—the spring torrent too full and impetuous for the old channel—resembles that of pure emotion in a lyric poet.⁶¹ Or the movement of his ideas may be less swift, as in the *Anniversaries*, where we may often see him reasoning with himself, advancing one idea, checking it with another, but always letting the reader see the thoughts as they grow and change.⁶² In the reflective

⁵⁷ Quoted by Williamson, "Senecan Style in the Seventeenth Century," p. 330

⁵⁸ A study of the standards used by contemporary critics of verse and critics of prose would probably reveal a surprisingly close relationship. Jonson, it is interesting to remember, said "that he wroth all his (verses) first in prose, for so his master Cambrden had Learned him" (Herford and Simpson, I, 143).

⁵⁹ Cf. his prose letter (Hayward, *The Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*, London and New York, 1929, pp. 448-449), especially, "the knowledge buried in Books perisheth, and becomes ineffectual, if it be not applied and refreshed by a companion, or friend." Cf. also E. Gosse, *Life and Letters of John Donne* (London, 1899), I, 168-169, 175.

⁶⁰ One can find passages where the thoughts are not quick and penetrating, but accumulative, and the emotions, instead of being restless and dynamic, are calm and resolved. But this state of mind, and therefore the poetry that reflects it, is rare in Donne. It occurs only in the most fervent expressions of single-minded love (profane), and in the few poems where his fitful wrestling spirit surrenders to the sweet calm of resignation: as Holy Sonnet XVII, a few bits of *The Litanie*, the first stanza of *Hymne to God my God in my Sicknesse*, and all of the beautiful poem that begins, "Wilt thou forgive that sinne where I begunne."

⁶¹ One may accept Professor Grierson's description of Donne's thought as generally "a record of intense, rapid thinking" (*The Poems of John Donne*, II, xxxiii), "passionate rationalization" (*Metaphysical Lyrics*, [Oxford, 1921], p. xxxv).

⁶² See for instance I, 262, 383-393.

passages of the *Satires* the natural evolution of his ideas may be quick and abrupt,⁶³ in the manner of the anti-Ciceronian curt style,⁶⁴ or his ideas may develop with the easy full naturalness of the loose style⁶⁵

But in this natural manner one must recognize, besides the noble motive of revealing one's mind, a self-conscious masculine carelessness that despises effeminate fastidious diligence over externals. Those who have confidence in the strength of their matter, and desire to distinguish themselves from those whose merits are all on the surface, are likely to affect a "diligent kind of negligence"⁶⁶ Montaigne, for instance, recommends "a kind of disdainfull fiercenesse of these forraine embellishings, and neglect carelesnesse of art"⁶⁷ This Donne, with the self-conscious pride he takes in his wit, finds natural to do, and his contemporaries associate this carelessness—or pretended carelessness—with the masculine character of his verse and wit:

thy carelesse houres brought forth
Fancies beyond our studies, and thy play
Was happier, then our serious time of day.
So learned was thy chance, thy haste had wit,
And matter from thy pen flow'd rashly fit⁶⁸

Donne himself encourages this opinion, for when thinking of publishing his poems, and forced to beg copies from friends, he writes, "By this occasion I am made a Rhapsoder of mine own rags, and that cost me more diligence, to seek them, then it did to make them"⁶⁹ This is the familiar self-deprecation—usually meant as a boast—of cultivated Elizabethan authors. Even in Donne we cannot accept it at face value, though we must nevertheless realize that the effect of carelessness is a definite trait of his artistic manner.

It is psychologically understandable if the loose natural style not only portrays mental processes but also assumes a self-assured indifference towards externals. For when formalized smoothness and symmetry are

⁶³ As in the passage about Truth on a hill, I, 157, 75–88. Note also how in dramatic passages the abrupt style reveals the natural order of ideas.

⁶⁴ This curt style seems to come closer than the loose style to reproducing the effects of prose. Duff finds this true in Seneca's *Tragedies*, where "the short pointed *sententiae* both in form and expression resemble his prose" (*A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*, p. 248).

⁶⁵ As I, 169, 35–63. But note the curt bits. Donne, like many of the prose writers, finds it natural to combine both styles.

⁶⁶ The phrase is Ben Jonson's: see the *Discoveries*, ed. J. E. Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1908), I, 47.

⁶⁷ *Essays*, I, xxv (Modern Library edition, p. 134).

⁶⁸ Mayne's *Elegy* on Donne. Grierson, I, 383, 20–24.

⁶⁹ *Letters to Several Persons of Honour*, ed. C. E. Merrill, Jr. (New York, 1910), p. 170, cf. Gosse, I, 171.

rejected as inadequate, the inevitable tendency is to go to an opposite extreme and cultivate broken unbalanced structures: partly because they better reflect the natural movement of thought, partly to express positive contempt for superficialities, and partly to indulge a pronounced taste for dissonance and abrupt rhythms. This tendency, apparent in Seneca,⁷⁰ Tacitus, and their Renaissance followers, is no less apparent in the poetry of Donne. In the couplet his frequent avoidance of parallelism is secured by runover lines, by rhythms widely unequal in their duration, by riming masculine endings with feminine—familiar devices which have already been analyzed. Stress-shifts, particularly when they make a line runover, are used to break up normal smoothness in favor of abrupt rhythms and thoughts. Elisions, weak stresses, and extra syllables are used to cultivate loose rhythms. Parentheses, both short and long, interrupt the sense and the rhythm of many sentences.⁷¹ Transitions are often brusque, and meant to clash with the smooth progress of an extended period. Points—in the Senecan manner—are frequent, and Donne does not usually avail himself of the epigrammatic potentialities—through parallelism—of the couplet unit.⁷² Like the writers of anti-Ciceronian prose, he is trying to convey the energetic spontaneous flow of ideas in corresponding rhythms and music. For it is his opinion, borne out by his practise, that “both hearers and players are more delighted with voluntary than with sett musike”⁷³

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⁷⁰ Seneca is aware of the psychological reasons—see Epistle 114 to Lucilius.

⁷¹ Croll (“Juste Lipse et le Mouvement Anticéronien,” p. 225) calls the use of parentheses a conspicuous sign of Lipsian imitation.

⁷² Epigrammatic effects are more dependent on the meter and the force and compression of his thought. But occasionally they derive from the accumulative force of his paragraphs, and these effects are similar to the endings of many stanzas in the *Songs and Sonets*.

⁷³ *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*, p. 442.

THE FUNCTION OF THE PROLOGUES IN
PARADISE LOST

IT was Milton's habit in his controversial prose to write at considerable length about himself. This habit has been cited often enough as proof of his arrogance, his pride, his self-concern. No doubt it is. There is a great deal of self-concern, and some arrogance, in Milton. But if he liked to write of himself, he made good use of the liking—a use which he explains among other places in the *Apology for Smectymnuus*:

. . . I conceav'd my selfe to be now not as mine own person, but as a member incorporate into that truth whereof I was perswaded, and whereof I had declar'd openly to be a partaker. Whereupon I thought it my duty, if not to my selfe, yet to the religious cause I had in hand, not to leave on my garment the least spot, or blemish in good name so long as God should give me to say that which might wipe it off.¹

and again:

. . . since I dare not wish to passe this life unpersecuted of slanderous tongues, for God hath told us that to be generally prais'd is wofull, I shall relye on his promise to free the innocent from causelesse aspersions: whereof nothing sooner can assure me, then if I shall feele him now assisting me in the just vmdication of my selfe, which yet I could deferre, it being more meet that to those other matters of publick debatement in this book I should give attendance first, but that I feare it would but harme the truth, for me to reason in her behalfe, so long as I should suffer my honest estimation to lye unpurg'd from these insolent suspitions.²

This is an explanation that Milton repeats, explicitly or by implication, many times in the course of his voluminous controversy. I think it one we ought to take seriously. Certainly it is good rhetoric, and as such gives us a basis on which to judge the "autobiographical digressions," as they have been called—at least a basis on which to ask the question whether the autobiographical and self-laudatory passages are digressions. For what Milton is saying is that they are not digressions, but (in the rhetorical sense) part of the proof. "All of the most distinguished teachers of rhetoric," Milton tells his fellow-students in the first of his *Prolusions*, at Cambridge,

have left behind the opinion . . . that in every kind of speaking, whether demonstrative or deliberative or judicial, the exordium ought to be occupied with secur-

¹ *The Works of John Milton*, edited by Frank A. Patterson and others (New York, 1931-38), III, 1, 284. Reference hereafter will be made to "Columbia Milton."

² *Columbia Milton*, III, 1, 296-297.

ing the goodwill of the listeners, otherwise the minds of the audience could not be persuaded nor could the cause be triumphant as one might wish.³

This, surely, is familiar doctrine too. "It is not true," says Aristotle,

. . . that the probity of the speaker contributes nothing to his persuasiveness, on the contrary, we might almost affirm that his character [*ethos*] is the most potent of all means to persuasion.⁴

The point makes itself. Like the address to Parliament at the beginning of *Arcopagitica*, and that other at the beginning of the *Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings out of the Church*, where flattery of Parliament is subtly blended with a reminder of past services to Parliament, these "digressions" of autobiography, self-congratulation, and self-praise are parts of the ethical proof. They are inserted, whether advisedly or not, for reasons as well as from impulse, if from impulse at all.

That this is good rhetoric, as well as traditional rhetoric, is obvious. Surely the speaker who can secure the goodwill of his audience and demonstrate his own fitness to speak on the subject in hand has taken his audience with him half way to persuasion. For Milton it is more than a mere matter of technique, however. It was Quintilian who defined the orator as "a good man trained in public speech," and Milton accepts the definition, saying (again in the *Apology for Smectymnuus*) that

doubtlesse that indeed according to art is most eloquent, which returnes and approaches nearest to nature from whence it came, and they expresse nature best, who in their lives least wander from her safe leading, which may be call'd regenerate reason. So that how he should be truly eloquent who is not withall a good man, I see not.⁵

Elsewhere he observes that "he who would write of worthy deeds worthily must write with mental endowments and experience of affairs not less than were in the doer of the same."⁶ If Milton is to achieve true eloquence, then, to speak with the substance as well as the semblance of worth,⁷ he must himself be good. If he is to be believed, he must demonstrate his goodness. Although it is a matter of rhetorical technique, then, necessary

³ Columbia *Milton*, xii, 119. Translation by T. O. Mabbott and Nelson McCrea.

⁴ Lane Cooper, *The Rhetoric of Aristotle* (New York, 1932), p. 9.

⁵ Columbia *Milton*, iii, i, 287.

⁶ In a letter to Henry DeBrass. Columbia *Milton*, xii, 93. Masson's translation.

⁷ The parallel with the description of Satan's eloquence (*PL* I, 529) is obvious. The falsity of the speeches of the rebel angels is more than rhetorical in any narrow sense of the word. Their evil counsel springs from their own evil. Not even Beelzebub is evil enough to father the plan adopted in the council of the second book. It comes from Satan,

for whence

But from the father of all ill could spring
So deep a malice? (II, 380-382).

if readers are to be persuaded and the cause be triumphant as one might wish, the need for ethical proof is philosophic as well.

If so high a standard is set for the orator, no less can be demanded of the poet. Nor is less for Milton, as another familiar passage from the *Apology* shows—the famous definition of a poet:

. he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought him selfe to bee a true Poem, that is, a composition and patterne of the best and honourablest things . . . ⁸

For the poet is teacher also. The Horatian description of the poet's function as "to profit or to please, or to blend in one the delightful and the useful" became for Renaissance criticism and hence for Milton a requirement that poetry teach, that it persuade. This is the implication of the definition of a poet already quoted, where a "true poem" is described as a "composition and patterne of the best and honourablest things." The belief is explicit in the statement in *Areopagitica* that Spenser is a "better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas,"⁹ and in the passage in the *Reason of Church Government* in which, discussing his literary aspirations, Milton considers in what form he is to write his great poem: whether that Epick form whereof the two poems of *Homer* and those other two of *Virgil* and *Tasso* are a diffuse, and the book of *Job* a brief model. Or whether those Dramatick constitutions wherein *Sophocles* and *Euripides* raigne shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a Nation . . . ¹⁰

It is clear, too, from the word *patterne* in the definition of a poet, from the word *exemplary* here, from the praise of Spenser for his use of the example of Guyon,¹¹ and from another part of the discussion of the function of poetry in the *Reason of Church Government*, where the poet is described as "Teaching over the whole book of sanctity and vertu through all the instances of example,"¹²—it is clear from these passages not only that the poet is to teach, but that his method is the method of example. This also is in accord with much of Renaissance criticism.

Paradise Lost, then, when Milton comes to write it, having apparently finally settled on the epic form as "most doctrinal and exemplary to a

⁸ Columbia *Milton*, III, i, 303. Miss Ida Langdon, *Milton's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art* (New Haven, 1924), pp. 174–175, brings together passages from Strabo and Longinus, and ancients less explicit than they, as background for this opinion, and cites Ben Jonson to show its currency in the English Renaissance. See also D. L. Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance* (New York, 1922), pp. 159–160.

⁹ The passage is given its final interpretation by Professor Greenlaw, "A Better Teacher than Aquinas," *SP*, xiv (1917), 196–217.

¹⁰ Columbia *Milton*, III, i, 237.

¹¹ In the same passage in *Areopagitica*. Columbia *Milton*, IV, 311.

¹² Columbia *Milton*, III, i, 239.

nation," is to be both story and example. In the invocation to Book I he announces the double purpose as (1) to tell the story of the Fall, its causes and consequences, and (2) to present an argument, to justify the ways of God to men. It is as an example, as an argument designed to persuade, as a justification of God, that we approach it here, and we shall find that as Milton follows the classical rules of epic structure, in so far as his poem is not only an epic but also an oration, he also observes the rules of classical rhetoric. For we find in *Paradise Lost* all of the three types of artistic proof that Renaissance rhetoric inherited from antiquity: the logical, the pathetic, and the ethical.

The "argument," the thesis, of *Paradise Lost* is that God's ways are just and merciful. In its simplest and most general form, this is the first conclusion the reader is expected to draw from the poem, by induction. The story itself is the example from which the induction follows, and as an example the story as a whole is the chief logical proof. An approach to the analysis of it as such I shall indicate in passing.

Within the whole, which is the chief example, are lesser examples, which constitute part of the logical proof also: thus the reality of the freedom of the will is made clear by the example of Abdiel in the fifth book, and in the sixth the moral of Satan's example is pointed:

let it profit thee to have heard
By terrible example the reward
Of disobedience; firm they might have stood,
Yet fell; remember, and fear to transgress.
(*P L* VI, 909-919)

Besides this basic logical proof, there is pathetic proof also, the evocation in the reader of the emotions which will lead to the judgment desired. The attempt is made (not always successfully) to enlist our hatred for Satan, our love for God, our sympathy for Adam and Eve, by presenting them dramatically, Adam and Eve in their innocence, Satan in his evil, God in His glory. This, of course, is the method of narrative, where the engagement of the reader's sympathies is essential to the continuance of his interest. But it is also a recognized and effective means of persuasion. It does not enter into the prologues in *Paradise Lost*, however, and hence not into our discussion. Ethical proof does.

Mr. Tillyard's analysis of the construction of the narrative in *Paradise Lost* does much to controvert the traditional opinion that the invocations (the prologues to Books I, III, IV, VII and IX) are superfluities too beautiful to be spared by showing that they are not superfluities at all but are instead clear marks of the various stages of the story, indications of the narrative point of view.¹³ The introduction to Book I, he points out, is a

¹³ E. M. W. Tillyard, *Milton* (London, 1934), pp. 237-256.

prologue to the whole poem and to Books I and II, which are the "first movement." The invocation to Book III marks the change from Hell to the realms of light, and begins what Mr. Tillyard calls the second movement. The brief introduction to Book IV marks for Mr. Tillyard "the extension of the field of events to Earth," that to Book VII the definite transference of interest from Heaven and Hell to Earth, and that to Book IX "takes the action from the Garden of Eden into its final scene, the mind of Man."¹⁴

This is a convincing analysis of the function of the prologues in the conduct of the narrative. If we remember, however, the point with which we are at present concerned, that *Paradise Lost*, while primarily a story, is also an argument, we shall see that the prologues serve a double rhetorical function as well. They mark the stages in the logical proof as well as the stages in the narrative and they contain all of the ethical proof in the poem. Mr. Tillyard himself suggests the latter function, without developing his suggestion, when he says, "It is natural that Milton, believing in the high seriousness of his purpose, should invoke the Holy Spirit to be his help."¹⁵ Naturally, this appeal for divine guidance carries with it the suggestion that Milton finds it has been granted.¹⁶ Later, of course, he claims it explicitly, identifying the Muse of Book I with Urania, who has been his constant aid.

On any subject, but on a religious subject especially, he can make no higher claim to authority, can present his ethical proof in no stronger terms, and this is the claim that is formally made when in Book I, line 34, the Muse responds to Milton's direct question. Since the question is explicitly about Satan, to a Muse from whose view nothing is hidden by Heaven nor the deep Tract of Hell, Milton has claimed divine authority (in lines 1 to 25) to justify God's ways, and in lines 26 to 34 explicitly to speak of Hell. He has indeed written a prologue at once to the whole poem and to the first movement, and he has established himself as fit to speak. The exordium is occupied with securing the goodwill of the listeners. The poem begins with the conventional invocation to the Muse; the argument begins with the conventional ethical proof.

In Book III, where, as Mr. Tillyard observes, the scene shifts, the argument shifts also, with an advance in the logical proof. Satan's evil has been demonstrated: God's goodness is to be demonstrated. The invocation to light, fitting for the shift with Satan's journey to the realms of

¹⁴ *Op cit*, pp 248-252.

¹⁵ *Op cit*, p. 245

¹⁶ The claim of divine guidance is a common one in the prose, where it is obviously ethical proof. Even in the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* Milton claims it, arguing that it cannot be explained on any other principle that two champions of "domestic freedom" (himself and Martin Bucer) should have been independently raised up for the instruction of Englishmen.

light, is fitting also to the plan to allow God to justify himself in his own words.

Taught by the heav'nly Muse to venture down
The dark descent, and up to reascend, (III, 19-20)

(the claim is definite) Milton now revisits light, though himself in darkness, expressing the hope, and by precedent of Thamyras, Maeonides, Tiresias, and Phineus, the belief, that "wisdom at one entrance quite shut out," so much the rather will

Celestial light
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
Irradiate

in order that he "may see and tell/Of things invisible to mortal sight." Here guidance in the two books accomplished is claimed specifically. The claim to future inspiration is made only by implication. But again it is clearly meant, and again we have an instance of ethical proof.

For us, as for Mr. Tillyard, the brief prologue to Book IV is different not only in length, but in kind also. Here as a narrative device, its function is clear. It serves as prologue not only to Book IV, in which as Mr. Tillyard says the scope of the narrative is broadened to include Earth, it is also by anticipation prologue to the following books, to which it serves as foreshadowing. In its cry for "that warning voice, which he who saw/The Apocalypse heard cry in Heaven aloud, that now,/While time was, our first Parents had been warn'd," it points clearly to the passage in Book V where God "fulfills all justice" by sending his messenger, Raphael, to provide the "warning voice" that should have enabled them to "scape the mortal snare." But this prologue is no invocation: it neither seeks nor claims, as do the others, divine guidance. It is not, then, part of the ethical proof; except as it calls attention to the special warning given Adam and Eve after Eve's dream, an important point in the vindication, it is not proof at all. Its chief function is narrative, in the logical proof it serves for emphasis. The claims to special fitness implicit and explicit in the invocations to Books I and III must carry until the seventh.

The prologue to Book VII is another shift in scene, this time not to include Earth, but to exclude Heaven and Hell. Again the claim to past inspiration is made explicit, and the appeal for further aid repeated:

Up led by thee
Into the Heav'n of Heav'ns I have presum'd
An Earthlie Guest, and drawne Empyrean Aire,
Thy tempring, with like safety guided down
Return me to my Native Element. (VII, 12-16)

But if I have succeeded so far, Milton adds, and have shown myself capable of writing of Heaven and Hell, for what remains I am surely adequate, and besides I count still on the assistance of the Muse:

Half yet remains unsung, but narrower bound
 Within the visible Diurnal Spheare,
 Standing on Earth, not rapt above the Pole,
 More safe I sing with mortal voice, unchang'd
 To hoarse or mute, though fall'n on evil dayes,
 On evil dayes though fall'n, and evil tongues,
 In darkness, and with dangers compast round,
 And solitude, yet not alone, while thou
 Visit'st my slumbers Nightly, or when Morn
 Purples the East still govern thou my Song,
 Urania, and fit audience find, though few

(vii, 21-31)

What follows is the account, in Books vii and viii, of the world as it was created, perfect, another demonstration of God's goodness. The point is important to the logical proof. Like that in Book iii, where freedom of will is the chief subject, and where God speaks for himself, it is worthy of a special invocation and of a claim to special fitness. Quite properly, therefore, Milton uses the invocation for the double purpose of marking the shift in point of view and the new phase of the argument, and takes advantage once more of the opportunity to claim prophetic power and thus to secure belief.

The prologue to Book ix, where the final movement of the narrative begins, and the final stage of the argument, like the brief prologue to Book iv, is different in kind from those to Books i, iii, and vii. It is not an invocation, a prayer for guidance, but primarily a defence of the subject of *Paradise Lost* as

argument
 Not less but more Heroic than the wrauth
 Of stern Achilles (ix, 13-15)

It is also another statement that Milton hopes he can obtain "answerable style"

Of my Celestial Patroness, who deignes
 Her nightly visitation unimplor'd
 And dictates to me slumbring, or inspires
 Easie my unpremeditated Verse
 (ix, 21-25)

But here instead of a petition that she come, we have the final positive claim of inspiration from a Muse who does come, "unimplor'd." Even

Milton's doubts that "an age too late, or cold/Climate, or Years" may damp his intended wing serve to enable him to reaffirm his possession of supernatural aid. Similarly his admitted unwillingness and unfitness to write of conventional heroic subjects,

Not sedulous by Nature to indite
 Warrs, hitherto the onely Argument
 Heroic deem'd, (ix, 27-29)

leads him to assert once more that to him

of these
 Nor skilld nor studious, higher Argument
 Remaines, sufficient of it self to raise
 That name, (ix, 41-44)

and to affirm his fitness for that higher. It is the final instance of ethical proof, and as it marks the narrative shift, so it marks also a new part of the argument: man's fall, the motives for it, the justice of his doom, and the mercy of his salvation from it.

Each of the four great prologues, then, has not only the narrative function Mr. Tillyard assigns to them, but rhetorical functions as well—that of marking the stages in the argument and that of ethical proof. Following his practice in the prose pamphlets, Milton as part of his proof in *Paradise Lost* makes the strongest of all possible claims to authority and makes it at points in the argument where its very "interruption" serves to call the reader's attention to the logical as to the narrative structure.

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THE THEORY OF THE MIXED STATE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF MILTON'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

I

PROFESSOR E. M. Clark in his edition of *The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*,¹ and the present writer in a previous article² have incidentally called attention to Milton's employment of the principle of the mixed or balanced state in his venture in commonwealth construction.³ I wish now to develop the thesis that this principle was a basic one in the poet's political thought, and that a study of its relationship to the development of his ideas yields significant results, not only for his attitude toward episcopacy, monarchy, and dictatorship,⁴ but for an understanding of the point at which he finally arrived in *The Ready and Easy Way*.

Let the principle first be stated. As everyone knows, though Plato and Aristotle defined the various forms of government, they were struck by their impermanence, by the way in which in cyclic progression one form tended to degenerate into another. It was the Greek historian Polybius who, by bringing into conjunction the three ideas of divided power, balance, and permanence in government, was mainly responsible for the conception of the mixed state with which we are here concerned.⁵ Writing just before the century of civil strife which ended in the collapse of the Roman republic, Polybius saw in Rome and Sparta the grand masterpieces of political organization. In each state, in Rome through gradual adjustment, in Sparta because of the surpassing wisdom of Lycurgus, a constitution had been arrived at in which monarchial, aristocratic, and democratic elements were not only present and shared in the power, but

¹ (New Haven, 1915), pp. lviii-lx.

² "Venice and English Political Thought in the Seventeenth Century," in *Modern Philology*, xxxviii (1940), 168.

³ Professor Gilbert Chinard in his recent article on "Polybius and the American Constitution" in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, i (1940), 38-58, ably expounds the relation of the theory of the mixed state to the checks and balances principle embodied in the Constitution of the United States. I trust that my article in addition to its primary purpose of illuminating the political thought of Milton will have the added value of supplementing Chinard in providing materials for the history of the theory of the mixed state as an idea.

⁴ I use the term here and elsewhere in this article in the seventeenth century sense in which I have elsewhere defined it. See my article on the subject in the *Journal of English and German Philology*, xl (1941), 482-488.

⁵ *Histories*, trans. Evelyn Shuckburgh (London and New York, 1889, 2 vols.), i, 466 ff. See the comments of W. A. Dunning, *History of Political Theories, Ancient and Medieval* (New York and London, 1902), pp. 115-118.

existed in a perfect equilibrium or balance. The result was a "mixed" state in which the degenerative tendency which led every pure form of government to destruction had little room to operate, and in which, therefore, permanence and stability were attained.⁶ In such a state Polybius thought that the monarchial element might or might not be represented by kingship. In Rome, for example, he saw this element as represented by the consuls.⁷ In later political thought it came to be freely identified with the magisterial or executive element in government, whether conceived of as king, doge, president, or council.⁸

It is unnecessary to trace here the diffusion of the concept of mixed government further than to indicate the chief intermediaries through whom, in addition to Polybius, it was transmitted. The idea is central in Cicero's *De Republica*⁹ and appears prominently in Plutarch's account of Lycurgus.¹⁰ In sixteenth century Italy it received at least two notable expositions in the pages of Machiavelli and the Venetian political theorist Paolo Paruta. The former writer, preoccupied as he was with the problem of stability in government,¹¹ begins the *Discourses* with a description of the manner in which monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy are corrupted into tyranny, oligarchy, and unbridled license, and then gives a very Polybian account of the way in which such changes could be prevented by combining in a mixed constitution elements of the three basic forms.¹² Paruta's exposition of the principle emerges out of an inquiry into the best kind of government in his *Discorsi Politici*.¹³ An important

⁶ The following passage is a fair statement of his leading ideas: "That statesman [Lycurgus] was fully aware that all those changes which I have enumerated come about by an undeviating law of nature, and reflected that every form of government that was unmixed, and rested on one species of power, was unstable, because it was swiftly perverted into that particular form of evil peculiar to it and inherent in its nature. For just as rust is the natural dissolvent of iron, so in each constitution there is naturally engendered a particular vice inseparable from it: in kingship it is absolutism, in aristocracy it is oligarchy, in democracy lawless ferocity and violence, and to these vicious states all these forms of government are, as I have lately shown, inevitably transformed. Lycurgus, I say, saw all this, and accordingly combined together all the excellences and distinctive features of the best constitutions, that no one part should become unduly predominant, and be perverted into its kindred vice, and that, each power being checked by the others, no one part should turn the scale or decisively out-balance the others, but that, by being accurately adjusted and in exact equilibrium, the whole might remain long steady like a ship sailing close to the wind" (I, 466-467). ⁷ I, 469

⁸ Chinard points out that in the opinion of several delegates to the Federal Convention "the executive represented the monarchical power, the Senate the aristocratical, and the House the popular power" (p. 51). ⁹ I, xxix ff.

¹⁰ *Lives*, trans. Dryden-Clough (New York, n.d.), p. 53.

¹¹ See the comments of J. W. Allen, *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1928), p. 457. ¹² I, 11.

¹³ Allen, p. 505. It is significant of the influence of Paruta that his *Della Perfezione della Vita Politica* was translated into French in 1583 and into English by Henry Cary in 1657. His *History of Venice* was also published in an English translation in 1658.

transmitter of the idea in Elizabethan England appears to have been Sir Thomas Smith, who asserted in the *De Republica Anglorum* that nearly all actual states were mixed in character¹⁴ When we come to the writers of Milton's own century, we find an early expression of the idea of mixed government in Sir Walter Raleigh's *Maxims of State*¹⁵ Later Algernon Sidney made the notion the central principle in his *Discourses*, in which he declared flatly: "There never was a good government in the world, that did not consist of the three simple species of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy"¹⁶ But by far the most important statement of the idea is to be found in Harrington's *Oceana* This writer, who frequently quotes Polybius¹⁷ and to whom Machiavelli was the "only Polititian of later Ages,"¹⁸ begins his preliminary exposition of the principles of government with what is essentially an epitome of the theory of the mixed state as it appears in Polybius and Machiavelli¹⁹ The ideas thus stated permeate his thought Stability was his problem, no less than it was Machiavelli's, and he aimed to secure it by much the same means—by a mixed government in which magisterial, aristocratic, and democratic elements would all participate and exist in a balance or equilibrium.²⁰

Not only was the theory of the mixed state a definite element in seventeenth century political thought of a non-absolutist sort, but it had certain very interesting developments Polybius, as we have seen, saw in the constitutions of Rome and Sparta outstanding examples of mixed and balanced government Machiavelli concurred in this opinion²¹ When we turn to such writers as Harrington and Sidney and find them repeatedly referring to these states, a point which even the most cursory examination of either author will demonstrate at once, it is impossible not to conclude that one important reason for their vogue as models of political organization in seventeenth century English thought is to be found in the fact that they were viewed as great examples of the mixed state But they were not the only models As I have elsewhere pointed out,²² Venice came

¹⁴ I, vi ¹⁵ *Remains* (London, 1675), pp 9–11, 21

¹⁶ *Discourses concerning Government*, II, xvi Cf Richard Baxter, *A Holy Commonwealth, or Political Aphorisms* (London, 1659), pp 87, 207

¹⁷ *Oceana*, ed S B Liljegren (Heidelberg, 1924), pp 140, 177, 353, 357, 363

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p 13 ¹⁹ *Ibid*, pp 13–14

²⁰ *Ibid*, pp 32–33 The peculiarly Harringtonian principles of an agrarian law and rotation were means by which this end was to be attained, Harrington being of the opinion that these were necessary to maintain the balance once the equilibrium was set up "An equal Common-wealth is such an one," he declared, "as is equal both in the balance or foundation, and in the superstructures, that is to say, in her Agrarian Law and in her Rotation" (p 32) Hence his remark that he aimed to follow the ancients and yet go his own way (p 14).

²¹ I, 11 It was Machiavelli's avowed object in the *Discourses* to take ancient political wisdom and the great antique examples of mixed government as his guides (Preface)

²² See note 2

to be thought of as having a model political constitution and exerted a very definite influence on the thought of the time. There were various reasons for the Venetian vogue, but it is clear that one of them was the rise of the idea that Venice was a modern counterpart of the old Roman republic,²³ that it had a mixed and hence balanced constitution,²⁴ and that in some respects it was a more perfect example of the mixed state than even Rome itself.²⁵ The Venetian vogue, indeed, both owed something to the theory of mixed constitutions and also contributed something to it, for the myth that the Venetian government had continued without change for more than twelve hundred years, which was an important element in the contemporary reputation of the city,²⁶ seemed to afford concrete evidence of the correctness of the theory that by a mixed constitution permanence and stability could be secured and cyclic changes delayed. Indeed, Venice did even more for the proponents of mixed government. It encouraged some of them, notably James Harrington, to reject cyclic conceptions altogether and to hold that it was possible to construct a perfectly balanced government in which the defects of fallen man would be so compensated for that it would last unimpaired and unchanged forever.²⁷ The reputation of Venice and the theory of mixed government thus combined to provide one of the chief bases of seventeenth century utopianism and political speculation: the notion of compensating for the natural evil in man by perfectly devised political institutions.²⁸

²³ The comparison was repeatedly made. Harrington supplies the basis of it in his remark that with the barbarian invasions ancient political institutions of the sort that he extolled were replaced by "ill features of government" brought in by the Huns, Goths, and Saxons in all parts of Europe "except Venice, (which escaping the hands of the *Barbarians*, by vertue of her impregnable situation, hath her eye fixed upon *ancient Prudence*. and is attained to a perfection even beyond her copy)" (*Oceana*, p. 12). See further my *Venice*, p. 159.

²⁴ Machiavelli, Paruta, and Contarini in Italy, and Raleigh, Lewkenor, Howell, and Harrington in England all give true Polybian descriptions of the Venetian government as a compound of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. See my *Venice*, pp. 159, 162-163.

²⁵ See my *Venice*, p. 159; Boccalini, *The New-Found Politicke* (London, 1627), p. 197; Harrington, *Oceana*, p. 12. See further Allen, p. 505, and cf. Machiavelli, *Discourses*, I, II, v-vi.

²⁶ *Venice*, p. 158. The idea that whereas the Roman republic lasted only five and the Spartan state eight centuries, Venice had survived for twelve was an important element in the exaltation of Venice over those examples referred to in the preceding note.

²⁷ *Venice*, p. 162.

²⁸ Significant is Harrington's remark that the excellence of the Venetian government was due, not to the fact that the Venetians were men without sin, but to the fact that their constitution was so contrived as to overcome it. The citizen may be sinful "and yet the commonwealth bee perfect," and "the Citizen, where the common Wealth is perfect can never commit any such crime, as can render it imperfect or bring it unto a natural dissolu-

In still another way the theory of mixed government had an interesting development Polybius had pointed out that whereas Rome arrived at the perfection of its constitution by gradual changes and adaptations, Lycurgus by sheer reason had created the mixed government of Sparta.²⁹ Machiavelli repeats the distinction³⁰ The result was to enhance the authority of Lycurgus as an example of the great law-giver and to encourage the notion that an ideal constitution could be created and put into effect by an act of the reason on the part of a single great leader. Harrington, indeed, closely following Machiavelli, went so far as to assert that a commonwealth was seldom or never well founded unless it was made all at once and instituted by a single great leader. The idea, like that of the perpetually healthy state, favored the development of political utopianism and speculative constitutions. It explains exactly the role of Olphaus Megaletor, the Archon or Law-giver, in the *Oceana*³¹ and, as I think we shall presently see, the faith which more than one Independent placed in Cromwell.

One additional observation is necessary before we attempt to relate Milton to the ideas with which we are here concerned. The concept of the mixed state was not felt to be incompatible with the giving of a preponderance of power to some one of the three elements in the government. Sir Walter Raleigh, indeed, thought that in all mixed states some one element was dominant, and asserted that in both Rome and Venice the preponderance of power was held by the aristocracy³² Early in the *Dis-*

tion" (*Oceana*, p 185) Baxter singled out this idea for attack in the *Holy Commonwealth* (p 224) Later, Swift assailed it in *The Sentiments of a Church of England Man*, contending that governments stood or fell because they were in the hands of good or bad men, not because they were well or ill contrived (sec 11)

²⁹ *Histories*, I, 467.

³⁰ *Discourses*, I, ii

³¹ Harrington quotes Machiavelli as saying " 'Thrice happy is that people which chancs to have a man able to give them such a government at once, as without alteration may secure them of their liberties Seeing that Lacedemon in observing the Lawes of Lycurgus continued about eight hundred yeares without any dangerous tumult or corruption' " Olphaus Megaletor read this in Machiavelli, Harrington tells us, and concluded that the first essential was that a state should be made all at once (p. 58) Farther down on the same page our author writes "A *Commonwealth* is seldome or never well turned or constituted, except it have been the work of one man for which cause a wise *Legislator*, and one whose mind is firmly set, not upon private but the publick interest . may justly endeavor to get the soveraigne *power* into his own hands; nor shall any man that is master of reason blame such extraordinary meanes as in that case shall be necessary " This is a close paraphrase of a passage in Machiavelli's *Discourses*, I, ix On p 59 we find Olphaus Megaletor using the army to secure power to institute *Oceana* "all at once " See further the specific comparison of Cromwell and Lycurgus on p 61.

³² *Remains*, p 9 His statement can, I think, be taken as indicative of where he thought the preponderance of power ought to be placed. That it resided in the aristocratic element

courses Machiavelli raises the question of where the balance of power should be placed in a mixed state ³³ Paruta came to the conclusion that the best form of government was a mixed one in which the aristocratic element dominated ³⁴ In discussing the same problem Harrington starts from the observation that "the wisdom of the *Few* is not the *profit* of *Mankind*, nor of a Commonwealth."³⁵ His conclusion was that though a nobility was "the very life and soul" of a government, an over-balancing aristocracy was "the utter bane and destruction of it" ³⁶ The most significant discussion of the point, however, is that found in the pages of Algernon Sidney The whole position toward which this writer moves in his *Discourses concerning Government* is summed up in the Thirty-Seventh Discourse of his Third Book England, he there tells us, was formerly a mixed state in which a large and able nobility restrained both the power of the king and the license of the people and cemented them together in a single smooth-working government But in the course of time, through the corruption of manners, this balance had been broken, and all power had gravitated into the hands of the king and the people. The nobility, thus bereft of power and wealth, no longer performed the function of binding together the other two elements in the state, and the result was all the disorders and confusions of the time These being the facts, the conclusion, Sidney thought, was clear: the happiness and good government of England depended on the restoration of the nobility to their former position and influence. That position, it is clear from the whole tenor of the argument, should be more than just one of balance In Sidney's view the balance would be restored by placing in the nobility the preponderance of power. His views, however, are only fully clarified when we take into account his definition of the term *nobility* He tells us in a long passage that the nobility and the peerage are not at all the same thing "Men are truly ennobled only by virtue," he asserts. Noblemen are "such as have been ennobled by the virtues of their ancestors, manifested in services done to their country." Noblemen, in short, are those who are gentlemen by birth or education, who serve the state virtuously and bravely, and their descendants who,

in ancient Rome was not the common view. In the *Discourse of War in General* we find Raleigh writing "Politicians do affirm, that nobility preserves liberty longer than the commons, and for instance say, Solon's popular state came far short of Lycurgus's by mixed government, for the popular state of Athens soon fell, whilst the royal, mixed government of Sparta stood a mighty time, by the nobility Sparta and Venice enjoyed their freedom longer than Rome" (*Works* [Oxford, 1829, 8 vols], VIII, 296) ³³ I, v.

³⁴ It was on the ground of its superiority in this respect that Paruta considered Venice superior to Rome It was his opinion that the too great power of the people brought about the downfall of the Roman republic. See Allen, p. 505, and cf. Sir Walter Raleigh's opinions above, note 32. ³⁵ *Oceana*, p. 25. ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Sidney tells us, will presumably resemble their ancestors and hence are to be considered as noblemen until the contrary is proved by their actions. Such a nobility Sidney saw as supported by hereditary wealth. He conceived therefore of a nobility in which virtue rested as a solid foundation for inherited wealth and position. The nobility of England, thus defined, were in Sidney's opinion extremely numerous, and it was to this class that he would entrust the preponderance of power in his ideal mixed government. Power belonged in the hands of the well-born and the virtuous—not all of it, for in a mixed state the magisterial and democratic elements have their role to play, but the preponderance of it.³⁷

II

We are now ready to look at Milton. His relation to the ideas which I have been discussing is, at the beginning of his career as a political thinker, clear and definite. He knew Polybius, he accepted the theory of the superiority of mixed government; he saw in Rome and Sparta models of political organization; he thought of England as having a mixed constitution, of the English monarchy as being, indeed, in its proper constitution a supreme example of the balanced state, and, with approval, he conceived of the English government as representing that type of mixed state in which the noblest and worthiest men, the aristocratic element, held through the Parliament the preponderance of power. These are not matters for conjecture; two passages in *Of Reformation in England* present us with indisputable evidence of his position:

The best-founded commonwealths and least barbarous have aimed at a certain mixture and temperament, partaking the several virtues of each other state, that each part drawing to itself may keep up a steady and even uprightness in common . . . There is no civil government that hath been known, no not the Spartan, not the Roman, though both for this respect so much praised by the wise Polybius, more divinely and harmoniously tuned, more equally balanced as it were by the hand and scale of justice, than is the commonwealth of England; where under a free and untutored monarch, the noblest, worthiest, and most prudent men, with full approbation and suffrage of the people, have in their power the supreme and final determination of highest affairs³⁸

This passage, it is clear, describes England in its proper constitution before its perversion by the corruptions of the time. In the second key passage Milton is speaking of the benefits which would result from the abolition of those corruptions:

Then shall the nobles possess all the dignities and offices of temporal honor to themselves, sole lords without the improper mixture of scholastic and pusillani-

³⁷ III, xxix

³⁸ *Prose Works*, ed. Bohn, II, 408.

mous upstarts, the parliament should void her upper house of the same annoyances, the common and civil laws shall be set free ³⁹

It is clear from the first of these passages that Milton saw the monarchical or magisterial element as represented in England by the king, and the democratic element as consisting of the "full approbation and suffrage of the people." What he saw the aristocratic element as being is to be deduced from both statements. On the carrying out of the reforms he proposed, he tells us that the nobility would then have "all the dignities and offices of temporal honor." He meant exactly what he said. But I hasten to add that, as in the case of Sidney, it is important to notice what he meant by nobility. For the nobility of title Milton had all of Sidney's scorn ⁴⁰ But to an even greater extent than that writer he would find the origin of nobility in virtue, and the ideas of hereditary wealth and position are less emphasized in Milton than in Sidney. Fundamentally he saw in virtue, goodness, godliness, and patriotic and disinterested service to one's country the essence of nobility. Those were noble who labored virtuously and learnedly for God and the happiness and glory of England ⁴¹ In this sense Milton himself—he who sought to teach the truth to his countrymen—was a nobleman ⁴² Whatever may have been Francini's intentions in addressing his complimentary ode to "Signor Gio. Miltoni Nobile Inglese," Milton himself would not have repudiated this description. The source of true nobility, then, was personal worth, godliness, and goodness in the service of the state. With this conception went two other ideas: that nobility derives in some cases, at least, from the inspiration of God, ⁴³ and that the "middle sort" of people are the great fountain head of that virtue from which true nobility proceeds ⁴⁴ Yet Milton did not by any means repudiate wholly the con-

³⁹ *P W*, II, 409. The remark about scholastic upstarts is not, of course, to be construed as an attack on learned men in government, which would indeed be a most un-Miltonic thing. "Scholastic" refers to scholastic learning, and has in this passage all the connotations of ignorance and illiteracy which scholasticism suggested to Milton. The charge is that the bishops should have no part in the government because among other things they were ignorant. A few paragraphs below, Milton asserts that for twelve centuries the bishops had been ignorant and illiterate (p. 411). Cf. III, 87.

⁴⁰ *P W*, I, 154, 170, II, 23. Milton repeatedly points out that anciently the commons were comprehended in the terms "peers" and "barons" (*P W*, I, 167, 175).

⁴¹ *P W*, I, 16, II, 266–267, *Works*, Columbia ed., XVIII, 195, 340.

⁴² See Milton's description of himself as one who had zealously prepared to serve God and his country (*P W*, III, 112–113).

⁴³ *Works*, XVIII, 195.

⁴⁴ *P W*, I, 155. Cf. I, 291. Among the "middle sort" says Milton, "the most prudent men, and most skilful in affairs, are generally found, others are most commonly diverted either by luxury and plenty, or by want and poverty, from virtue, and the study of laws and government." Cf. Sir Walter Raleigh on "the middle sort of people" in *Remains*, p. 16.

ception that nobility is conferred by distinguished descent Though stoutly maintaining that the nobility of personal worth was as high as any in the land, he would have agreed with Sidney that the descendants of those whose virtue had ennobled them were to be considered noble until their actions proved them otherwise⁴⁵ From the nobility thus defined Milton saw the members of Parliament, particularly the House of Commons, as being selected In the Commons he saw an assembly of the "noblest, worthiest, and most prudent men," chosen from the true aristocracy of the state and representing therefore not merely the whole people by the manner of their selection, but the true aristocracy by the class from which they were selected Parliament, particularly the House of Commons, was therefore the aristocratic element in the mixed state which Milton conceived England to be. Moreover, he believed that it was the element which should have predominant power. The "noblest, worthiest, and most prudent men," he says specifically, "have in their power the supreme and final determination of highest affairs" Thus there emerge out of *Of Reformation in England* two great political ideas: that mixed states are superior to all others, and that in a mixed state the nobility, the wise and the good, the aristocratic element, should dominate These, we shall find, are the constant elements in Milton's political thought. They will not change, though much else will.

Our first problem is that of the relation of the principle of mixed government to Milton's arguments against episcopacy In the *Common-place Book* is the following significant entry: "The clergie commonly the corrupters of kingly authority turning it to tyrannie by thire wicked flatteries even in the pulpit."⁴⁶ The argument to which this leads when coupled with the idea of the superiority of mixed government is obvious In *Of Reformation in England* it is precisely this coupling which is made, together with the parallel idea that just as episcopacy seeks to under-

⁴⁵ In the *First Defense* Milton declares that some of the Puritan leaders came from noble ancestry equal to any in the land, and that others had "taken a course to attain to true nobility by their own industry and virtue, and are not inferior to men of the noblest descent" (*P W*, I, 16) Milton was at great pains to vindicate the essential nobility and even gentle descent of the Puritan leaders He tells us in one place that most of the members of Parliament were "either of ancient and high nobility, or at least of known and well-reputed ancestry" (*P W*, III, 145) One basis of Milton's attack on episcopacy was that it raised to positions of influence in the state men of mean and ignoble birth (*P W*, III, 166; cf II, 409) What was Milton's attitude toward his own ancestry? In the *Second Defense* he remarks that he came of honest stock ("*genere honesto*") (*P W*, I, 254) The anonymous *Life of Milton* tells us that he was said to be descended from "an ancient knightly family of Buckinghamshire" (*The Student's Milton*, ed F A Patterson [New York, 1933, rev ed], p xvi) Edward Philips says that Milton was said to be descended from the "ancient family of the Miltons of Milton" (*Ibid*, p xxxii)

⁴⁶ *Works*, XVIII, 175.

mine the liberty of the people,⁴⁷ so does it seek to get into its own hands the powers of the king.⁴⁸ England, the argument runs, is a supreme example of the mixed state in which the king, the aristocracy, and the people all have their due shares. Episcopacy is a foreign element in the state⁴⁹ composed of men whose aim is the aggrandizement of civil power and ultimately the establishment of their own supremacy,⁵⁰ and who in the pursuit of this object seek at once to undermine the liberties of the subject and to seize the prerogatives of the king.⁵¹ Episcopacy, in short, is incompatible with, and ultimately destructive of, such a mixed government as Milton conceived England to have. It is, indeed, incompatible with any mixed or balanced state because its aim is the overturn of all balance and the establishment of its own theocratical tyranny. The damage which had been done by the bishops in England was great. A state which was in its own proper form and constitution the most perfect pattern of government in the world had been turned into the "floating carcase of a crazy and diseased monarchy or state."⁵² But it was not too late and the damage was not irreparable. On the twin beliefs that England in its proper constitution was a perfect example of the mixed state and that episcopacy, the corrupting element, the wen, needed but to be removed to bring about the perfectly functioning state, Milton's utopian fervor in 1641 took wing and soared to the extraordinary apostrophe with which *Of Reformation in England* ends.

One more observation on the anti-episcopal tracts. We have seen Milton taking over the theory of the mixed state from classical, specifically Polybian sources,⁵³ and discovering that England in its proper constitution exemplified the theory. What he was really asserting was that the original institutions of the country involved the principles of

⁴⁷ Cf. Milton's assertion in the *Apology for Smectymnus* that the clergy seek the dissolution of law and the erection of an arbitrary sway (*P. W.*, III, 163).

⁴⁸ *P. W.*, II, 393 f.

⁴⁹ Significant is Milton's comparison of episcopacy to a wen which should be cut off (*P. W.*, II, 398).

⁵⁰ Milton advances as a perfect example of his argument the way in which the bishops of Rome seized more and more power until eventually they made themselves supreme temporal rulers (*P. W.*, II, 394-395). See also p. 396. On p. 397 he tells us that men have as good reason to fear civil usurpation by the Protestant episcopacy as in former times they had of the papal.

⁵¹ Milton rather confusingly uses the term "supremacy of the king," but by the very theory of mixed government which he explicitly sets forth in the tract (*P. W.*, II, 403, 408), "supremacy" can mean nothing more than the just powers of the monarch under the law.

⁵² *P. W.*, II, 391.

⁵³ That he also got it from Machiavelli is clear. There are repeated references to the *Discourses* in the *Commonplace Book*. See *Works*, xviii, 160, 183, 197, 199, 200, 210, 211, 212, 215, 217.

mixed government,⁵⁴ and this, in fact, is precisely what his argument later turned into in the *Eikonoklastes*⁵⁵ and the *First Defense*.⁵⁶ The point is an important one because by it he attempted to harmonize the idea of the mixed state and following the "best ages" and best examples—Rome, Sparta, Athens,⁵⁷ and later Venice, which he always thought his countrymen would do well to imitate⁵⁸—with his patriotic pride in England and his proposal to reform the country by the pattern of its ancient institutions. The attempt was never too successful. It came closest to success, perhaps, in the *First Defense*, in which the specific adherence to the theory of the mixed state, the citations of old English practice, and the constant references to classical authorities and examples presuppose that all three led to common conclusions.⁵⁹ Yet even in this work we find Milton on one page exalting clear classical precedents over medieval obscurities and on another declaring that the English had the best laws in the world and stood in need of no outside examples.⁶⁰ Frequently he wavered between asserting the superiority and sufficiency of English precedents, and saying, under the influence of the contemporary

⁵⁴ At this point Milton's and Sidney's views are very similar. See Sidney's *Discourses*, III, xxxvii. Milton praises Sidney in the *Second Defense* (*P. W.*, I, 293).

⁵⁵ *P. W.*, I, 351.

⁵⁶ *P. W.*, I, 172, 210.

⁵⁷ The case of Athens in the writings of exponents of the theory of mixed government is an interesting one. Earlier writers like Machiavelli saw Athens as an example of pure democracy and as short-lived and accordingly compared it unfavorably with Sparta and Rome. (*Discourses*, I, ii), but seventeenth century writers like Sidney contrived to discover that it, too, was a mixed state and admired it as such (*Discourses*, II, xvi). There was, therefore, no inconsistency between Milton's acceptance of the theory of mixed government and the admiration for Athens which he expresses (*P. W.*, II, 136).

⁵⁸ The great models of the antique world were ever before Milton's eyes, though he was not always willing to admit the fact. In the *Areopagitica* he urges his countrymen to imitate the "old and elegant humanity of Greece" (*P. W.*, II, 52). See also the comparison of Vane to a Roman senator in the sonnet addressed to him, and the extraordinary passage in the *Second Defense* on the likeness of Fairfax to Scipio and the "heroes of antiquity" (*P. W.*, I, 287). See further *P. W.*, I, 88, 117, 219, 297. In *The Ready and Easy Way* Milton calls on his countrymen not to fail to build Rome anew in the West (*P. W.*, II, 114). Aubrey says that it was Milton's "being so conversant in Livy and the Roman authors, and the greatness he saw done by the Roman Commonwealth" that made him into a republican (*Brief Lives*, ed. Andrew Clark [Oxford, 1898, 2 vols.], II, 69). Cf. Hobbes's opinion that among his contemporaries one of the chief causes of republicanism was "the reading of the books of policy and histories of the ancient Greeks and Romans" (*Leviathan*, II, xlii). Cf. also Harrington, *Oceana*, p. 10.

⁵⁹ *P. W.*, I, 15, 88, 160, 167, 172-177, 183, 188.

⁶⁰ *P. W.*, I, 168, 210, 177. Cf. 205. Harrington set up a flat opposition between classical precedents, which he considered wise and good, and those of the Huns, Goths, Vandals, Lombards, and Saxons, whom he accuses of "deforming the whole face of the world" except Venice with "ill features of government" (*Oceana*, p. 12).

climatic theory and the disappointments of the moment, that his countrymen were deficient in political wisdom and would "come short" and end in "ridiculous frustration" unless they imported civil wisdom "from foreign writings, and examples of best ages"⁶¹ In the end, as we shall see, the attempt to harmonize the notion of a return to old English principles with imitation of the great classical mixed states was destined to break down.

III

We have seen Milton in 1641 an adherent of the theory of mixed government The tracts of 1649 and the early 1650's show him holding fast to the idea Three specific statements, one in the *Eikonoklastes*⁶² and two in the *First Defense*⁶³ make the matter clear These tracts involve us, therefore, in three great problems the relation of kingship and of the doctrines of popular sovereignty and parliamentary supremacy to the theory of mixed government

The doctrine of sovereignty does not play an important role in discussions of the mixed state before and even in the sixteenth century. Polybius, like Sir Thomas Smith, was content to say that in such a state power was divided⁶⁴ Once the idea of mixed government was complicated, however, by the concept of sovereignty, as it was inevitable both from events themselves and Bodin's great exposition of "puissance souveraine"⁶⁵ that it would be complicated, three positions were possible One could hold, as Sir Thomas Smith quite probably would have held had the problem occurred to him, that in a mixed state sovereignty was divided, or one could hold that sovereignty is indivisible and that therefore a mixed state was an impossibility,⁶⁶ or one could maintain that though sovereignty itself is indivisible, power could be delegated in varying proportions to different bodies in the state representing the magisterial, aristocratic, and democratic elements, and that therefore

⁶¹ *P W*, v, 240, and see my article on the climatic theory in the *Modern Language Quarterly*, II (1941), 67-80 ⁶² *P W*, I, 363 Cf 360-361

⁶³ *P W*, I, 88, 160 The first of these is particularly significant because in it we find him citing Lycurgus as the introducer of mixed government in Sparta and remarking that he had "left a good example" to modern times In the second passage Sir Thomas Smith is quoted as authority for the statement that a government would not last long unless it was mixed ⁶⁴ See Allen's comments, p 262

⁶⁵ *Republique*, I, 1 ff Bodin, of course, did not invent the doctrine of sovereignty Its origins are doubtless to be found in many previous writers, but it seems clear that he was an important force in giving it currency There was an English translation of the *Republique* by T. Knolles as *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale* (London, 1606)

⁶⁶ That sovereignty is indivisible was asserted by both Bodin (II, 1) and Hobbes (*Leviathan*, II, xiv, xxix) That a mixed state was therefore an impossibility was Hobbes's contention (II, xix).

there was no inconsistency between the doctrine of indivisible sovereignty and the concept of mixed government. The first of these positions was rendered untenable after Bodin showed how easy it was to prove sovereignty indivisible, though absolutist writers liked to give the impression that it represented the views of exponents of mixed government⁶⁷ The second idea afforded absolutists who found sovereignty to reside in the monarch one of their leading arguments, as we shall shortly see The third position, or some modification of it, was that toward which most exponents of mixed government gravitated⁶⁸ Moreover, by the idea of the delegation of power, it was possible to believe at once in indivisible sovereignty, mixed government, and popular sovereignty, for if one conceived of sovereignty as residing in the people, one could then think of power as partly retained and partly delegated to the aristocratic and magisterial elements of the state⁶⁹ This was precisely the position at which Milton arrived The result of his preoccupation in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* with the idea of an indivisible popular sovereignty⁷⁰ was not to lessen in any way the hold of the idea of mixed government on him, but to develop that theory by harmonizing with it the concept of the sovereignty of the people.⁷¹ What resulted from the amalgamation of the two ideas was a theory the cardinal points of which were precisely that sovereignty is indivisible, that it resides in the

⁶⁷ Hobbes, I, xlix

⁶⁸ See, for example, Sidney's *Discourses*, I, xx

⁶⁹ J. N. Figgis in his *Divine Right of Kings* (Cambridge, 1896), pp. 238-243, finds anti-absolutist writers of the seventeenth century confused on the question of sovereignty. It seems to me that he is himself confused, and I regard as wholly inaccurate his statement that "it is the theory of sovereignty which differentiates the royalist writers from the popular side" (p. 246). Whether it is logically defensible to believe at once in indivisible sovereignty, popular sovereignty, and mixed government I do not care to argue, but that such writers as Milton and Sidney did hold these three views without seeing any conflict in them is not debatable. The question at issue between proponents and opponents of the theory of divine right was not whether sovereignty was divisible, but whether by divine or natural law and the custom of nations it resided in the king or in the people. The one idea led straight to absolutism, the other to mixed government.

⁷⁰ That Milton did not believe in the theory of divided sovereignty is clear from the fact that he repeatedly points out that the whole power of a king is delegated power, that no share of power inheres in a king by divine or any other right simply because he is a king (*P. W.*, II, 11, 14). Likewise, the power of Parliament was delegated power (*P. W.*, I, 11, II, 121). I consider myself fully justified, therefore, in seeing in Milton an exponent of indivisible sovereignty. I use the term here and elsewhere in its modern sense. Anyone investigating Milton's views of the matter must look for the thing, not the word. His use of the word is extremely ambiguous. That he was acquainted with it, however, in the sense which it now has is clear from the fact that it is used in that sense and that its meaning is expounded in Sir Walter Raleigh's *The Cabinet Council*, which Milton published in 1658 (see pp. 2-3).

⁷¹ *P. W.*, II, 8-17, I, 88, 160

people,⁷² and that it is partly retained by them⁷³ and partly delegated to bodies in the state representing the monarchic and aristocratic elements, namely, the magistracy and the Parliament.⁷⁴ The fundamental Polybian theory of the mixed state, the idea that permanency and stability are secured by a division of power among the three elements of the state remained.

I say that Milton arrived at a harmony of the concept of the mixed state and popular sovereignty, but before he could fully vindicate his position he had to meet Salmasius. There were many points at issue between these two controversialists, but not the least of them was whether England was in its proper constitution a mixed state or an absolute monarchy with the indivisible sovereign power residing in the king, for if the conceptions of the delegation of power and popular sovereignty were not inconsistent with the idea of the mixed state, the concept of sovereign power divinely bestowed on the monarch flatly was. This was, indeed, a central issue of the whole controversy. Salmasius, as Milton understood him, based his case on two main points: that sovereignty is indivisible,⁷⁵ and that it resides in the king.⁷⁶ To prove that it resides in the monarch, Milton saw him resorting to the law of God,⁷⁷ the law of nature,⁷⁸ the theory of divine investiture,⁷⁹ and an analogy between the state and the family, if not indeed to the theory that the king is absolute as the inheritor of those divinely instituted, absolute parental rights out of which, by way of the expansion of the family into the state, government was supposed by some to have originated.⁸⁰ That sovereignty was indivisible Milton did not dispute, but to the contention that it resided in the monarch by divine and natural law, he replied with the doctrine of popular sovereignty⁸¹ and with his own interpretations of the law of

⁷² *P. W.*, II, 9 ff.; I, 33, 76; II, 121

⁷³ *P. W.*, II, 14, 121; I, 33

⁷⁴ Cf. Milton's position with that of the delegates to the Federal Convention in note 8

⁷⁵ *P. W.*, I, 160.

⁷⁶ *P. W.*, I, 30

⁷⁷ *P. W.*, I, 60.

⁷⁸ *P. W.*, I, 32

⁷⁹ *P. W.*, I, 94.

⁸⁰ *P. W.*, I, 20-21, 114, 156 Cf. Bodin, *Republique*, I, ii, and Sir Walter Raleigh, *Three Discourses* (London, 1702), p. 105 The notion of the patriarchal origin of the state was developed at length by Sir Robert Filmer in the *Patriarcha* (cf. his *Observations upon Mr. Hobbes Leviathan, Mr. Milton against Salmasius, and H. Grotius De jure belli et pacis* [London, 1652], p. 18), and controverted by Sidney in the *Discourses* (I, ix, xii). See also Locke, *Essay concerning the True Original of Civil Government*, ch. vi Figgis is correct in saying that though the patriarchal theory is no essential part of the theory of divine right, it affords the best justification of it (p. 148). I am inclined to think, however, that he underestimates the importance of the idea in political thought before Filmer. The theory was, of course, not the only one about the origin of government which was held by advocates of royal supremacy. By the fiction that power once delegated could not be resumed, Hobbes contrived to make the idea of a social contract into an argument for the supremacy of the ruler, however the ruler was conceived (*Leviathan*, I, xiv; II, xviii).

⁸¹ *P. W.*, I, 42, 43, 46, 47, 76.

God⁸² and the law of nature.⁸³ Salmasius' argument implied that a mixed state was the negation of all law and government.⁸⁴ Milton replied with the flat assertion that a pure tyranny or unmixed state such as Salmasius talked about neither ever had nor ever could exist.⁸⁵ He was, indeed, so far from abandoning the theory of mixed government as to assert, not merely that the best governments are mixed, but that all actual governments can never be anything else.⁸⁶ The central issues in the Milton-Salmasius controversy were well chosen. However absurd his argument may appear to us today, Salmasius knew what he was about, and Milton leaped to meet him on the issues he had set. The result in the poet's mind was a triumphant vindication of the theory of mixed government and popular sovereignty.

As the controversy with Salmasius turned upon whether England was a pure monarchy or a mixed state, so Milton's preoccupation with kingship in 1649 and the early 1650's resolved itself, philosophically considered, essentially into the question of how in a mixed state the monarchic or magisterial element could best be represented. It is clear that in 1641 he saw it as represented by the king. That it might be represented by a king he was still willing to admit in the *First Defense*.⁸⁷ But that it was best when not so represented many things conspired to convince him. Polybius had shown clearly that the monarchic element might be present without there being any king. Rome not only proved the possibility but suggested that kings were best dispensed with. Such an exponent of the mixed state as Machiavelli told Milton that a republic was superior to a monarchy.⁸⁸ Plato and Aristotle taught him that monarchy was prone to degenerate into tyranny. The course of Charles I seemed to him to offer concrete proof of the assertion. Presently we find him saying that of all forms of government monarchy was the one which turned most easily into tyranny.⁸⁹ But tyranny was by very definition inconsistent with, and destructive of, mixed government. Holding this principle, Milton was led inevitably to reject monarchy, that is, to reject kingship as a satisfactory representative of the monarchial or magisterial element in the state. It is doubtless futile to discover the precise point at which he arrived at this conclusion. Fundamental changes in men's views are frequently of long maturation, and the

⁸² *P. W.*, I, 35 ff. ⁸³ *P. W.*, I, 108-116.

⁸⁴ Cf. Filmer's *Anarchy of a Limited and Mixed Monarchy* (1648).

⁸⁵ To prove the point he quotes Aristotle (*P. W.*, I, 37-38, 160) and Sir Thomas Smith (I, 160, cf. *Works*, xviii, 176) and denies that even the kings in Oriental despotisms had absolute power (*P. W.*, I, 37).

⁸⁶ *P. W.*, I, 88, 160.

⁸⁷ *P. W.*, I, 33, 79, 88. Cf. I, 223, 249; II, 130.

⁸⁸ *Works*, xviii, 199.

⁸⁹ *P. W.*, I, 114. Cf. 38-39.

point at which one opinion is given up and another adopted is hard to define even if such a "point" exists to begin with. Besides, the spirit of ancient republicanism had long hovered over our poet ⁹⁰ But we can say that by the *First Defense* Milton had arrived very definitely at the conclusion that a republic is superior to a monarchy as a means of realizing the ideal of a mixed state ⁹¹

We can go further. Not only had Milton definitely rejected monarchy. One can already see in the germ in the *First Defense* the idea out of which developed his ultimate conception of what the monarchial or magisterial element in a mixed state ought to be. The significant passage runs as follows:

And there is nothing more common than for our parliaments to appoint committees of their own members, who, when so appointed, have power to meet where they please, and hold a kind of little parliament amongst themselves. And the most weighty affairs are often referred to them, for expedition and secrecy—the care of the navy, the army, the treasury, in short, all things whatsoever relating either to war or peace ⁹²

The "committees" of this passage are identical in conception with the committee of the Grand Council which, as the "Council of State" constituted a few years later the monarchial or magisterial element of Milton's free commonwealth.⁹³ He came, in short, to see the magisterial element in a mixed state as ideally consisting of a small council of wise and able men created by, and responsible to, parliament. He was traveling toward this view, if he had not actually adopted it, in 1651, in 1660 he expressed it as a settled conviction in *The Ready and Easy Way*. One may conclude, I believe, that Milton's experiences with Charles I did more than make him reject kingship, that they made him reject all single-person magistracies whatsoever in a functioning mixed state ⁹⁴

If this interpretation is correct, it will doubtless be inquired how Milton's support of Cromwell and his faith in great leaders are to be explained. The explanation, I think, is both clear and simple and lies essentially in two facts. The first of these is that Milton never at any

⁹⁰ Gooch's remarks on Milton's transition to republicanism are interesting (*The History of English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century* [Cambridge, 1898], pp. 180–183). He sees the *Eikonoklastes* as the key document, and such it undoubtedly is as far as overt expressions of republicanism are concerned (*P. W.*, I, 482, 485).

⁹¹ *P. W.*, I, 33.

⁹² *P. W.*, I, 15.

⁹³ *P. W.*, II, 121. Note the similarities in phrasing between the two passages.

⁹⁴ *The Ready and Easy Way* is clear on this point. So great was Milton's distrust of all single-person magistracies that he would tolerate not even a powerless "duke of Venice" (see my *Venice*, p. 167). See Clark's remarks (p. xxxv) and Gooch's acute observations (p. 244).

time throughout the Puritan revolution thought that his ultimate ideal had been attained. From 1641 on, except for those periods when he saw one obstacle or another holding up the progress of things,⁹⁵ he saw his countrymen in a state of transition from corruption and tyranny to a new and well-nigh perfect order in both church and state. In the earlier anti-episcopal tracts one gets the impression that Milton came close to thinking that episcopacy was the great source of evil in the state, as well as in the church, and that once it was removed all would be well.⁹⁶ But shortly he discovered that other things were necessary. It was always thus. Most important for our purposes is that it was thus when Milton wrote the *Second Defense* and when his faith in Cromwell was at its height.⁹⁷ He specifically says that the government of the country was such as the storms of faction and the convulsions which disturbed the state admitted of, not such as was to be wholly desired.⁹⁸ The second cardinal point has to do with Milton's conception of the role of great leaders in times of transition from one government to another. Until the later 1640's he saw in Parliament the agency which was carrying out the great reform and guiding the country in the transition from tyranny and corruption to a new and better order. But already in 1641 he had entertained the opinion that in periods of transition it was sometimes necessary for a great individual to exercise vast temporary powers. "Brutus, that expelled the kings out of Rome," he tells us, "was for the time forced to be as it were a king himself, till matters were set in order, as in a free commonwealth." Pericles, too, he finds, exercised such great powers that he was like a prince, yet he had no more than a temporary sway.⁹⁹ Moreover, the example of Lycurgus and the role assigned to him by political writers as the creator of the ideal mixed constitution of Sparta encouraged Milton, as it encouraged Harrington, in the belief that it was possible through the agency of a single great law-giver or leader to establish an ideal state.¹⁰⁰ Milton believed in heaven-sent, divinely appointed great leaders, but it is significant that he saw them

⁹⁵ Such a period was 1647-48, when he accused the Presbyterians of having brought the great reformation to "ridiculous frustration" (*P W*, v, 236 ff.).

⁹⁶ *P W*, II, 408-409

⁹⁷ I say at its height because there is no other tract in which he puts his hopes as completely in Cromwell as in the *Second Defense*. Cf. *P W*, I, 288-289 with the views expressed in the *First Defense* (I, 15). That his faith even at its height involved fears and reservations is, of course, clear from the warnings to Cromwell (I, 290 f.).

⁹⁸ *P W*, I, 294-295. The statement occurs near the end of the tract and was clearly written after the establishment of the Protectorate. ⁹⁹ *P W*, II, 429.

¹⁰⁰ That Lycurgus made a strong impression on Milton is attested by his numerous references to him. See especially *P W*, II, 57, and I, 88, where Lycurgus is held up as having set a pattern for others to follow.

as deliverers from bondage and tyranny like Samson, as institutors of liberty like Brutus, or as great teachers like himself,¹⁰¹ not as all-powerful executives in a settled and smoothly functioning mixed state. In Milton's scheme of things great leaders make their appearance on the stage of history and play their proper roles in times of transition from bondage to freedom. He accepted, then, the fact that sometimes it was necessary in times of transition to set up a virtual dictator. But it is important to note that although he accepted the idea of the transitional dictator, in the end he utterly repudiated the notion that in an established and properly contrived mixed government it was ever necessary, even in times of crisis, to confer dictatorial power on either any council or single person in the government. In *The Ready and Easy Way*, as we shall see, he puts his whole faith in a perfectly contrived state which would function smoothly in times of crisis as in times of calm. There is no provision whatever for a constitutionally recognized dictator to act in emergencies—such a dictator as Machiavelli, Harrington, and those prime examples of the mixed state, Rome and Venice, cannot have but suggested to him. In *Paradise Regained*, if I have read its political implications aright, he went further and implied that when regularly constituted authorities fail in times of crisis, dictatorship is a vain and futile refuge.¹⁰²

It is only in the light of these facts, I believe, that one can draw any true conclusions regarding Milton's attitude toward Cromwell. That from viewing Parliament as the institutor of the new order in the 1640's, he had been reduced to putting his hopes in Cromwell when he wrote the *Second Defense* no one will dispute,¹⁰³ but it was, I think, of the essence of Milton's view of the Protector that he saw him essentially as a transitional dictator, as an institutor or law-giver. If the *Letter to a Gentleman in the Country* which Thomason and Masson attributed to the poet¹⁰⁴ is indeed a genuine Miltonic document, it affords strong support for this view, the writer seeing Cromwell as a divinely appointed great leader who was to finish the great reform begun but not yet completed.¹⁰⁵ But more important, the conception colors the whole eulogy of Cromwell in the *Second Defense*. The anxious warnings to the Protector in this work center around the apprehension that he might make himself permanently supreme, that he might seize the sovereignty which all had yielded to him to achieve the instituting of the ideal state.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, and I think most significantly, we find Cromwell compared to that Brutus who had driven the kings out of Rome and of whom Milton had earlier written that he was forced for a time to be, as it were, a king himself.¹⁰⁷ Milton, then, saw Cromwell as an institutor of the ideal mixed

¹⁰¹ *P. W.*, II, 98.¹⁰² On these matters see my article referred to in note 4.¹⁰³ *P. W.*, I, 288, 289.¹⁰⁴ Masson, *Life*, IV, 520 ff.¹⁰⁵ See the *Letter* in Masson, IV, 521.¹⁰⁶ *P. W.*, I, 290 ff.¹⁰⁷ *P. W.*, I, 297.

state of his dreams.¹⁰⁸ The new government of the Protector had "begun to shed its splendor on the world,"¹⁰⁹ and in it Cromwell was supreme and might do much, but it was only a transition to something better; it was, be it remembered, such a government as the distractions of the time admitted of, not such as was to be wished.¹¹⁰

There is additional evidence that Milton was under the influence of the idea of the great institutor. When he wrote his *Letter to Monk* early in 1660, he invited the General to assume essentially the role which he had earlier seen Cromwell playing. This may, of course, be dismissed as simply a last desperate gamble on Milton's part, and such no doubt in a very considerable measure it was, but that he was still under the influence of the idea of the Lycurgus-like institutor is suggested not only by the phraseology of the letter itself, but also by the letter which on December 20, 1659, he addressed to Henry Oldenburgh, in which he remarked that the great need of the time was someone to settle the government on a firm foundation.¹¹¹ The *Letter to Monk* was not an invitation to assume permanent power, but to institute a mixed state, the outlines of which Milton was careful to set forth.¹¹² If it was, therefore, a product of the moment, it was nevertheless strictly consistent with views which he had expressed elsewhere, even to the justifying of the use of armed force by the institutor.¹¹³ I think it is not unreasonable to conclude that in 1654 and again early in 1660, Milton saw the contemporary situation in terms of the notion of transitional dictatorship and placed his hopes for the mixed state in a great institutor.¹¹⁴ Cromwell and Monk were both products of the times and of events, Milton called on each in turn to become a Lycurgean legislator.¹¹⁵ In Cromwell he was doubt-

¹⁰⁸ What I am suggesting, of course, is that in this respect Harrington and Milton, both under the influence of the theory of the mixed state and with the Lycurgean example before them, saw Cromwell in much the same way ¹⁰⁹ *P W*, I, 289

¹¹⁰ It is, I think, indicative of the hold of the idea of a councilar magistracy in a normally functioning state on Milton that he would have even Cromwell in his role of transitional dictator associate with himself the great leaders on the Puritan side (*P W*, I, 290)

¹¹¹ *P W*, III, 520 ¹¹² *P W*, II, 106 ff

¹¹³ *P W*, II, 108 The evidence is clear that Milton was not adverse to using armed force to attain the free commonwealth. He had earlier specifically defended it in the *First Defense* (*P W*, I, 25). The notion was not uncommon with other commonwealth planners. Harrington represents Olphaus Megaletor as using the army in getting himself appointed Archon (*Oceana*, p. 59).

¹¹⁴ Milton would have seen no inconsistency between his doctrine of popular sovereignty and the notion of a great leader's instituting an ideal state by force inasmuch as he obviously thought of the better part of the people, whom, as we shall see, he saw standing for the whole people, as consenting to the acts of the institutor (*P W*, II, 108).

¹¹⁵ It is characteristic of Milton as a political reformer that he did not distinguish early enough and clearly enough the differences between his own aims and those of the persons he supported. When this was not the case, he harbored the illusion that they could be brought to see the truth his way. Hence the *Areopagitica*. The result was a series of disappointments.

less convinced, at first, that God and the age had produced such a leader, in the case of Monk it was the brave hope that the General might be induced to play the role that prompted Milton to address him

We have now surveyed Milton's developed conception of the magistracy in a mixed state and his conception of the relationship of dictatorship to the institution of such a state and to the state when instituted. We have next to look at the development of his views on the relation of Parliament to mixed government. We have seen that in 1641 he believed that preponderant power in such a government should reside in the nobility, the good and the wise. He never believed anything else.¹¹⁶ The principle of the dominance of the virtuous, the truly noble, those who were "more than vulgar bred up,"¹¹⁷ is as unchanging an element in his thought as the ideal of the mixed state itself. It rested, as he proclaimed in the two *Defenses*, on the highest authority he recognized—conformity to the law of God and the law of nature.¹¹⁸ It is also clear that in 1641 he saw in Parliament a well-nigh perfect organ for the representation and functioning of the aristocratic element in the ideal mixed state which he considered England in its proper constitution to be.¹¹⁹ He saw his native country, in short, as having a mixed government in which the people, the monarch, and Parliament all shared in the power, but in which, as it should be, Parliament, the aristocratic element, held such a preponderance of power as to have "supreme and final determination" in all matters. Hence his allusions to Parliament in the early tracts as the "supreme senate" or the "supreme court" of the nation.¹²⁰ In Milton's political thought to begin with, then, there was the clear implication that the acts of the monarchical element were subject to review by the aristocratic element, the Parliament, the principle which he repeatedly asserted in 1649 and thereafter and which he then developed at length in terms of the amalgamation of the idea of the mixed state with the doctrine of sovereignty which we have seen that he made. In accordance with these views, he wrote *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, in which he tells us that parliaments were set up after the establishment of kingship as a check on the monarch, and that they had the power at all times, with or without the monarch, to take all measures for the public safety when danger or crisis threatened.¹²¹ The theory afforded him a means of justifying the use of virtually unlimited power by Parliament in times of crisis, and it is repeated essentially in the *Eikonoklastes*, in which we find him asserting that "in all wise nations the legislative power, and the judicial [i.e. the executive or magisterial] ex-

¹¹⁶ *P. W.*, I, 88, 111, 265, 288, II, 125, v, 240

¹¹⁷ *P. W.*, v, 240

¹¹⁸ *P. W.*, I, 111, 265, 288

¹¹⁹ *P. W.*, II, 408

¹²⁰ *P. W.*, III, 176, 278 Cf. 144, 319

¹²¹ *P. W.*, II, 11.

ecution of that power, have been most commonly distinct and in several hands, but yet the former supreme, the other subordinate," and asserting that when the need arose Parliament could unmake the king¹²² But by the time he wrote the *Eikonoklastes* he had gone a step further in the development of his theory of the role of Parliament in a mixed government. The theory at which he ultimately arrived was, not merely that parliaments had the right to pass on the acts of the monarchical element and were supreme over it in the last instance, but that the magisterial element was itself a creation of the aristocratic, that is, the parliamentary element, and from it, acting for the sovereign people, derived all the power it had¹²³ Symptomatic of this development is the change in the theory of the origin of the state between *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* and the *Observations on the Articles of Peace*, written a few months later Whereas in the former he saw parliaments as set up after kings as a check on them, in the latter he declares that parliaments or general assemblies are the most ancient organs of government and that they existed before ever kings were heard of¹²⁴ The *First Defense* repeats the idea with the additional statement that kings were created to put the laws of Parliament into execution¹²⁵ These changes may be taken as representing an attempt to bring his views on the origin of government into harmony with his developing conception of a magistracy created by, and dependent upon, the aristocratic element of the state At any rate, that conception is repeated in the *First Defense*¹²⁶ and it is the basic principle in the magistracy which he proposed in *The Ready and Easy Way*¹²⁷

At this point the reader will doubtless be tempted to feel that Milton so exalted Parliament in 1649 and the early 1650's and again in 1660 as to quite lose sight of the ideal of the mixed state Nothing could be further from the truth Although it is perhaps an open question whether the position at which he arrived did not really involve a unitary conception of government, nothing is more clear than that *he* did not see it that way, a fact which is proved by his reiterated adherences to the

¹²² *P W*, I, 363, 398 See also the statement on p 401 that "the parliament, therefore, without any usurpation, hath had it always in their power to limit and confine the exorbitancy of kings, whether they call it their will, their reason, or their conscience"

¹²³ *P W*, I, 398 Cf II, 121

¹²⁴ *P W*, II, 187

¹²⁵ *P W*, I, 180 For an anticipation of this view in the *Tetrachordon* see *P W*, III, 315, where Milton asserts that it was Parliament that first put the sceptre into the hands of an English king In the *Second Defense*, on the other hand, he seems to revert momentarily to the notion of Parliament having been created as a check on the monarch (*P W*, I, 264) Doubtless he had no profound conviction of the historical truth of either theory and to some extent used whichever one served his purpose best.

¹²⁶ *P W*, I, 180 Cf 15

¹²⁷ *P W*, II, 121

idea of mixed government throughout the whole period from 1640 to 1660 and even in the very moments when he was most exalting Parliament.¹²⁸ Milton saw no contradiction between the two ideals because in terms of contemporary theory there was none. Such a magistracy as he arrived at and such a predominant parliament or aristocratic element as he conceived were, in fact, of the very essence of the theory of mixed government in seventeenth century thought. That theorists did not view the giving of preponderant power to some one of the three elements of the state as inconsistent with the idea of mixed government, we have seen. That the preponderant element should be the aristocratic one was, as we have likewise seen, the opinion of various writers. That the preponderance of power in the aristocratic element should be so great as to involve the creation of the magistracy, and that the magistracy should be subject to the control of the aristocratic element—these were precisely the theories which were illustrated in the government of Venice, which the age saw as a prime example of the mixed state.¹²⁹

Unfortunately, no sooner had Milton developed his theory of what the role of Parliament in a mixed state ought to be than he discovered that Parliament as it was did not measure up to his ideal, that it would have to be remodeled before it would be a fit repository of the great power he proposed to give it. There is no need to trace here the earlier steps by which Milton's vast confidence in Parliament in the anti-

¹²⁸ *P W*, I, 88, 160, 363, II, 115, 125.

¹²⁹ Probably the most influential exposition of the Venetian government in England was that by Contarini, which Lewkenor translated in 1599 as *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice*. Contarini describes Venice as a mixed state in which the doge and his councillors represented the princely element, the Grand Council or assembly of all the citizens the democratic element, and the Senate and the Council of Ten the aristocratic element (p. 65). All writers agree that of these the aristocratic element was dominant, and an examination of the system proves the point beyond question. It might indeed be said that the whole Venetian system was built on a distrust of popular procedures on the one hand, and of strong executive power in the hands of either a single man or a small council on the other, that is, both had their role to play, the state being mixed, but neither was to have too much power. The doge, it is true, was elected in the Grand Council, but by a complicated system of successive winnowings the purpose of which, as Contarini frankly says, was to throw the choice into the hands of the wisest and most virtuous, that is, the same persons whom he saw as comprising the Senate, which was with the Ten the aristocratic element of the state (p. 56). All sorts of devices were used to weaken the magistracy and insure the dominance of the Senate. The doge was powerless to act without the presence of a majority of his six councillors and these were changed every eight months. Even when together they could decide only minor matters on their own authority. The College of Sages or Preconsultors, which sat with the ducal council, was a mere committee of the Senate without any final authority whatsoever. Most matters of importance were first considered by the College and then submitted to the Senate, which settled them finally. The Council of Ten assured the dominance of the aristocratic element in times of crisis. See Contarini, p. 68.

episcopal and other early tracts¹³⁰ was dissipated. It is sufficient to point out that by the time he wrote the *Character of the Long Parliament*,¹³¹ his criticism was sweeping and unequivocal.¹³² It is, however, important to notice in this passage that he places the blame for the great reform's having come to "ridiculous frustration" squarely on the members of Parliament, even on the cold climate of the country,¹³³ but not on the institution itself. Had this not been the case, he could hardly have written as he did of the Rump or purged Parliament in the *Eikonoklastes*¹³⁴ and the *First Defense*.¹³⁵ Already in 1649, however, he was beginning to see that Parliament itself needed remodeling. The first step in making the reality conform to the ideal was the rejection of a house of lords. This was an implication of his very conception of the nature of true nobility and of Parliament as the supreme council of the good and wise of the nation. When, therefore, in February–March, 1649, the upper house was actually abolished, he was already prepared to accept the move. We find him declaring in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* that the word *baron* or *peer* imported only "every worthy man in parliament," and that hereditary titles were vain and empty.¹³⁶ In the *Eikonoklastes* there was further criticism of the Lords.¹³⁷ In the *First Defense* he argued flatly that a house of lords was no essential part of an English parliament and never had been, and that the Lords had been properly abolished.¹³⁸ This was another opinion which, once arrived at, he did not change. In *The Ready and Easy Way* he no more wanted in his Grand Council men addicted to a house of lords than those addicted to a single-person magistracy.¹³⁹ Abolition of the Lords, then, was the first step in Milton's remodeling of the traditional English Parliament.

It was not long before he began to be of the opinion that other changes were necessary. In the *Second Defense* we find him highly critical of

¹³⁰ *P. W.*, III, 105, 145–150, 179, 281, 287, 315, 316, 321

¹³¹ 1647 or 1648. See Sir Charles Firth, *Essays, Historical and Literary*, ed. Godfrey Davies (Oxford, 1938), pp. 64, 95

¹³² Most of the parliamentarians, he tells us, had got their places by wealth or ambition rather than by merit. They had pursued private profit, delayed and denied justice, determined matters by spite and favoritism, and been guilty of treachery, oppression, and unjust taxation. "Some who had been called from shops and warehouses, without other merit, to be set in supreme councils and committees, (as their breeding was,) fell to huckster the commonwealth." The crowning charge, and an ironical one indeed in view of the position at which Milton arrived a few years later, is that they had deliberately fomented "troubles and combustions" in order to perpetuate themselves in power (*P. W.*, v, 236–238)

¹³³ *P. W.*, v, 240. See my article on this subject in the *Modern Language Quarterly*, II (1941), 67–80

¹³⁴ *P. W.*, I, 361, 363, 367, 401, 402

¹³⁵ *P. W.*, I, 15.

¹³⁶ *P. W.*, II, 23. Cf. I, 175

¹³⁷ *P. W.*, I, 365

¹³⁸ *P. W.*, I, 176, 190.

¹³⁹ *P. W.*, II, 121. Cf. 120.

Parliament. The Rump had "artfully procrastinated" its business, its members were intent on their own selfish interests, they had deluded the country with fallacious promises. Cromwell had rightly put an end to their sitting. The succeeding Barebones Parliament had met, had done nothing but weary itself with dissensions, and had fully exposed its incapacity to the nation.¹⁴⁰ Milton had discovered, in short, that Parliament was far from being the ideal aristocratic element which he had once thought it to be. The solution of the problem thus presented was not to turn the country over permanently to a single great leader or to such a leader and his immediate associates, though that would do temporarily and seemed, indeed, at the time the only expedient, but to discover how Parliament could be further remodeled in order to make it a fit organ to exercise preponderant power in the ideal mixed state of the poet's dreams. The solution to this problem, which Milton clearly thought that he had found when he wrote *The Ready and Easy Way*, was not yet in 1654 wholly clear to him. But two important passages in the *Second Defense* indicate that the two principal reforms which he was to propose in the later tract were, if not actually taking form in his mind, being prepared for by the direction his thought was taking. In the first of these, after asserting again that Parliament was the supreme council of the nation, he argues against its being compelled to refer its acts and decisions to the people who had set it up to act for them.¹⁴¹ Here I think we can see developing that distrust of annually or frequently elected parliaments which culminated in *The Ready and Easy Way* in the proposal of a perpetual Grand Council.¹⁴² The other significant passage comes near the close. It is one in which he assails the misuse of the "right of unrestrained suffrage" for factional and selfish purposes and asserts that parliaments elected by such a misuse of the voting power would lead his countrymen straight back to servitude and tyranny.¹⁴³ No one who reads this passage will be surprised at the restrictions which Milton places on the suffrage in *The Ready and Easy Way* and the system of successive siftings which he proposes for the election of members of the Grand Council.¹⁴⁴ In the end, then, he proposed to remodel Parliament in the interest of making it truly the noble or aristocratic element by two fundamental changes: the transforming of it into a perpetual senate and the placing of severe restrictions on the suffrage.

¹⁴⁰ *P W*, I, 288¹⁴¹ *P W*, I, 264-265

¹⁴² *P W*, II, 122. In the *Ektonoklastes* Milton had supported the Triennial Bill and even had sought to show that not triennial, but annual, parliaments represented the true old English custom (*P W*, I, 351 ff.) That he still retained something of this older view and did not see clearly in 1654 the direction in which his thought was developing may be surmised from the charge of "artful procrastination" which he hurled at the Rump in the *Second Defense* (*P W*, I, 288).

¹⁴³ *P W*, I, 297-298¹⁴⁴ *P W*, II, 126

There was one other, less fundamental, change which he proposed. Salmasius had annoyed Milton by asserting that no record of parliaments could be found before William the Conqueror. Milton replied in the *First Defense* by accusing his opponent of quibbling over a word and asserting that the thing was always in existence whether the word was or not "It is not worth while," he asserted, "to jangle about a French word" ¹⁴⁵ The attitude here expressed developed in the following years into outright dissatisfaction with the name *parliament* The word came to have for him unfortunate connotations, and he ended with the proposal to abolish it and substitute for it *grand* or *great council*.¹⁴⁶

The changes which Milton proposed in Parliament to insure a body which would be worthy of preponderant power in a mixed state were doubtless, in part, the product of his own experiences with government, but that he was also encouraged in them by Rome, the Greek states, and Venice,¹⁴⁷ the great acknowledged examples of mixed government, and that these examples determined to some extent the actual form which his proposed changes took is equally clear By *The Ready and Easy Way*, the attempt which we have seen him making earlier to square the ancient institutions of England with the demands of the theory of the mixed state had broken down, and as such old English precedents as annual parliaments, of which he had made so much in the *Eikonoklastes*¹⁴⁸ and the *First Defense*¹⁴⁹ failed him, he was driven back more and more on antique models and their supposed modern counterparts He ended by proposing to his countrymen a perpetual senate which he named after the example of Venice and advanced on the authority of Rome, Venice, and Athens ¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ *P W*, I, 167

¹⁴⁶ The change is proposed no fewer than three times in the *Proposals for a Firme Government* (*Works*, XVIII, 4), in *The Ready and Easy Way* (*P W*, II, 127), and in the *Letter to Monck* (*P W*, II, 107)

¹⁴⁷ See my *Venice*, pp. 165 ff ¹⁴⁸ *P W*, I, 351 ff ¹⁴⁹ *P W*, I, 172, 210

¹⁵⁰ *P W*, I, 121-124 See further *Proposals for a Firme Government* (*Works*, XVIII, 1 ff). Milton also cites the examples of the Sanhedrin and the United Provinces, which exponents of the mixed state saw as embodying the same principles as those of Greece and Rome Harrington, for example, declared that the Hebrews got the secret of the mixed state from God and the Greeks and Romans from nature (*Oceana*, p. 12) This was, of course, for this writer one more way of saying that the law of God and the law of nature led straight to mixed government, and it explains his citation of the Sanhedrin along with classical, Venetian, and other models Milton certainly believed that mixed government had its basis in the law of God and the law of nature, and in the *First Defense*, in replying to Salmasius, who had brought the matter up, he had cited the ancient Hebrew state to show that in it, no more than in other antique models was the magistracy supreme, but I do not find him making any such specific identification of the Hebrew state with Greek and Roman conceptions of mixed government as Harrington makes That this was, however, an implication of his position is clear, and we need not, therefore, be surprised at seeing the Sanhedrin appear with other models in *The Ready and Easy Way* See *P W*, I, 33, 44-45.

It remains to consider Milton's views regarding the role of the people in a mixed state. What Milton saw this as being in 1641 is clear from his remark that the "noblest, wisest, and most prudent men," that is, Parliament, carried on their work with the "full approbation and suffrage of the people."¹⁵¹ It is obvious that in the early 1640's Milton's hopes for the people were high. In the controversy over episcopacy he condemned one of his opponents for referring slightly to the "mutinous rabble,"¹⁵² and in the *Areopagitica* he was sure that all were fit to be trusted with an English pamphlet, and that the common people were not "giddy, vicious, and ungrounded."¹⁵³ Partly these estimates were due, no doubt, to the utopian fervor of the time, partly they were the result of the ease with which Milton, as a habit of thought, identified the better part of the people, whom he saw as the fountain head of virtue and nobility, the middle sort, with the whole people. But even in the early 1640's he was beginning to make some unpleasant discoveries. In the *Apology for Smectymnuus* he noticed in "most men" a "carelessness of knowing what they and others ought to do,"¹⁵⁴ and in the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* we hear of "the draff of men, to whom no liberty is pleasing."¹⁵⁵ By 1649 he had harsh things indeed to say about the people. In *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* he finds most men characterized by "sloth or inconstancy and weakness of spirit," and he tells us that the few labor "amidst the throng of vulgar and irrational men."¹⁵⁶ In the *Eikonoklastes* his condemnation is sweeping. The people are filled with envy and infinite prejudice, they are "exorbitant and excessive in all their motions" and prone to idolatry, and have "a besotted and degenerate baseness of spirit." The virtuous among them are few. A mad multitude, they are possessed and hurried on by "boisterous folly and superstition."¹⁵⁷ The reader may wonder why, having arrived at these opinions, Milton did not wholly reject the idea of a mixed state, in which the people played a definite, even if subordinate, role, and propose to deprive them of all participation whatsoever in the government. That he did nothing of the sort, of course, is clear. Not only do we find him reaffirming in these very tracts, as we have seen, his belief in the superiority of the mixed state, but it is in these same places that we have seen him developing the doctrine of popular sovereignty. Moreover, the role he assigns to the people in 1649 is essentially the same as that which he had given them in 1641: the people, we are told, having delegated the preponderance of their power to the Parliament, retained the power

¹⁵¹ *P. W.*, II, 408.¹⁵² *P. W.*, III, 154-155.¹⁵³ *P. W.*, II, 81.¹⁵⁴ *P. W.*, III, 94.¹⁵⁵ *P. W.*, III, 173.¹⁵⁶ *P. W.*, II, 3. Cf. 77.¹⁵⁷ *P. W.*, I, 309, 313, 314, 317.

of choosing its members¹⁵⁸ in what Milton thinks would ideally be annual elections.¹⁵⁹

What is the explanation of the apparent contradiction in the poet's thought? It lies, I think, in an important passage in the *Eikonoklastes*. In the midst of his castigation of the people, he pauses to say that the degeneracy among them which he blames is due, not to their natural disposition, but to their long corruption by the prelates and—he now adds—the Presbyterian clergy.¹⁶⁰ If they were for the most part “imbastardized from the ancient nobleness of their ancestors,” the fault was not theirs. The idea served Milton well in 1649, but it did not long remain wholly adequate. The conviction grew upon him that the people had graver deficiencies than the prelates could be made responsible for. But as this view emerged, he made another discovery—that not all the people were either virtuous or wicked, that they consisted, in short, of a better part and a worse part. In the *First Defense* we find him speaking of the “better” part in both the quantitative and qualitative senses of the term, his contention being that the most virtuous part of the people was also the larger part.¹⁶¹ By the time he wrote *The Ready and Easy Way*, if not, indeed, by the *Second Defense*, it was clear to him that this was not the case.¹⁶² But majority or minority, the better part came to constitute in his thought the whole people. He tells us specifically in the *First Defense* that the better part might be considered as standing for the whole,¹⁶³ and it is clear that this notion henceforth dominated his thinking. The identification which it had always been easy for him to make unconsciously, he came, in short, to make consciously and deliberately. The *Second Defense* shows him moving toward the restriction of the suffrage to the better part,¹⁶⁴ and in *The Ready and Easy Way* he not only flatly limited the voting power to the “rightly qualified,”¹⁶⁵ but set up an elaborate system of election by successive siftings to insure that the better part would control.¹⁶⁶ The people, thus defined and limited, he by no means proposed to exclude from the government. They were to choose the members of the Grand Council,¹⁶⁷ they were to have inspectors who would examine the disposition of the public revenues by it,¹⁶⁸ and through their local assemblies in every county they were to have by a majority vote of all the assemblies a kind of veto power over

¹⁵⁸ *P W*, i, 322, 361

¹⁵⁹ *P W*, i, 351.

¹⁶⁰ *P W*, i, 313

¹⁶¹ *P W*, i, 154 Cf 155

¹⁶² Hence the various justifications of decisions by a virtuous minority of the people until or unless a majority could be brought to virtue by a proper government and a proper educational system (*P W*, ii, 112, 132). Cf the *Second Defense* (*P W*, i, 265).

¹⁶³ *P W*, i, 154.

¹⁶⁴ *P W*, i, 297.

¹⁶⁵ *P W*, ii, 126. See also the *Letter to Monk* (*P W*, ii, 107).

¹⁶⁶ *P W*, ii, 126

¹⁶⁷ *P W*, ii, 118, 121, 123.

¹⁶⁸ *P W*, ii, 121.

its acts¹⁶⁹ Local government would remain almost wholly in their hands,¹⁷⁰ and he refers to still other limitations.¹⁷¹ Nor had Milton departed from the doctrine of popular sovereignty¹⁷²

The people, then, as was proper in a mixed state, were to play their part in the government. But it was to be a subordinate part. All his experience had only confirmed the belief he had started with, that a mixed state was properly balanced and stable only when the part played in its actual operation by the people was restricted. Moreover, the examples of Rome and Venice seemed to him to enforce the lesson of his own experience. We find him arguing that it was the exercise of excessive power by the popular element that upset the balance and brought about the fall of the Roman republic.¹⁷³ Venice, on the other hand, with just such a relatively weak popular element and preponderant senate as Milton wished, seemed, with its supposed record of twelve centuries of existence without change or decay, to lead positively to the same conclusion to which Rome led negatively.¹⁷⁴ The result of these considerations was that we find him arguing against giving the people any greater checks on the Grand Council than he had himself proposed.¹⁷⁵

The reader will doubtless feel that Milton's discovery that the better part of the people could be taken as standing for the whole even when they were a numerical minority, removed whatever genuinely popular elements there may once have been in his political theory. The fact, however, that there would appear to be nothing truly democratic about Milton's conception of the people in 1660 must not be permitted to obscure the fact that he saw the better part of the people as constituting the democratic element in his ideal commonwealth. Nor in doing so was he in any sense departing from contemporary notions of mixed government, for his better part of the people formed just such a minority of the whole population as did the citizens of Venice who were eligible to sit in the Grand Council and whom Contarini saw as constituting the demo-

¹⁶⁹ *P. W.*, II, 126, 135

¹⁷⁰ *P. W.*, II, 107, 135

¹⁷¹ Milton seems to have envisioned a standing militia of the "well-affected" as a guaranty against the seizure of tyrannical power by the Grand Council (*P. W.*, II, 123), and he refers to other limitations on p. 127. In the *Letter to Monk* he says that though the supreme council would be perpetual, its power would be so limited and the people would have so much authority remaining in their hands that there would be no possibility of the Grand Council establishing a tyranny (*P. W.*, II, 107).

¹⁷² *P. W.*, II, 121

¹⁷³ *P. W.*, II, 125

¹⁷⁴ See my *Venice*, p. 158. In this fact, I think, is to be found one explanation for the emergence of Venice as a model in Milton's mind and the real significance it came to have for him in 1659-60. It will be recognized, I trust, that the present article and my article on Venice support and confirm each other.

¹⁷⁵ *P. W.*, II, 124-125.

cratic element in that republic.^{175a} The situation which prevailed in ancient Sparta and Athens would afford further parallels. In this respect, indeed, it can be said that Milton's thought was closer in 1660 than it had been in 1641 to the practice of what the age saw as the great historical examples of mixed government. It is by no means certain, however, that Milton saw as permanent the situation that would prevail with regard to the people upon the instituting of a mixed state. He had always had extraordinary faith in what could be accomplished by proper governmental institutions and a proper system of education, and something of this earlier faith, it is clear, still survived when he wrote *The Ready and Easy Way*. He would reform the "corrupt and faulty education" which prevailed and institute in its place a system which would "teach the people faith, not without virtue, temperance, modesty, sobriety, parsimony, justice," and which would instill into them the subordination of selfish interests to "the public peace, liberty, and safety."¹⁷⁶ By such a system and by "the orderly, the decent, the civil, the safe, the noble effects" of the perfectly functioning governmental institutions which would be set up, he cherished the idea of winning some, at least, of those who in the beginning would either have to be suppressed by force or excluded from the government.¹⁷⁷ Clearly there remained something of the old idea that if the people were for the most part evil, it was due in part to corrupting institutions and faulty education. To what extent he thought in 1660 that they could be reclaimed by correcting these things can only be conjectural. Doubtless he had come to feel that a certain portion of the people would always be the worse part. One can surmise as much from the institutions he devised to exclude them from the government. Whether he had hopes of winning enough of them to make the better part a numerical majority, no one can say. As a matter of fact, there is no reason to suppose that this aspect of the matter bothered him. He may have hoped that the better part might become an actual majority. But unless or until such a condition could be attained, he was ready to justify the performance of the people's share in the government by a virtuous minority.

IV

We have now arrived at the point at which it is possible, with some understanding of their background, significance, place, and development

^{175a} In 1581 the population of Venice was 134,890, of whom 1843 were adult citizens and 4309 were women and children of citizens' families (J. A. Symonds, *The Renaissance in Italy*, Modern Library ed., I, 100). It is doubtless to be assumed that Milton thought of the virtuous in England as being proportionately far more numerous than the Venetian citizens, but that of course does not alter my point that in each case the democratic element was a minority.

¹⁷⁶ *P. W.*, II, 126.

¹⁷⁷ See the *Letter to Monk* (*P. W.*, II, 108).

in Milton's thought, to assemble the principal ideas which found expression in *The Ready and Easy Way*. The guiding principle, one which he had stated his allegiance to in 1641, which he had reaffirmed in 1649 and the early 1650's, which he had never abandoned, was that of a state which would possess stability because it was mixed, because it had a perfect balance between the three orders of which a state was composed, the popular, the aristocratic, and the magisterial.¹⁷⁸ So far, indeed, was Milton from abandoning this idea in the early months of 1660 that he now expected to achieve more by it than ever before. He proposed by a perfect balancing of the three elements to set up nothing less than a perpetually healthy state which would function perfectly and last unchanged even to the very end of the world. To make this statement involves no strained inferences from the text. The ageless state is the four times specifically avowed purpose of his proposals.¹⁷⁹

For a Milton who believed that external liberty rested on internal liberty, that when peoples become corrupt states decay, and who had asserted that when God had "decreed servitude on a sinful nation, fitted by their own vices for no condition but servile, all estates of government are alike unable to avoid it,"¹⁸⁰ the project of a perpetual state may seem at first glance a strange one indeed. On examination, however, whatever contradiction there may seem to be disappears. In Milton's state, with perfectly functioning institutions, true religion, and a proper educational system, the better part of the people who would stand in the political life of the state for the whole would not become corrupt and sinful. Not only would the state and education function to promote moral and civil virtue in them, but, as we have seen, even some of the worse part might be won over. With such conditions prevailing, it did not seem to Milton unreasonable to suppose that a state might last as long as the world itself.

The aim, then, was clear. To achieve it, he proposed a state in which

¹⁷⁸ *P W*, II, 115, 125. The second of these passages, with its insistence on balance as the grand secret in government, is especially significant. The term Milton uses to describe his free commonwealth is "equal," a favorite expression with proponents of mixed government to express the balance or stability which such a state was supposed to have. See Milton's own earlier use of the term in discussing the mixed government of England (*P W*, II, 408), and cf. Harrington's use of it in *Oceana* (p. 33).

¹⁷⁹ *P W*, II, 113, 121, 124, 127. As I have pointed out, the idea of a perpetually healthy state was by no means peculiar to Milton at this time, for it appears also in Harrington's *Oceana*. Various seventeenth century writers speculated on the possibility that Venice was so perfectly contrived that it might last forever. Thuanus had predicted that such would be the case, Harrington called the republic an "immortal Commonwealth," and the Venetians themselves appear to have entertained the notion (Paolo Sarpi, *The Maxims of the Government of Venice* [London, 1707], pp. 2-4). It was indeed contemporary notions about Venice which were responsible, I think, for the attempt to construct a perpetual state in both Harrington and Milton. See my *Venice*, pp. 158 ff. ¹⁸⁰ *P W*, v, 308.

sovereignty resided in the people, but in which they delegated preponderant power to the aristocratic element, the Senate or Grand Council,¹⁸¹ and consented to numerous restrictions on their participation in the actual operation of the state. To make the Senate worthy of the power he proposed to give it, to insure that it would be truly made up of the good and the wise, he suggested an elaborate system of election. To insure that it would have sufficient freedom from the demands of faction to formulate wise laws and foster truth and justice, he proposed to make it perpetual, with the members holding office for life. To aid in executing its commands, he proposed that it set up, and delegate some of its authority to, a magistracy. To prevent this magistracy from exerting too much power, he repudiated all single-person executives, insisted that it should be councilar, and made it definitely subordinate to the Senate. To insure against the seizure of unlimited power by the Senate, he provided the people with inspectors and other safeguards such as a standing militia. Truly the system was one of checks and balances with a perpetual equilibrium as its object.

Between 1641, when Milton first expressed his allegiance to the idea of a mixed state, and 1660, much changed in Milton's thinking on political matters. But the principle of the mixed state with a preponderant aristocratic element did not change. If *The Ready and Easy Way* culminated in an utopian dream, the dream was implicit in his thought from the very start. I believe it is not claiming too much to say that every major change which events brought about in Milton's political thinking during the Puritan Revolution represents him modifying parts, in the light of his experience and the "best ages" and examples, in one ideal whole. The ideal remained the same; it was only the means by which he hoped to achieve it that changed.

The interpretations which I have presented have, I believe, an important bearing on our whole estimate of the nature of Milton's political thought and his place as political reformer. In the first place, *The Ready and Easy Way* is not to be viewed as a repudiation of earlier fundamental views. It is properly seen when it is considered the culmination of the poet's attempt to achieve a mixed state with a dominant aristocratic element. In the second place, I think we have a basis for determining the extent to which the tract may be properly referred to as utopian. If one defines the utopian as that which aims at greater perfection than common experience leads us to believe is possible, the idea of a perpetu-

¹⁸¹ Milton retained in 1660 exactly the notion of 1641, that members of the Grand Council should be chosen from those among the "nobility and chief gentry" who had proved their wisdom and virtue and who constituted, therefore, the true aristocracy of the land (*P W*, II, 135). Hence, as in 1641, the Grand Council would represent the whole people (the better part), but it would also in Milton's own peculiar way represent what was in effect an aristocracy within an aristocracy of virtue.

ally healthy state is undoubtedly utopian, and there is no denying that its importance in the tract gives to the whole a distinctly utopian tone. In this aspect of his political thinking Milton is to be related, not only to the utopian spirit which was a prominent aspect of Puritanism, but to that larger utopianism which made the Renaissance the age of utopias. More specifically, though he rejected the agrarian and rotative principles of the *Oceana*,¹⁸² Milton is to be related to such utopians as Harrington whose outstanding characteristics are that they were not conscious of any utopianism and aimed at the actual adoption of their ideas,¹⁸³ and that they sought to achieve a perpetual state by following the classical theory of mixed government, classical examples, and what were considered to be such modern counterparts of them as Venice. When we look at Milton this way, I think we see him most truly. Moreover, this view makes clear why it is that in some respects Milton's thought was not utopian at all, and that his aims have affinities with those of practical statesmen whose objects were not in the least utopian. When is it not accompanied by the notion of a perpetual state, the idea of mixed government is not in itself an utopian idea. Simply as an exponent of it, Milton appears as the champion of an idea which found its first great exposition in Polybius, which came down through Machiavelli and Sir Walter Raleigh, and which in the pages of Algernon Sidney played an important role in emergent Whig thought. Milton appears, moreover, as the champion of an idea which in 1701 found classic exposition in Jonathan Swift.¹⁸⁴ As Professor Chinard has pointed out, from Swift, such writers as Montesquieu, and Polybius himself, the idea was transmitted to Adams's *Defence of the Constitution of Government of the United States of America* and to the Federal Convention. The role it played there Professor Chinard has told.¹⁸⁵ Finally, it may be remarked that in his conception that in a mixed state the aristocratic element should hold preponderant power, Milton is to be associated—whatever differences there may have been in their conceptions of the basis of aristocracy—with the Raleighs and Sidneys of the age.

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¹⁸² *P. W.*, II, 122–123, 127–128. These and other differences of opinion, even though they are important, should not be permitted to obscure the larger similarities in the thought of the two men. Both aimed at a perpetual state and an "equal" state, that they differed on the means of attaining these ends no one, of course, would deny.

¹⁸³ Harrington's Rota Club followers made strenuous efforts to secure the adoption of his ideas. See my *Venice*, p. 161.

¹⁸⁴ In the *Discourse on the Contests and Dissensions between the Nobles and the Commons in Athens and Rome*, ch. I.

¹⁸⁵ See note 3.

XLII

HERDER'S CONCEPTION OF "KRAFT"

IT has long been recognized that the fundamental ideas of Johann Gottfried Herder's thought are few and consistent, in spite of the fact that their author frequently expressed his deep-seated aversion to metaphysical systematics.¹ Herder's principle of regarding the individual experience as primordial and the abstract statement as derivative has been labeled by his biographers and commentators as "irrationalism," when, as a matter of fact, his aversion to systematics was merely the result of a sincere concern with the discoveries of empirical science. Though Herder very often gave voice to his belief that all philosophical systems are "fictions" or "poems,"² he was unwilling to go as far as do the radical positivists of our own day—Wittgenstein, Carnap, *et al*, who deny validity to all metaphysics. In fact, certain conceptions frequently used by Herder are admitted by him to be genuinely metaphysical. At the same time, in his use of the conception of "Kraft," which definitely belongs among these, Herder will be seen to stand in much the same position as the Kant of the first *Kritik*, *i.e.*, in that of having to reconcile inherited metaphysics and the results of the scientific experimentation of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. An examination of Herder's attempted reconciliation has long been overdue, it has been neglected in the past because of the outspokenly pro-Kantian attitude of Herder's biographers, among whom Rudolf Haym and Eugen Kuhnemann stand unquestionably preeminent. It is the purpose of the following to sketch the conception of "Kraft" inherited by Herder and to indicate the synthesis he attained between the older idea and the scientific conceptions of his age. In addition, the rôle played by the final development of the idea in the break between Herder and Weimar classicism will be brought forward as a better explanation than the purely personal (and hence unfairly derogatory) motives hitherto adduced to explain it.

The importance of this conception of force, or energy, for Herder's literary activity, should be immediately obvious to any student of his theory of language and literature. It was a conception that Herder expanded and applied throughout his literary life, one that appears in his earliest essays, in his *Sturm und Drang* works, in his *Ideen*, and in the last fulminations of his struggle with Kant. On at least one occasion, also,

¹ Martin Schutze, "The Fundamental Ideas of Herder's Thought" *MP*, xviii (1920-21), 65-78, 289-302, xix (1921-22), 113-130, 361-382, xxi (1923-24), 29-48, 113-132.

² J. G. Herder, *Sammliche Werke*, ed. Suphan, v, 461.—Hereinafter referred to simply by volume and page.

the young Goethe took the trouble to satirize the (to him) obfuscatory use of the term "Kraft" in Herder's work and conversation. Since the idea symbolized by the word played an important part in the relations of Herder with Goethe, it may be well to review this satirical episode at the very beginning.

It was maintained by Scherer and his pupils that the Satyr in Goethe's *Satyros* is Johann Gottfried Herder, it was also maintained that a contributing factor to the composition of the play was a temporary coolness between the two men.³ Martin Schutze, in his *Academic Illusions* (Chicago, 1933, p. 240 ff.), has attacked this theory. One problem that has always worried strictly positivistic critics is the ending of the *Satyros*, where the chief character, supposedly Herder, goes to the extreme point of attempted rape. Even in moments of greatest anger Goethe could hardly have intended to accuse Herder of immorality. But there is no need to examine the history of the satyr-play, as Baumer does, to show that such a conclusion is traditional. Goethe frequently violated traditions. His *Satyros* ridicules the two leading characteristics of Herder's thought—the two are really one, as we shall see—namely, Herder's dominant conception of "Kraft" and his primitivism. This is done by the age-old process of *reductio ad absurdum*. Besides being an anti-primitivist's reaction to unadulterated primitivism, the play is a personal reaction to the continual use of a semantically uncertain term. For instance, in the play we hear the unctuous teachings of the Satyr, acclaimed by the populace as divine:

Vernehmt, wie im Unding
Alles durcheinander ging,
Im verschloss'nen Haß die Elemente tosend,
Und Kraft an Krafte widrig sich stoßend,
Ohne Feinds-Band, ohne Freundes-Band,
Ohne Zerstören, ohne Vermehren.⁴

To this the gulled multitude listen in rapt amaze. And then there follows a telling stroke:

Wie sich Haß und Lieb' gebar
Und das All nun ein Ganzes war,
Und das Ganze klang
In lebend wirkendem Ebengesang,
Sich thate Kraft an Kraft verzehren,
Sich thate Kraft in Kraft vermehren,
Und auf und ab sich rollend ging

³ Cf. Gertrud Baumer, *Goethes Satyros, eine Studie zur Entstehungsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 47–54. Cf. also Max Morris, ed., *Der junge Goethe* (Leipzig, 1912), vi, 309–313.

⁴ Morris, *op. cit.*, iii, 296.

Das all und ein' und ewig' Ding,
Immer verandert, immer beständig.⁵

These lines form a perfect caricature of the whole purport of Herder's *Älteste Urkunde*, to which they must refer, if the generally accepted date of the *Satyros*, 1774, is correct. In other words, as early as its date of composition Goethe found Herder's favorite term a convenient point of attack. And although the temporary coolness assigned by Morris and Baumer as the incentive to the writing of *Satyros* soon gave way to a productive cooperation between Goethe and Herder, Goethe never appropriated the conception of "Kraft"—even as an heuristic principle. In most of Herder's works—in all of the greater ones—the term appears on an average of once on every page. An analysis of its meaning and importance falls into five divisions, which I should like to take up briefly. These are: (1) the metaphysical inheritance, (2) the mechanistic-physical conception, (3) the biological conception, (4) Herder's synthetic conception; and, finally (5), the importance of Herder's conclusions for his relations with Goethe and Schiller.

I. *The Metaphysical Conception.* In Aristotle's *Metaphysics* there occurs the important distinction between *δύναμις* and *ἐντελέχεια* as phases of becoming. The former is defined (*Metaph.*, v, xii. 1) as (a) "the source of motion which is in something other than the thing changed, or in it *qua* other", (b) "the power of performing this (motion or change) well or according to intention," and (c) "a state in virtue of which things are unaffected generally, or are unchangeable, or cannot readily deteriorate."⁶ As Aristotle says, the third sense is really a phase of the first, and there are thus two senses for *δύναμις*.

Entelechy, on the other hand, indicates the complete actualization, the complete reality, the result of the process. And the term *ἐνέργεια* (in the use of which Aristotle is not especially consistent) designates the process of actualization itself. Some commentators and translators evaluate both *ἐνέργεια* and *ἐντελέχεια* with English "actuality," since Aristotle seems to use the terms interchangeably.

The term *δύναμις*, meanwhile, was capable of application in any field, being a true Aristotelian universal. When the Roman Quintilian, for instance, desired to express the idea of "force" or "power" of speech (*vis sermonis*), he depended upon the Aristotelian definition, in order to avoid ambiguity.⁷ The conception had already become indistinct in Quintilian's time.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 297. ⁶ Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, tr. H. Tredennick (London, 1933), p. 251.

⁷ Quintilian, II, 14, 3. "Quod ego vim appello, plerique potestatem nonnulli facultatem vocant, quae res ne quid adferat ambiguitatis, *vim* dico *δύναμιν*." Also, Quintilian agrees with Aristotle and the grammarians in assigning this *vis* to the verb. "Veteres enim, quorum

In mediæval Latin, particularly in scholastic philosophy, the term *vis* was used to denote roughly the semantic field containing the notions of "force, power, strength, faculty, ability." The scholastics confined the term largely to the meaning "faculty." A whole hierarchy of "faculties" developed upon the Aristotelian metaphysical base. *Vis* came to mean "that by virtue of which an action is or takes place," and was treated sometimes as practically synonymous with *poteslas*.⁸ St. Thomas Aquinas refers to some fifty-three *vires*. These are arranged in two categories, the "superior" and the "inferior." Among the *vires superiores* were grouped the reasoning faculty, the memory, the will, etc. The *vires inferiores* included two sub-classes, the interior and exterior *vires inferiores* of sense, and a large group of the very lowest faculties such as the *vis concupiscibilis*, *vis augmentativa*, *vis animalis*, etc. The term *vis* was translated very early into Middle High German as *kraft*.⁹ The categories of faculties represented by the inclusive sense of the term remained the keystone of the "faculty psychology," which thus became rather a system for moral evaluation of the "faculties" than a scientific psychology. The term and its scholastic meaning were taken over *in toto* by the Protestant theologians, by the free-thinking rationalists—notably by Christian Wolff,—and by Immanuel Kant himself.¹⁰ As Martin Schutze has pointed out, it is the great service of Herder to have attacked the faculty psychology, which rests upon a misunderstanding of Aristotle, and to have preached a return to the observation of biological fact.

II. *The Physical Conception.* In the seventeenth century, when the science of physics underwent a skyrocketing development, the term *vis*, translated into English as *force* and into German as *Kraft*, was used as a word to denote a fundamental notion of the Cartesian physicists. In his *Principia Philosophiæ* (1644), Descartes advanced the contention that the measure of motion is the product of the quantity of matter moved and the velocity with which it moves. The new formula (*mv*) was regarded by him as constant for the universe. In 1686 there began the famous dispute about this. In that year Leibniz challenged Descartes' formula and suggested the substitution of (*mv*²) as the correct one.¹¹ He maintained

fuerunt Aristoteles quoque atque Theodectes, verba modo et nomina et convictiones tradiderunt, videlicet quod in verbis vim sermonis, in nominibus materiam (quia alterum est quod loquimur), in convictionibus autem complexus eorum esse indicaverunt."

(1, 4, 18-21) Herder has somewhat similar views in the *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache*.⁸ Ludwig Schutz, *Thomas-Lexikon*—Paderborn, 1895), p. 865,

⁹ Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, sub "Kraft."

¹⁰ Cf. Martin Schutze, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

¹¹ Florian Cajori, *A History of Physics in its Elementary Branches*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1929), p. 59.

his view in a series of papers in the *Acta Eruditorum* of 1686, 1691, and 1695 Leibniz regarded work, mass, and *vis viva* (energy?) as the original physical notions, the Cartesians regarded force, mass, and momentum as the original notions. As Cajori, the historian of physics, points out, our textbooks today are written from the Cartesian point of view, but most physicists—examples are Einstein and Eddington—are seemingly swinging to the Leibnizian view. Eddington is apparently willing to give up the conception of force altogether.¹²

Important for the later development of the conception of energy was the distinction which Leibniz made between *vis viva* and *vis mortua*, since Herder's teacher, Kant, and his favorite physicist, Christian Huygens (1629–95), contributed to opposite sides of the controversy during the century and more of discussion that followed. Huygens maintained the Leibnizian theory. Later, at the peak of the controversy, Kant entered with the publication of his *Gedanken von der wahren Schätzung der lebendigen Kräfte* (1747), his contribution was slight, limiting itself to an attempted proof that Leibniz was wrong in assuming a possible *mathematical* derivation of any idea concerning the *nature* of a "living force." For the time being, the Cartesian view, with the implied support of Newton's revered name, remained generally dominant throughout the German Enlightenment.

It is no wonder, then, that at the beginning of his *Vom Erkennen und Empfinden der menschlichen Seele* (1778) Herder was compelled to admit the impossibility of defining the conception:

Wir sprechen taglich das Wort *Schwere, Stoß, Fall, Bewegung, Ruhe, Kraft*, sogar *Kraft der Trägheit* aus, und wer weiß, was es, inwendig der Sache selbst, bedeute?¹³

The conception of energy was still too much confused with that of force. The results of physical experiment and reflection had not disentangled the two, although matter and energy were all too sharply distinguished. A modern radical positivist would regard the error as purely linguistic. However this may be, the error not only entered the metaphysics of the eighteenth century, but continued its existence into the science of the nineteenth.

III *The Biological Conception.* Following the teaching of Galen, mediæval physicians recognized at least one biological force, the *vis medicatrix nature*, which was a convenient term for the tremendously complex group of forces responsible for the restoration of human beings to health. Later physicians added other, more specific *vires*, including finally a *vis vitalis*. Boerhaave (1668–1738) took over Leibniz' *vis viva* in a physiologi-

¹² Sir Arthur Eddington, *The Nature of the Physical World* (New York, 1928), p. 124 ff.

¹³ VIII, 169.

cal sense, thus illustrating the predominantly mechanistic-physical bent of nascent Western physiology. Boerhaave made *vis viva* responsible for muscular action, he presented his view in lectures heard at Leyden by Albrecht von Haller (1708-77). The latter, in his *Elementa physiologiae corporis humani* (1757), one of the scientific monuments of all time, not only carefully reported upon his own original experiments, but also reviewed with painstaking scholarship, and in detail, everything hitherto known or surmised about human physiology. To the modern reader a striking feature of this work is the great number of *vires* invented by physiologists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to account for unexplained bodily actions. It is one of the merits of Haller's work, and one that has not been sufficiently stressed by historians of our civilization, that he so classified these *vires* as to render most of them unnecessary, thereby doing away with a great part of the metaphysical mythology of his predecessors.

Although Haller was a child of his age, and hence deeply influenced by the mechanistic-physical science of the eighteenth century, he did not commit the error of using purely mechanistic methods in physiology. He rejected Boerhaave's (Leibnizian) *vis viva* and *vis mortua* as unnecessary, and completely denied the perpetuity of Boerhaave's *vis nervosa*. But he did take over the idea of a *vis nervosa* from his teacher, and he utilized it in his epoch-making treatment of the nervous system in Book IX of the *Elementa*.¹⁴ He was the first to state clearly and definitely the physiological (but not mechanically physical) rôle of the nervous system as the governor of muscular action. He subsumed the hundreds of *vires* used by his predecessors under three heads: the *vis contractilis* of all tissue,¹⁵ the *vis insita musculi*,¹⁶ and the unexplained *vis nervosa*.¹⁷

The *Elementa* and the *Primæ Linneæ Physiologiae* (1747), which Herder calls "Haller's große Physiologie" and "Haller's kleine Physiologie,"¹⁸ respectively, dealt the most serious blows to the faculty psychology. No more severe attack could have been made upon it than the cold statement, based upon incontrovertible evidence, that the nerves and cerebral cortex were responsible for many actions formerly attributed to a hierarchy of metaphysical "Krafte," *vires*, or faculties.

IV. *Herder's Synthesis*. According to Martin Schütze, Herder's thought involves three groups of conceptions: (1) the relation of collective extension (*Volk* and *Humanität*); (2) the physiological relation of physical growth, organization, and function; (3) "the relation of ultimate identity, or idealization, the metaphysical relation, which culminates in the ideal

¹⁴ Albrecht von Haller, *Elementa physiologiae corporis humani* (Lausanne, 1766), IV, 467-468. I use the second edition, not having access to the first (1757).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 440 ff.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 446 ff.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 467 ff.

¹⁸ VII, 11, *et passim*.

of God."¹⁹ In the chronological development of Herder's work these conceptions do not appear in this order. In the first *Kritisches Waldchen* (1768), for instance, Herder uses the term *Kraft* in a metaphysical sense, though he later uses it in a purely physiological one. In this earlier work, in his criticism of Lessing's *Laokoon*, he treats space, time, and "Kraft" as metaphysical attributes, and assigns to each a special art, he sets up this classification of the arts in opposition to Lessing's famous classification.²⁰ The three attributes, which he could have taken from various sources, he took demonstrably from James Harris' *Three Treatises, the First Concerning Art, the Second Concerning Painting and Poetry, the Third Concerning Happiness* (London, 1744), to which he had, presumably, been introduced by Hamann,²¹ and he used the English Aristotelian to refute Lessing at various points. Yet Herder was unwilling to follow Harris very far, and balked at assigning absolute *values* to the individual arts. Like Harris, Herder distinguishes between "power" (*Kraft*) and "energy" (*Energie*). In this connection, it is interesting to note that Kluge credits Herder with the introduction into German of the term *Energie* in its present scientific sense.²² Harris terms the faculties "powers" of the soul, and follows the threefold division of them into Rational, Irascible, and Concupiscible (*λογός, θυμός* and *ἐπιθυμία*).²³ Relying immediately upon Aristotle, he defines energy as follows:

The just opposite to *Power* is *Energy*, which, as r's (*sic*) Etymology shows, implies the existing in Deed or Act, as opposed to that existence, which only implies Possibility. And here 'tis worth observing, that Everything existing in Power is necessarily roused into *Energy* by something which itself *existed* PREVIOUSLY in Energy.²⁴

Also, Harris says, following the Stagirite: "The energy of Mind, or Intellect, is Life and HE (The Supreme Being) is that ENERGY"²⁵—an idea which we shall find repeated by Herder many years later.

The *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache* (1772), in which Herder attacked both the orthodox-theological theory of language advanced by Sußmilch and the rationalistic theory of Rousseau, provides evidence that Herder disagreed with Aristotle's (and Harris') theory of "powers" or "faculties," but that he approved of the idea of "energy." Sußmilch could be easily disposed of, but Rousseau was a more serious opponent. And in the *Discours sur l'inégalité* Rousseau had assumed—in

¹⁹ Schutze, *op cit*, XIX, 113 ²⁰ eII, 137 ff

²¹ Rudolf Unger, *Hamann und die Aufklärung* (Halle, 1925), I, 104

²² F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1934), article *Energie*

²³ James Harris, *Philosophical Arguments*, in his *Works* (London, 1775), III, 423

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 283 ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 288 n

strict accord with scholastic faculty psychology—the existence of an innate potentiality for the development of reason Herder replied:

Bloße, nackte Fähigkeit, die auch ohne vorliegendes Hindernis keine Kraft, nichts als Fähigkeit sey, ist so ein tauber Schall, als Plastische Formen, die da formen, aber selbst keine Formen sind Ist mit der Fähigkeit nicht das geringste Positive zu einer Tendenz da so ist nichts da—so ist das Wort bloße Abstraktion der Schule ²⁶

Far from being a "power," reason is an "energy," a direction of all so-called "faculties," an organization into an integral totality:

Man nenne diese Disposition seiner Kräfte, wie man wolle, *Verstand*, *Besinnung* u s w Wenn man diese Namen nicht für abgesonderte Kräfte, oder für bloße Stufenerhöhungen der Thierkräfte annimmt so gilt's mir gleich Es ist die *Einzigste positive Kraft des Denkens, die mit einer gewissen Organisation des Körpers verbunden bei den Menschen so Vernunft heißt, wie sie bei den Thieren Kunstfähigkeit wird: die bei ihm Freiheit heißt, und bei den Thieren Instinkt wird Der Unterschied ist nicht in Stufen oder Zugabe von Kräften, sondern in einer ganz verschiedenartigen Richtung und Auswicklung aller Kräfte* ²⁷

According to Herder, the origin of speech took place at the very moment when the first human beings *reflected* This moment represented human "organization," the "energizing," as it were, of all the individual's "Kräfte" into one spontaneous personality.

In his *An Prediger. Fünfzehn Provinzialblätter* (1772), whose title frightens many readers, but whose spirit stems from Pascal, Herder continued his fight against the faculty psychology and its conception of compartmented "Kräfte".

Unsere Seele hat zwei Kräfte oder Klassen (*sic*) von Kräften, die der Philosoph obere und untere nennet, aber nur der *Philosoph* und als *Philosoph* nennet er sie so Da brauche ich doch hier nicht zu sagen, daß die Klassen nicht abgetheilte Räume, sondern Abstraktionen, verschiedene Namen *Einer* unzertheilten Kraft sind, deren Wirkungen sich für uns, wie die Farben des Lichtstrahls verschieden modificiren Man theilt auch ab in *Verstand* und *Willen* man sage aber, welche Handlung des Willens ohne Verstand seyn kann? oder welche Handlung des Verstandes ohne wenigstens unmerkliche Anlage zur Thatigkeit des Willens? Abstraktionen, Schranken, Abtheilungen der Art *realisirt*—können kaum helles und richtiges Resultat geben. ²⁸

In opposition to the rationalistic scorn implied in a classification into "obere" and "untere Seelenkräfte," Herder points out that the latter designation covers the first and earliest, the fundamental and vital portion of man's being. His approach is Aristotelian and biological rather than scholastic-rationalistic and mechanistic. He suggests that only one "Kraft" should be posited, in place of the mediæval *vires*.

²⁶ v, 32.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 29.

²⁸ VII, 262.

The idea of a unifying or organizing vital force of personality reappears in Herder's *Aelteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts* (published anonymously 1774-76) with more imposing biological support than in the earlier works. In the fourth part of this work the author begins referring to Albrecht von Haller's *Elementa*, his citations show that he has read the rather long work from beginning to end. He is almost lyrical in his praise, he calls Book xxx "eine Beschreibung des Menschenbaues, die in der schlichtesten Wahrheit mit jedem Worte schönes Gedicht ist"²⁹ But he puts the book to an unusual use, he employs it to give scientific background for an interpretation of the book of *Genesis* as a biological allegory. He is perfectly acquainted with Haller's masterly treatment of sex,³⁰ which may account for the fact that Herder at times refers to sex as one manifestation of "Kraft." While the rationalists classed the sex-drive among the unimportant "niedere Kräfte," Herder follows the great Swiss physiologist and does not allow his scientific spirit to be vitiated either by the mechanistic preconceptions on the one side or by the orthodox prejudices on the other.

The influence of the physiology of Haller is more definitely marked in Herder's next work, *Vom Erkennen und Empfinden der menschlichen Seele* (1778), undoubtedly his most lucid and important essay and one which is comparable in English to the brilliant essays of Thomas Huxley. For in it Herder's purpose is to spread the gospel of Haller, the scientist. At the very beginning, as I have mentioned above, he admits frankly the impossibility of defining his favorite term. Suffice it to say that for him "Kraft" is an absolute: "Was Philosophie thut, ist bemerken, untereinander *ordnen*, erläutern, nachdem sie Kraft, Reiz, Wirkung schon immer voraussetzt,"³¹ he writes, including among the mechanical "Kräfte" of the physicists the *vires* of Albrecht von Haller. At no time does he conceal his debt to Haller, who had not himself made clear the distinction between the two. Naturally, Herder could not be reasonably expected to run so far in advance of the science of his time as to distinguish between interplanetary gravitational "force" on the one hand and the muscular "force" released by contact with the Leyden jar on the other.

Yet Herder does take one step beyond Haller, in that he ventures a vitalistic classification of all the latter's *vires* under the (Aristotelian) heading "Energie":

Kurz, diese Kräfte sind im Grunde nur Eine Kraft, wenn sie menschlich, gut und nützlich seyn sollen, und das ist *Verstand*, *Anschauung* mit innerm *Bewußtseyn*. Man nehme ihnen dieses, so ist die Einbildung Blendwerk, der Witz kindisch, das Gedächtnis leer, der Scharfsinn Spinnweb; in dem Maße aber, als sie jenes haben

²⁹ *ibid.*, 11 n³⁰ *ibid.*, 17 n³¹ VIII, 195

vereinigen sich, die sonst Feindinnen schienen, und werden nur Wurzeln oder sinnliche Darstellungen Einer und derselben *Energie der Seele* ³²

The integrated "Krafte" are thus related to Aristotle's non-mechanical system, although they have earlier been identified with the mechanical "forces." The personality of the human individual thus becomes for Herder the organizer of the basic mechanical *and* biological forces—always understanding under biological also *psychological* forces, for, as Herder unequivocally and almost positivistically states, no psychology is possible which is not at the same time physiology in every step. The biological and mechanical forces are all "Aeußerungen einer und derselben Energie und Elasticität der Seele," as he repeats in the same paragraph from which a section has just been quoted.

Now, this idea is not from Haller. In fact, the Swiss physiologist had very definitely taken a stand against the idea that there is one *vis vitalis* accounting for all physiological and psychological action; he had insisted upon his threefold division. An example of his rejection of the general *vis* and of his insistence upon a special one is seen in Book IV of the *Elementa*, where he discusses the reaction of dead muscles to electric stimuli.

VIM VITALEM maluerunt nuperi Cl. viri vocare, quae non perinde placet, cum vis nostra vitae aliquantum supervivat. *Insitam* adeo sive *propriam* musculi dicere malim ³³

Like the *vis insita*, the other *vires* are distinguished by Haller, and kept separate from each other. Yet Herder not only goes beyond his physiological authority and classes non-mechanical muscular force as a component of a supreme governing "energy," but also concludes that the "medium" of this "energy," or "elasticity," is language. Furthermore, he explains the differences between individual poets as differences in the constitution of this personal, formative force. This brings him to the application of his theory to the problem of "Genie," the bone of contention between the Enlightenment and the Storm and Stress. In the second part of his essay Herder solves this problem in a characteristically original, even radical, fashion. Denying that geniuses are rare in nature—as both "Aufklärer" and "Sturmer und Dränger" seemed to agree—he maintains that the current (1778) use of the term is wrong, that the "Genie" of the eighteenth century is a decadent symptom:

Wie gut hat der Vater der Menschen für den größten Theil seines Geschlechts gesorgt, daß er ihn, fern von diesen überfüllenden Kenntnissen und verzartelnden Empfindungen, geböhren werden ließ. Der gemeine Mann und Landmann erkennt und empfindet viel gesunder als der ungesittete Europäer, der Mann von Anschauung und Thätigkeit besser, als das müßige, halb wahnwitzige Genie ³⁴

³² *Ibid.*, 196.

³³ Haller, *op. cit.*, IV, 464

³⁴ VIII, 216

The peasant and the savage are thus possessed of "Krafte" which in Herder's words, are in "Ebenmaß und Ordnung." As examples of great poets whose "Krafte" are so balanced Herder cites Sophocles, Shakespeare, "Ossian," Milton, Dante and Homer (Herder consistently treats these poets as folk-poets.) In general, a genius worthy of the name is, for Herder, one who does not abstract, a human being by whom the concrete experience is sensed, felt, and thought simultaneously, with all parts of the personality integrally engaged.

Thus the true genius and the true primitive are fundamentally one. True genius is not a freak of nature. Also, the primitive "Gesamtkunstwerk," found among the lowly savages and the early Greeks, is for Herder the highest form of art, since it is a socially integrated art, unspecialized and non-discursive.³⁵ The poetry of the untutored primitive evinces "Kraft der Sprache," as Herder's essays of the 1770's abundantly testify. The two essays in *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* (1773) sound the full theme of the fantasia upon this subject, whose first intimations are contained in the *Fragmente* (1766), and whose variations are set down in *Ueber die Wirkung der Dichtkunst* (1778). This "Kraft der Sprache" is not merely Quintilian's *vis sermonis*, nor is it, on the other hand, merely a divine afflatus. It is the organizing force of the universe, forming and shaping the larger unit of the "Volk" out of the independent personal units. When the "Volk" and its language grow older, both experience an Adamic fall; the "Volk" becomes discursively philosophical and its language becomes abstract and powerless. Inevitable death ensues for both, as in the case of the individual organism, and the all-pervading "Kraft" can be credited with the conclusion of another cycle analogous to that of birth, youth, manhood, old age, and death. Upon the special operation of "Kraft" in this respect is founded the whole of Herder's theory of literary criticism. His æsthetic, which integrally combines empathy with the necessary recognition of the *historical moment*, requires total consciousness of the biological age, as it were, of a particular work. Only then can understanding of any poetic document take place.

This phase of Herder's thought has, in general, been adequately and sympathetically treated by his biographers and critics, and a large bibliography bears witness to its importance. But it is still necessary to point out its dependence on the broader conception of "Kraft." It was never Herder's intention to limit the discussion of the functioning of "Kraft" to art alone. The *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784-91), his greatest work, pursues the functioning of "Kraft" in all phases

³⁵ Cf. Wolfgang Iser, *Herders Ideen zur Verbindung von Poesie, Musik und Tanz* (Berlin, 1929), cf. also my article, "The Union of the Arts in *Die Braut von Messina*," *PMLA*, LII (1937), 1135-46.

of history, from the astronomical nebula to the end of the Middle Ages. It was Herder's definite intention in this work to lay a natural-scientific foundation for his theory—hence the long chapters dealing with astronomy and geology. The work summarizes, in greater detail than was possible in *Vom Erkennen und Empfinden*, the *Elementa* and *Primæ Linneæ* of Haller, on which it depends for its physiological structure. Again Herder, subsumes Haller's threefold *vires* under a unitary "Kraft", an ascending series of "Krafte" is depicted as being parallel to the ascending series of biological forms. The subsidiary "Krafte" are then shown to be manifestations of one. Because of these ascending series students of Herder have in the past been misled into believing that Herder anticipated Charles Darwin's system of organic evolution.³⁶ But the ascending series of biological organisms is less interesting to Herder as an evolution *in fact* than as an analogy *of fact*. In true Leibnizian fashion, Herder's epistemology would not permit knowledge of such an evolution, his only intention is to argue by analogy. It is Herder's contention that we know only by analogy "von der Creatur zu uns und von uns zum Schöpfer." Man is "ein Mittelding in der Schöpfung," the connecting link between God and the lower creation. Biological evolution in the strict Darwinian sense, is nowhere insisted upon. The ascending biological series is an illustration of the operation of "Kraft" in the universe. In the same way, the national group is analogous to the individual, in that it represents a peculiar and unique, irreplaceable combination of "Krafte" operating in a given environment. Herder's philosophy of history seems to fall down here, in that it does not explain how the "Krafte" of the nation, or of the individual, at times rise superior to the milieu. But it is taken for granted by Herder that the genetic forces are primary, the environment secondary. Undoubtedly, also, the author of the *Ideen* was depending heavily upon the Abbé Du Bos' deterministic theory. From Du Bos, as from Montesquieu, Herder demonstrably drew many ideas incorporated in the *Ideen*.³⁷

But we may leave the sociological implications of the conception of "Kraft"—which demand more careful treatment than is here possible—and turn to the next logical step in his analogy, the step to the conception of God as the highest "Kraft." This idea is presented in *Gott: einige Gespräche* (1787). Ostensibly a discussion of Spinoza, this work has been the cause of the traditional designation of Herder as a pantheist. Practically

³⁶ For the question of whether Herder was an evolutionist see F. von Bärenbach, *Herder als Vorgänger Darwins und der modernen Naturphilosophie* (Berlin, 1877), and its refutation by A. O. Lovejoy, "Herder, Eighteenth Century Evolutionist," *Popular Science*, LXV (1904), 327-336.

³⁷ For Herder's debt to Du Bos, cf. Armin H. Koller, *The Abbé Du Bos—His Advocacy of the Theory of Climate. A Predecessor of Johann Gottfried Herder* (Champaign, Ill., 1937).

all commentators have agreed in this designation, to which, as F. W. Strothmann points out, only one person raises any objection, namely Herder himself.³⁸ Strothmann shows, beyond any possibility of question, that many of Herder's ideas are based upon the scholastic inheritance in the Lutheran systematics studied by Herder. Though he was an important figure in German literary history, Herder was first and foremost a theologian. His theological training is easily forgotten in the consideration of his significance in other fields, such as the theory of language, the folksong, and the theory of literary criticism. Yet Herder's theology was not orthodox, nor was it rationalistic. If it is true that Herder's conception of "Kraft" is, as Strothmann says in a note, in agreement with St. Thomas Aquinas' *Forma substantialis*, then it is because both the great scholastic and the "General-Superintendent" of Sachsen-Weimar, each in his turn, emulated the method of Aristotle. Each made a sincere attempt to reconcile what was known as a result of scientific formulation with what was inherited as revealed truth.

Hence, the opinions in Herder's *Gott*, as most of his biographers agree, must not be taken as Spinoza's, but as Herder's own.³⁹ In other words, the *Gott* merely takes its point of departure from Spinoza; it is for the rest an interesting attempt to prove that Spinoza was neither an atheist nor a pantheist, but rather a peacemaker, a reconciler. Such a reconciler would be a man after Herder's own heart. The "substantial forces" of Spinoza are identified by Herder as identical with his own "Krafte"—and he immediately speaks of one single "Kraft." They constitute the connecting link of Spinoza's monism, the conception whereby the philosopher avoided the dualism of the Cartesians. But Herder would by no means go as far as Spinoza and identify God and Nature. In spite of the fact that God is "... die Urkraft aller Krafte, die Seele aller Seelen . . .,"⁴⁰ the world and God are separate. The world hangs together because of the principle of its existence, it is limited. God exists independently as the source of all being and becoming. The "Krafte" in the world, however, are unlimited, since they reveal divinity:

In allen Welten offenbaret sie (die Gottheit) sich durch Krafte, mithin hat diese Wesen-ausdruckende Unendlichkeit der Krafte Gottes durchaus keine Grenzen, obwohl sie allenthalben denselben Gott offenbaret.

Ueberall ist's wie hier, ueberall können nur organische Krafte wirken und jede derselben macht uns Eigenschaften einer unendlichen Gottheit kanntlich.⁴¹

³⁸ F. W. Strothmann, "Das scholastische Erbe im Herderschen 'Pantheismus'" *Dichtung und Volkstum*, xxxvii (1936), 174-187.

³⁹ Eugene Kuhnemann, Herder, 2 Aufl. (München, 1927), 431 ff.

⁴⁰ xvi, 452. ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 451-452.

The nature of these organic "Krafte" is more explicitly stated in the *Metakritik* (1799), Herder's attack upon the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*.

Kraft, also, wenn man das Wort nicht im Spiegel sehen oder als einen Körper zergliedern will, ist *Maas der Realität eines Daseyns von innen*, da Raum und Zeit nur von außen seine Gestalt und Dauer messen und ordnen. In Wirkung offenbaret sich Kraft, ihrer Natur nach *gestaltet* sie sich, sie organisiert⁴²

What does it organize? At no time in all his work does Herder devote any attention to the conception of matter. He does not, like Bishop Berkeley, deny its existence, he simply ignores it. In *Vom Erkennen und Empfinden* he had dismissed the subject in a cavalier way with the statement: ". . . Ich weiß noch nicht, was Material oder Immaterial sey."⁴³ In the *Metakritik* one seeks in vain for an equivalent of *ὑλη* or *materia*, it is not there. In Herder's epistemology there is no science of matter. Ontology is the "Philosophie der allgemeinen Verstandessprache." "Natural History" uses its concepts and notes the qualities of things. Natural Science—identified with physics—orders the "Naturkrafte." Finally, mathematics is the science of measurement, the symbol of reason itself. The goal of all natural science, according to Herder, is "Anerkennung der Kraft in Wirkungen."⁴⁴

The striking feature of this system is its modernity—aside from all theological relations, concerning which the present writer is unprepared to speak. It is possible, however, to point out Herder's grasp of the fundamental linguistic problem of science—the building of an adequate symbolic system with as few absolutes as possible. Above all, if one can equate Herder's "Kraft" with modern "energy"—and to do so would be doing no violence to either—it is startling to notice how consistently he places energy at the center of all physics, *i.e.*, of all natural science. It is his one indispensable conception, the original one from which all others are derived.

For obvious reasons, the concept of form, which had been paramount with his predecessors, is not emphasized in Herder's metaphysics or literary theory. Its meaning is already covered by "Kraft." The term "Form" ordinarily means for Herder the tactile sensation of shape,⁴⁵ although there are places in his work where he refutes the common belief that German literature has no "form." But such passages are generally journalistic. Even space and time—Kant's "Anschauungsformen"—are for Herder in the *Metakritik* merely secondary, derived concepts, dimensions of the process of actualization implied by "organische Kraft." And this leads us to the consideration of our last topic.

V "Kraft" and the Break with Weimar Classicism. If the Storm and

⁴² XXI, 67.⁴³ VIII, 193⁴⁴ XXI, 109-112⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 68

Stress Goethe found material for merriment in Herder's earlier, inadequately defined conception of "Kraft," the classicistic Goethe and his friend Schiller undoubtedly recognized in the completely developed conception a serious threat to their æsthetic ideals. The cooperation of Goethe and Herder in the 1780's, during the composition of the *Ideen*, had been fruitful for both men. But it cannot be sufficiently emphasized that Goethe's contributions during this period had been largely anatomical, even osteological. Herder's contribution had been speculative, and heavily charged with the physiological doctrines of Albrecht von Haller. Goethe greeted the appearance of the *Gott* of 1787 with frankly expressed pleasure.⁴⁶ In all consistency he would have had to agree also with the *Metakritik* of 1799, which merely systematized what had been said in the *Ideen* and *Gott*. Yet Goethe said that, had he known Herder was about to write the *Metakritik*, he would have gone down on his knees to dissuade him.⁴⁷ Why? The answer is not far to seek, and has actually little to do with any reverence of Goethe for Kant, whom he knew largely through the interpretation of Schiller. Goethe was far closer to Spinoza than to Kant.

The break between Herder and the classicism of Weimar was brought about neither by arguments pro and contra the critical philosophy, nor by personal differences. It proceeded rather from fundamentally different ways of looking at life, each way consistent and self-contained. One might pause to speculate what might have happened to the relations between the rigorously Kantian Schiller and the individualistic-universalistic Goethe, had the two men remained associated as long as Goethe and Herder had been. Such speculation is, of course, vain and useless. But in the "Weltbild" of each man there were ideas whose consistent development would necessarily have led to conflicting conclusions. As the oldest of the three men, Herder reached this development of fundamental ideas before the other two, he was as active in production as either of the "Dioskuren." Furthermore, the complete development made impossible any compromise with Goethe's boundless individualism, his pagan enjoyment of static pattern. It made impossible any compromise with Schiller's variety of Kantian dogmatic absolutism. It made necessary an attack upon the Kantian *rationalistic* synthesis of scholastic method with the results of science, and proposed as a substitute a synthesis of traditional metaphysical ideas and the positivistic methods of nascent Western science. Herder was not an anticipator of Charles Darwin; he was rather a forerunner of August Comte.

Historically considered, the chief purpose of all three men was political; it was the education of the German "Burger" to a better condition, a

⁴⁶ Kühnemann, *op cit*, 429 ff

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 594

better æsthetic, and, eventually, to a better State. This purpose was most marked in Schiller,⁴⁸ who, Kantian though he was, disagreed with his teacher as to the methods for this education. For Kant, the State was to be the educator, Schiller revolted against this idea in his *Ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen*. Herder revolted against it in the *Ideen II*. Goethe never considered the idea at all, and did not dignify it with a serious reply. For Herder, the educational (and, hence, the political) ideal was to be attained through a balanced educational system, which should not exalt one faculty over another, which would assist the development toward "Humanität" by taking cognizance of the manifold, complex organization of the human being. Furthermore, such an educational program would encourage the latent national "Krafte" implicit in language, folk-art, and religion. Accordingly, we find Herder more tolerant of Catholicism on the one hand, and of schismatic Protestantism on the other, than most of his contemporaries.

In sharp contradistinction to Goethe and Schiller, Herder, who admittedly revered the civilization of ancient Greece, drew a line between emulation of the ideal of "Humanität" as exemplified by the Greeks and emulation of their individual accomplishments. Nor could he accept the dogmatic theorem that the Greeks had attained the highest "Humanität." His conception of "Kraft," as active in the social sphere, was relativistic. If a "Volk," like an individual, is unique, there is no possibility of attaining its peculiar excellencies by imitating them. One can only study them historically and empathically.

In the great campaign to raise the cultural level of the German "Burger" there was too much at stake for personal differences and attachments to have much weight. It is time that such explanations be exposed as unjust, that the fundamental issues be revealed, and that the essential purity of Herder's intellectual stand be made clear.

In the meanwhile, whether Herder's conception of "Kraft" is an acceptable one or not must be left to the trained philosopher. If it is purely metaphysical, then most modern physics is also metaphysical. But it seems clear from the foregoing, necessarily short, sketch of its treatment at his hands, that Herder's attempt at a synthesis of the inherited and the scientific conceptions of "Kraft" was at least as grand and sincere in intention as the system of his teacher, critic, and enemy, Immanuel Kant, and that Herder's break with Goethe and Schiller rested, not on personal envy and spleen, but on a firm conviction of the irreconcilability of his principles and theirs.

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⁴⁸ Cf. H. Cysarz, *Schiller* (Halle, 1934), *passim*.

DER JUNGE HERDER UND DIE ENTWICKLUNGSIDEE
ROUSSEAU

ES ist heute eine allgemein bekannte Tatsache, dass das Werk Rousseaus von wesentlicher Bedeutung für Herder gewesen ist, aber es fehlt fast völlig an Versuchen, dieses Verhältnis genau zu bestimmen.* Jedermann weiss, dass Herder Rousseau vieles verdankt, aber was er ihm eigentlich verdankt, in welcher Richtung sich der Einfluss des Franzosen ausgewirkt hat, das ist bisher entweder nur flüchtig oder nur unter Beschränkung auf gewisse Spezialgebiete dargelegt worden. Schon Gervinus glaubt, Herders Wesen am besten dadurch verdeutlichen zu können, dass er ihn Rousseau gegenüberstellt, beide als im Grunde gleichartige Geister erkennt und den Unterschied zwischen ihnen allein in ihren Uebertreibungen sieht: Herder geht zu weit in seinem Optimismus, Rousseau in seinem Pessimismus.¹ Sieht Gervinus hier noch von einer Untersuchung der kausalen Bedeutung Rousseaus für Herder ab, so erscheint Herder bei Hettner fast ausschliesslich als ein Schüler des Genfers,² und diese Ansicht findet sich in neuerer Zeit bei Bartels wieder, der Herder bedenkenlos als den deutschen Rousseau bezeichnet.³ Zweifellos geht Bartels dabei weit über das Ziel hinaus, und diese Uebertreibung ist umso erstaunlicher, als der Biograph Herders, Haym, deutlich genug auseinandergesetzt hatte, dass der Einfluss Rousseaus, so gross er auch ist, jedenfalls Grenzen hat und schon von Hettner überschätzt worden war.⁴ So zuverlässig aber auch die Ausführungen Hayms über das Verhältnis Herders zu Rousseau sind, so ist doch der Biograph im Gegensatz zu Hettner zu sehr geneigt, gewissen abfalligen Aeusserungen Herders über Rousseau übermässigen Wert beizulegen, und dadurch erscheint bei ihm dieses Verhältnis wieder zu sehr im negativen Licht. Die schon von Hettner erkannten Uebereinstimmungen im Werke Herders und Rousseaus entgehen auch Haym nicht, doch möchte er sie mehr dem "genius epidemicus der Zeit," als einer direkten Beeinflussung zuschreiben. Einer eingehenden Untersuchung, die allein das Problem von Einfluss oder Parallelität entscheiden kann, geht aber auch Haym aus dem Wege, sodass die Frage nach wie vor als ungelöst gelten muss. Dies gilt in ganz besonderem Masse von derjenigen Lehre, die sowohl bei

* Der Verfasser ist Herrn Professor Karl Vietor für seine lebenswürdige Anteilnahme an dieser Arbeit zu grosstem Dank verbunden.

¹ *Geschichte der poetischen National-Literatur* (Leipzig, 1844), v, 324.

² *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1928), III, 182.

³ *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* (1901-02), I, 448.

⁴ *Herder* (Berlin, 1880), I, 341.

Herder wie bei Rousseau im Zentrum ihrer Werke steht, der Lehre von der Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts, wie sie der berühmte *Discours sur l'Origine de l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes*⁵ am eindrucksvollsten verkundet hat.

Der Gedanke der geschichtlichen Entwicklung ist uns derartig zu einer Selbstverständlichkeit geworden, dass man leicht geneigt ist, seine relative Neuheit zu übersehen. Bis zum Beginn der Aufklärungsperiode gab es überhaupt keine Geschichtsschreibung im modernen Sinne, sondern mit wenigen Ausnahmen nur Annalen und Chroniken, die mit ermüdender Eintönigkeit die verschiedenen Ereignisse in ihrer historischen Reihenfolge darstellten, ohne den Versuch zu machen, sie zueinander in Beziehung zu setzen und damit die Frage nach Werden und Entstehen wirklich zu beantworten.⁶ Voltaire war im Grunde der erste, der neue Bahnen einschlug und in seinen beiden wichtigsten historischen Schriften, dem *Siècle de Louis XIV* und dem *Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations*, das bisher übliche *post hoc* in ein *propter hoc* umzuwandeln suchte.⁷ So bedeutsam diese Neuerung war, so ist doch auch Voltaires Geschichtsschreibung noch weit von unserem modernen Ideal geschichtlicher Darstellung entfernt. Was Voltaire noch nicht kennt, ist der Gedanke historischer Individualität, der Gedanke, dass jede einzelne historische Periode als eine Einheit in sich betrachtet werden muss, nur aus sich heraus verstanden und nur mit ihren eigenen Massstäben gewertet werden kann. Für Voltaire ist die Vergangenheit um des 18. Jahrhunderts willen da, sodass seine eigene Gegenwart ihm zum Ziel und Massstab aller Dinge wird.⁸ In dieser Beziehung ist der Historiker Voltaire durchaus unhistorisch. Ihm fehlt das echte, eigentlich historische Interesse an der Vergangenheit, das zur Behandlung der Geschichte um der Geschichte willen führt. Und so ist es von der Geschichte eines Voltaires bis zur Entwicklungslehre Rousseaus im Grunde kein weiter Weg, denn wenn schon für den grossten Historiker der Zeit die Tatsachen der Vergangenheit nur insofern von Belang waren, als sie zur Gegenwart in Bezug gesetzt werden konnten, so lag allerdings die Versuchung nahe, diese "témoignages incertains de l'histoire"⁹ ganz zu übergehen und an die Stelle der Entwicklung, wie sie wirklich gewesen war, die Entwicklung, wie sie auf Grund rationaler Schlüsse gewesen sein musste, zu setzen. Dieses letztere tut Rousseau. Kuhn setzt er sich über alle Tatsachen hinweg und beschränkt sich auf rein begrifflich-metaphysische Entwick-

⁵ *Œuvres* (Paris Hachette, 1908), I, 71 ff

⁶ Vgl. Eduard Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (Berlin, 1936), S. 340

⁷ *Ibid.*, S. 354.

⁸ Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Entstehung des Historismus* (Berlin, 1936), I, 82.

⁹ *Œuvres*, I, 91.

lung. Rousseau bringt der Vergangenheit als solcher nicht das geringste Interesse entgegen, er bedient sich ihrer nur zu seinen polemischen Zwecken, und da sich die wirkliche Vergangenheit nicht immer in sein Schema heineinplassen lassen wurde, so schafft er sich bedenkenlos seine eigene Vergangenheit und stellt die fiktive Entwicklung der Welt ausschließlich von dem Standpunkt der Frage dar, wie sich seine reformatorischen Ideen dadurch am deutlichsten demonstrieren lassen, er konstruiert sich die Entwicklung, die er braucht. War schon bei Voltaire der Geist der Zeiten hauptsächlich Voltaires eigener Geist gewesen, so erhebt Rousseau diese Subjektivität zum System und setzt bewusst seinen Geist an die Stelle des Geistes der Vergangenheit.

Stellt man diesem Bilde Rousseaus das Herders gegenüber, so zeigt sich sofort eine entscheidende Uebereinstimmung und eine entscheidende Verschiedenheit in dem Charakter der beiden Geister. Auch Herder ist von dem gleichen Interesse an der Gegenwart beseelt wie Rousseau, auch er will den Dingen nicht nur untätig zusehen, sondern aktiv in das Geschehen eingreifen und die Dinge nach seinen Ideen lenken. Aber neben diesem Interesse an der Gegenwart steht ein wirkliches Interesse an der Vergangenheit, eine wahrhafte Forschersehnsucht, in das Dunkel der Ursprünge einzudringen und die wirkliche Entwicklung bis auf die Gegenwart hinab zu verfolgen. Auch Herder versucht häufig, die Vergangenheit für die Gegenwart, fruchtbar zu machen, aber deswegen behält die Vergangenheit trotzdem ihren durchaus selbständigen Wert, und gerade dieses Interesse ist es, das eine scharfe Scheidungslinie zwischen Herder und Rousseau zieht. Der Kampf gegen die Seichtheit und Oberflächlichkeit ihrer Zeit ist das Element, das die beiden Männer verbindet und den Jungeren trotz erheblicher Schwankungen in seiner Haltung immer wieder zu dem Älteren zurückführt; Herders historisches Interesse ist der Zug seines Wesens, der in Rousseau kein Gegenstück findet und ihn daher von Rousseau abzuziehen geneigt ist. Rousseauismus und Historismus sind die beiden Pole, zwischen denen Herder hin- und herschwankt. Trotz dieser Verschiedenheit ist aber Herders Anlehnung an Rousseau häufig so stark und unverkennbar, dass gerade Herder am meisten dazu beigetragen hat, Rousseau in Deutschland populär zu machen und den Rousseauismus der siebziger Jahre herbeizuführen.

I DER ROUSSEAUISMUS DER FRUHZEIT

Herders Jugend zeigt am deutlichsten, welche Ausmasse der Einfluss Rousseaus erreichen konnte. Dass er für den Genfer Philosophen in seiner Jugend geschwärmt hatte, gibt er in einem Briefe an Kant aus dem Jahre 1769 selber zu,¹⁰ und gerade Kant scheint es gewesen zu sein,

¹⁰ Abgedruckt in Kants *Werken* (Berlin: Cassirer, 1922), IX, 63.

der Herder zuerst in Rousseau eingeweiht hat.¹¹ Unter allen Schriften Rousseaus schätzte der Königsberger Philosoph den *Emile* am höchsten¹² und somit dufte er die Aufmerksamkeit seines Schülers vor allen Dingen auf diese vorwiegend rationalistische Schrift Rousseaus hingelenkt haben. Ob auch Hamann versucht hat, seinen Schüler und Freund mit den Gedanken Rousseaus vertraut zu machen, lässt sich urkundlich nicht erweisen, aber es versteht sich von selbst, dass Herder mit Hamanns energischer Verteidigung der *Nouvelle Héloïse* gegen die Angriffe Mendelssohns vertraut war.¹³ Hamann hatte hier gerade die irrationalen Züge des Romans gepriesen, während er zu den rationalistischen Schriften des Genfers, dem *Emile* und dem *Contrat Social* niemals eine innere Fühlung erhielt.¹⁴ Gerade diese divergierende Stellungnahme der beiden Königsberger Geister durfte Herder auf die Bedeutung Rousseaus besonders aufmerksam gemacht haben und nicht zum mindesten die Ursache für die schwärmerische Rousseau-Stimmung seiner Jugend gewesen sein.¹⁵

Wir sind heute daran gewohnt, in Herder einen Ueberwinder der Aufklärung zu sehen, und die meisten geistesgeschichtlichen Darstellungen jener Epoche der Literaturgeschichte weisen ihm zusammen mit Hamann einen Platz am Anfange jener Bewegung an, die gemeinhin als Irrationalismus bezeichnet wird.¹⁶ So richtig diese Auffassung im allgemeinen sein mag, so wenig darf man sich darüber tauschen, dass Herder in seiner Frühzeit durchaus ein Kind des Zeitgeistes, d. h. der Aufklärung, war: sowohl die Probleme, die er zu lösen sich bemüht, wie die Art, in der er dies unternimmt, zeigen das mit volliger Deutlichkeit. Rousseau war ihm ein Führer auf diesem Wege, und wenn er ihm widerspricht, so geschieht dies nur dann, wenn Rousseau sich nicht streng an dieselbe Methode hält,¹⁷ aber solche Widersprüche sind selten, sehr selten, denn Herders erste Schriften und Reden fallen noch in die Zeit, da er für Rousseau schwärmte. Diese Anlehnung an Rousseau geht zuweilen so weit, dass er sich auch im Stil dem Genfer anpasst und gewisse

¹¹ Caroline Herder, *Herders Lebensbild* (Erlangen, 1846), I, 2, 193

¹² Vgl. Ernst Cassirer, *Kants Leben und Lehre* (Berlin, 1923), S. 63

¹³ *Abalarde Verbis Chamarische Einfälle über den 10. Teil der Briefe die neueste Literatur betreffend*, in Hamanns *Schriften* (ed. Roth), II, 185 ff., bzw. im 192. Litteraturbrief (Teil XII)

¹⁴ Vgl. *Schriften*, III, 159. Vgl. auch R. Unger, *Hamann und die Aufklärung*, S. 340 ff.

¹⁵ Sie hat ihren deutlichsten Ausdruck in Herders Gedicht *Der Mensch* gefunden, XXIX, 254.

¹⁶ Vgl. F. J. Schneider, *Die deutsche Dichtung zwischen Barock und Klassizismus*, S. 295 ff., August Korff, *Geist der Goethezeit*, I, 86 ff.

¹⁷ Vgl. z. B. die Verteidigung der reinen Naturreligion, I, 22. Referenzen ohne nähere Angaben beziehen sich auf Suphans Ausgabe von Herders Werken.

typische Formulierungen direkt übernimmt. Wenn er z. B. ausruft: "Jenes Mädchen, das den Schatten ihres Liebhabers an der Wand mit einer Kohle umriss, um sein Bild zu haben, war ohne ihren Willen die Erfinderin der Mahlerei,"¹⁸ so liegt darin zweifellos eine Nachahmung jenes berühmten Satzes, der den zweiten Teil der *Inégalité* einleitet. "Le premier qui ayant enclos un terrain s'avisa de dire *Ceci est à moi*, et trouva des gens assez simples pour le croire, fut le vrai fondateur de la société civile."¹⁹

Was den Inhalt dieser Erstlingsaussagen Herders anbetrifft, so ist der Geist Rousseaus in ihnen unverkennbar, gleichgültig ob auf den Franzosen ausdrücklich Bezug genommen wird oder nicht. Insbesondere ein Motiv kehrt dabei immer wieder: Herder liebt es, die Schlichtheit und Einfachheit einer längst vergangenen Zeit mit dem Tone einer mehr oder weniger deutlich ausgesprochenen Anklage mit der modernen Zeit in Parallele zu setzen.

Doch diese goldene Zeit (sc. der "Einfalt" in der Erziehung) lebt bloß in meinem Bilde, und ist verblüht, unsere Alcibiades sehen um sich weit gefährlichere Reize, die die holdselige Anmut des Lebens überglanzen. Der Luxus, die feine Bequemlichkeit, die eine unzertrennliche Begleiterin des Flors einer Stadt ist, hat für den Schuler gar zu starke Reize, als daß er sie nicht vor der stillen Schönheit der Muses wählen sollte.²⁰

so lautet eine Stelle aus Herders öffentlicher Rede bei seiner Einföhrung in die Domschule in Riga und diese Ausführungen werden späterhin durch eine ausführliche Bezugnahme auf Rousseau ergänzt.

Rousseau ruft also ein philosophisches Wehe über unser Geschlecht, das die Jugend, Menschlichkeit und Wahrheit vom Altar gestürzt hat und statt dessen eine lächerlich verkleidete Puppe des Wohlstandes anbetet. Dieser falsche Anstand hat die Schöpfung verdorben . . ."²¹

Ganz ähnliche Gedanken finden sich in der Schrift, die den Titel trägt: *Haben wir noch jetzt das Publikum und Vaterland der Alten?*²² und Herder bringt es sogar fertig, diese Vorstellungen in seinen Aufsatz *Ueber den Fleiß in mehreren gelehrten Sprachen* hineinzuziehen. Zwar haben sie mit dem Thema an sich nichts zu tun, aber Herder kann sich nicht enthalten, in einer Art Stosseufzer das Verschwinden der goldenen Zeit zu beklagen, in der "statt unserer gelehrten Lasten, und statt der Masken unserer Tugend, rauhe, einfaltige Zufriedenheit" herrschte.²³ Fast wörtlich kehren diese selben Wendungen in einer zweiten Schulrede Herders wieder:

Sie ist dahin! jene blühende Zeit, da der kleine Kreis unserer Urväter um die Patriarchen, wie Kinder um ihre Eltern wohnten jenes Alter, in dem nach der

¹⁸ I, 15¹⁹ *Œuvres*, I, 105²⁰ *Lebensbild*, I, 2, 55.²¹ *Ibid.*, 65.²² I, 13 ff²³ I, 1.

einfaltig erhabenen Nachricht unserer Offenbarung alle Welt nur Eine Zunge und Sprache war, da statt unserer goldenen Laster und gelehrten Burden und Masken der Tugenden rauhe selige Zufriedenheit herrschte . sie ist nicht mehr, diese Zeit des Glucks!²⁴

Besonderes Interesse kommt gerade in dem letzten Zitat dem Umstand zu, dass sich schon an dieser Stelle eine Vermischung der Rousseauschen Entwicklungslehre mit den Vorstellungen der Genesis findet, eine Verbindung, die in Herders späteren Schriften von besonderer Bedeutung und Fruchtbarkeit werden sollte. Aber auch wo eine solche Bezugnahme auf die Bibel fehlt, kommt Herder immer wieder auf das Rousseausche Schema von Aufblühen, Reife und Verfall zurück, wie Suphan aus Herders Kollektaneen und Arbeitsbüchern mitteilt.²⁵ Wie eng sich Herder Rousseau verbunden fühlt, erhellt am deutlichsten aus der Fragment gebliebenen Skizze über das *Problem: wie die Philosophie zum Besten des Volkes allgemeiner und nützlicher werden kann*, in der er ebenfalls die Abstraktionen der modernen Philosophie verwirft und Rückkehr zu einer gesunderen Logik fordert:

Wo ist diese Logik anders, als in den Schriften unseres Patriotischen Menschenfreundes Rousseaus. Sein grosses Thema ist gar zu sehr mit dem meinigen verwandt: er hat's Jedem, der Menschenaugen, ohne dass das Philosophische Seherohr sie geschwächt, bewiesen: "dass zum Besten des Menschevolks keine Entwicklung der hohen Seelenkräfte zu wünschen sey."²⁶

Schon Kronenberg hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, wie deutlich gerade diese Jugendschrift Herders mit ihrer Stellungnahme gegen abstrakt-philosophisches Denken den Geist Rousseaus wiederspiegelt.²⁷

So interessant die bisher erwähnten Schriften vom biographischen Standpunkt sein mögen, eigene Bedeutung kommt ihnen noch nicht zu, erst mit den *Fragmenten* schafft Herder ein Werk von bleibendem Wert. Die Wirkung, die sie auf das deutsche Geistesleben gehabt haben, ist hinreichend bekannt, umso erstaunlicher ist es, dass viele dieser neuartig anmutenden Ideen bei näherer Untersuchung ihre Originalität verlieren und, statt selbständig erfunden zu sein, nur übernommen worden sind. Diese Tatsache verringert aber die Bedeutung des Werkes in keiner Weise, denn die Zusammenstellung dieser Ideen bleibt neuartig. Blackwell und Lowth, Winckelmann und Hamann liefern das Material, das Herder verwertet und in ein neues Schema kleidet. Auch dieses Schema als solches ist nicht neu, sondern aus Rousseaus *Inégalité* übernommen, aber gerade durch diese Verbindung von Elementen, die ihrer Natur nach ganz heterogen sind, haben die Fragmente so befruchtend

²⁴ *Lebensbild*, I, 2, 151

²⁵ XIV, 654 f

²⁶ XXXII, 41

²⁷ *Herders Philosophie* (Heidelberg, 1889), S. 29.

gewirkt, mögen auch die darin vorgetragenen Gedanken wissenschaftlicher Kritik nicht standhalten

Blackwell hatte sich in seinem anonym veröffentlichten Werk *An enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*²⁸ die Frage vorgelegt, warum es kein epischer Dichter in 2700 Jahren Homer habe gleich tun können, und hatte besonders auf die Sprache Homers als einen wesentlichen Schlüssel zur Lösung dieses Problems hingewiesen. Im dritten Kapitel, das sich mit der Sprache befasst, legt er die verschiedenen Etappen ihrer Entwicklung dar. Die Ursprache, die im Stande der Wildheit entstand, nennt er "broken, unequal, and boisterous" und bezeichnet sie als ein mehr oder weniger unverständliches "Gibberish"²⁹ Erst im Zeitalter der anfangenden Gesellschaft (infancy of States) bildet sich eine Sprache heraus, die die Merkmale eines Mittelzustandes trägt³⁰ Mit diesen Ausführungen sieht Blackwell eine "inviolable and necessary Connexion between the dispositions of a nation and their Speech" als bewiesen an und zieht daraus die Schlussfolgerung: "that there will be an Alloy of Simplicity and Wonder in the Beginnings of every Language; and likewise that the Dialect will improve with the affairs and the Genius of the People."³¹ Die Einfachheit der Sprache verschwindet mit der zunehmenden Vervollkommenung des betreffenden Volkes; die fortschreitende Entwicklung der Kultur "soon raised a nobler language than any of the Originals," bis sich die Menschen schliesslich der Philosophie und Gelehrsamkeit zuwenden.³² Homer konnte sein Meisterwerk abfassen, weil sich die griechische Sprache damals gerade in einem glücklichen Zwischenzustande befand. Die Fähigkeit, edle Gefühle auszudrücken, verbunden mit "Original, amazing metaphoric Tincture" machten sie zu jenem glücklichen Instrument des Dichters.³³

Die Ideen, die Herder in seinen *Fragmenten* vortragt, weisen mit denen Blackwells derartige Ähnlichkeit auf, dass Herders Werk zuweilen fast wie eine Uebersetzung anmutet. Trotz dieser starken Uebereinstimmung besteht aber doch ein grundsätzlicher Unterschied: Blackwell geht von dem Gedanken eines mehr oder weniger stetigen Fortschritts aus, und wenn er auch die Vorzüge der Sprache Homers anerkennt, so liegt es ihm fern, sie als modernen Sprachen überlegen hinzustellen, während Herder im Gegensatz zu Blackwell dem Griechischen Homers die Eigenschaft einer goldenen Sprache zuschreibt. Der Gedanke, gerade im Ursprünglichen, Naturlichen die höchste Vollendung zu suchen, geht natürlich in erster Linie auf Hamann zurück, der die Poesie als die Muttersprache des menschlichen Geschlechts gekennzeichnet hatte und vor der "grossen und kleinen Masore der Weltweisheit warnte, die "den

²⁸ London 1735, hier zitiert nach der 2. Aufl. (London, 1736)

²⁹ *Loc. cit.*, 42.

³⁰ *Loc. cit.*, 43.

³¹ *Loc. cit.*, 44.

³² *Loc. cit.*, 45 f.

³³ *Loc. cit.*, 47.

Text der Natur gleich einer Sündflut überschwemmt”³⁴ Im gleichen Sinne hatte der Bischof Lowth in seinem Werke *De sacra poesiæ Hebraeorum* auf die Schönheiten der primitiven Dichtung der Hebräer hingewiesen,³⁵ und auch dadurch Herder den Gedanken näher gelegt, den von Blackwell noch nicht in Frage gezogenen Fortschritt anzuzweifeln. Diese Zweifel hatten in Bezug auf die bildende Kunst schon einen andeutungsweisen Ausdruck in Wickelmanns *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* erfahren, in der sich ein kurzer Hinweis auf die Tatsache findet, dass jede Kunst im Laufe der Zeit degeneriert und schliesslich verfällt: Winckelmann zeigt den Wandel von der “Einfalt der Gestalt” zur “Grossheit,” von dieser zur “Schönheit” die dann “in das Ueberflussige” und von diesem zum “volligen Untergang” führt.³⁶ Dieser von Winckelmann aufgezeigte Entwicklungsgang ist durchaus historisch, hat sich doch tatsächlich jeder Stil in der bildenden Kunst aus schlichten Anfängen über eine Periode des Ebenmasses allmählich auf das Barocke hin entwickelt, mit dem regelmässig die Auflösung einsetzt.

Mit kunem Griff bringt nun Herder diese verschiedenen Anregungen in das Schema Rousseaus. Blackwell sowohl wie Winckelmann und Hamann hatten mehrere Gedanken ausgesprochen, die bis zu einem gewissen Grade auf später von Rousseau vorgetragene Ideen hinwiesen, aber der Unterschied zwischen Blackwell, Winckelmann und Hamann auf der einen und Rousseau auf der anderen Seite war nichtsdestoweniger grundsätzlicher Natur. Blackwell hatte die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache kurz skizziert, Hamann auf die grossere Neigung einfacher Völker zum Konkreten und Sinnlichen hingewiesen, Winckelmann einen häufig beobachteten Entwicklungsprozess in kurzen Worten charakterisiert, kurz, sie alle hatten sich im Rahmen der Tatsachen gehalten und waren mit geringfügigen Ausnahmen nicht über Beobachtung und Erfahrung hinausgegangen,³⁷ Rousseau, in diametralem Gegensatz zu ihnen, hatte eine metaphysische Entwicklung aufgezeigt, die sich mit ihren vier Stufen des Urzustandes, der Kindheit der Gesellschaft, der Reife und des Verfalls an den aus der Antike übernommenen Zyklusgedanken anschloss.³⁸ Bewusst hatte er dabei alle Tatsachen ausgeschlossen,

³⁴ *Aesthetica in Nuce, Schriften*, II, 285.

³⁵ Lowth hält sich in seinen Anschauungen über Dichtung und Sprache enger an die traditionellen Auffassungen als Blackwell, geht ausserdem hauptsächlich philologisch vor und wendet dem Entwicklungsgedanken keine Aufmerksamkeit zu. Sein Hinweis auf alte, primitive Dichtung bleibt aber trotzdem von grosser Bedeutung für Herder.

³⁶ *Loc cit*, Buch I, Kap. 1, *Sämtliche Werke* (Dresden 1808–34), III, 62.

³⁷ Blackwells Vorstellung einer Ursprache ist am stärksten mit spekulativen Elementen durchsetzt.

³⁸ Vgl. Dilthey, *Das 18. Jahrhundert und die geschichtliche Welt, Gesammelte Schriften*, III, 209 ff.

da sie, wie er sich ausdrückte, mit seinem Thema nichts zu tun hatten.³⁹ Blackwell versucht, Homers Grosse geschichtlich zu erklären, Wickelmann will der bildenden Kunst der Antike denselben Dienst leisten, Rousseau dagegen schreibt nicht nur *für* die Gegenwart, sondern ausschliesslich *in Bezug auf* die Gegenwart, in andern Worten, er est nicht Historiker, sondern Anklager, Revolutionar und Reformator und bedient sich des Rückblicks auf—angeblich—vergangene Zeiten nur dazu, um seiner eignen, von ihm misachteten Zeit ein wirksames Gegenbild vorhalten zu können. Auf das Gebiet der Literatur und Sprache übertragen, quellen Herders *Fragmente* aus der gleichen Absicht wie Rousseaus *Inégalité* und sind ein Resultat derselben Methode. Obwohl sich Herder, wie schon gesagt, aufs engste an Blackwell anlehnt, so sind doch seine *Fragmente* von dem Werke des Englanders in genau demselben Sinne verschieden, in dem Rousseaus Methode von der Blackwells abweicht. Auch Herder ist weit davon entfernt, eine wirkliche historische Entwicklung zu geben—weder die von ihm angenommene Ursprache, noch die Erscheinung des Verfalls der hoch kultivierten Sprache lässt sich historisch erweisen—, aber in diesem Werke kommt es darauf nicht an, denn auch Herder ist nicht Historiker, sondern Reformator und Kritiker. Die *Fragmente* enthalten Forderungen an ihre Zeit, und nur um diesen Forderungen das nötige Gewicht zu verleihen, beruft sich Herder auf historische Fiktionen. Gewiss, auch Winckelmann hatte nicht nur Geschichte, sondern ein „Lehrgebäude“ liefern wollen,⁴⁰ aber es war doch das Lehrgebäude von etwas, was der Vergangenheit angehörte, und so war auch dieses Lehrgebäude, wenn auch nicht durch und durch, so doch in beschränktem Umfange historisch,⁴¹ Herder dagegen entwirft ein Lehrgebäude, das ausschliesslich seiner Zeit angehört, sowohl seinem Ziel wie seiner Begründung nach, das also nicht kunsthistorisch, sondern ganz eindeutig kunstpölitisch ist,⁴² gerade wie Rousseaus *Inégalité* trotz aller kultur- und sozialhistorischen Elemente im Grunde rein pölitisch war.

Die Beschreibung der vier Sprachalter, wie sie Herder in seinen *Fragmenten* gibt,⁴³ schliesst sich somit aufs engste an Rousseaus Darstellung in der *Inégalité* an.⁴⁴ Nicht nur für den einzelnen Menschen, sondern für das Menschengeschlecht im ganzen wie in allen seinen

³⁹ *Œuvres*, I, 83.

⁴⁰ Vgl. die Vorrede zur *Geschichte der Kunst*, *Werke*, III, 9.

⁴¹ Die Ausführungen im Text stehen mit Justis Behauptung nicht in Widerspruch, dass die Gesinnung der Kunstgeschichte „eher eine antihistorische“ sei, vgl. *Winckelmann und seine Zeitgenossen* (Leipzig, 1923), III, 127.

⁴² Otto Braun („Herders Kulturphilosophie“ *Zschr. f. Philosophie und Philosoph. Kritik*, CXLIV, 173) betont diese praktische Seite von Herders Philosophie besonders.

⁴³ I, 151 ff.

⁴⁴ Darauf hat schon Korff hingewiesen, vgl. *Geist der Goethezeit*, I, 86 f.

Teilen, Nationen und Familien, ja selbst für die unorganische Welt erkennt er als fundamentales Gesetz die Veränderung "vom Schlechten zum Guten, vom Guten zum Vortreflichen, vom Vortreflichen zum Schlechtern und zum Schlechten. Dies ist der Kreislauf aller Dinge" "Keimen, Knospen, Blühen und Verblühen" ist das Schicksal aller Wissenschaften und Künste, und ist ebenfalls das Schicksal der Sprache, bei der man, nach seiner Auffassung, diesen Kreislauf nicht deutlich genug beobachtet hat.⁴⁵ "Einsylbige, rauhe und hohe Töne" sind das Zeichen einer Sprache in ihrer Kindheit, sie ist eine Sprache des Affekts und der Leidenschaften und wendet sich im Gegensatz zu den modernen Sprachen, nicht nur an das Ohr, sondern an alle Sinne. Man sprach nicht, "sondern tonete".⁴⁶ Diese Ableitung der Ursprache aus der Leidenschaft macht es möglich, die zweite Epoche der Sprachentwicklung als eine Beruhigung der ursprünglichen Wildheit zu charakterisieren: die Sprache ist noch immer sinnlich, aber schon starker mit Abstraktionen versetzt, eine Mischung, die sie in besonderem Masse zur Poesie geeignet macht. So wird diese zweite Stufe zu einer Art "âge d'or" der Sprache: es ist die Zeit der Sanger und Dichter, der *αοδοί* und *παῦροι*, die Zeit, in der es eigentlich nur Dichter gibt, in der jeder Mensch auch Dichter ist.⁴⁷ Die dritte Stufe ist die der schönen Prosa, die Zeit der Reife, bzw. das mannliche Alter der Sprache, in dem das Urwuchsiges noch nicht ganz ausgestorben ist, aber genügend eingeschränkt ist, um Klarheit des Ausdrucks zu erlauben, an diese Periode schließt sich endlich das hohe Alter, das "statt Schönheit bloß Richtigkeit" kennt.⁴⁸

Die Nebeneinanderstellung dieser vier Stufen führt notwendiger Weise zu zwei Fragen; die erste davon befindet sich auf dem Gebiete des Seins und lautet: welches dieser Stadien existiert in der Gegenwart, oder genauer: in welchem dieser Stadien befindet sich die deutsche Sprache augenblicklich? Die andere Frage ist normativer Natur: welches dieser vier Stadien ist am wünschenswertesten. Schon Rousseau hatte es schwierig gefunden, auf die letztere Frage eine eindeutige Antwort zu geben. Ursprünglich war ihm der erste, noch völlig unsoziale Zustand des Menschengeschlechts als das goldene Zeitalter erschienen,⁴⁹ jedoch hatte er später der einfachen, schlichten Urform der beginnenden menschlichen Gesellschaft den Preis zuerkannt,⁵⁰ bis er in späteren Schriften schliesslich zugeben musste, dass der "état civil" die Lebensform darstelle, die der Menschheit allein würdig sei.⁵¹ Ebenso wie Rousseau, so nimmt auch Herder diesen verschiedenen Perioden gegenüber eine schwankende Haltung ein. Trotz seiner ausdrücklichen Versicherung, dass diese

⁴⁵ I, 151 f. ⁴⁶ I, 152 ⁴⁷ I, 153 ⁴⁸ I, 154 f

⁴⁹ *Inégalité*, Teil I, *Œuvres*, I, 85 ⁵⁰ *Inégalité*, Teil II, *Œuvres*, I, 108.

⁵¹ *Contrat Social*, I, 8, *Œuvres*, III, 315.

Epochen nicht zur gleichen Zeit existieren konnten, sondern nur in der angegebenen Reihenfolge,⁵² so ist es doch evident, dass er vielmehr mit verschiedenen Eigenschaften einer Sprache, als mit verschiedenen Epochen arbeitet. Dies zeigt sich am deutlichsten bei seinem Versuch, die Stellung der deutschen Sprache in diesem Prozess zu bestimmen, denn da "seit undenklichen Zeiten die Prose die einzig natürliche Sprache ist," wie Herder selber zugesteht,⁵³ so hat also seit "undenklichen Zeiten" dieser Entwicklungsprozess nicht stattgefunden. Aber da es sich in Wirklichkeit nicht um Geschichte, sondern um eine Grundlegung zu der rein praktischen Frage handelt, wie die deutsche Sprache am besten weiter auszubilden sei, so spielt die historische Unrichtigkeit der Fiktion bei Herder keine Rolle. Er braucht diese Fiktionen, um sich eine Waffe gegen die rationalistischen Sprachverbesserer zu schmieden: sie erleichtern ihm den Nachweis, dass Vereinfachung der Sprache, Entfernung von Inversionen, Ersetzung idiomatischer Ausdrücke, Ausmerzung von Metaphern etc. durchaus nicht mit Sprachverbesserung identisch sind, da solche Reformen die Sprache nur umso schneller altern lassen und ihrem schliesslichen Verfall entgegenführen. Gerade wie Rousseaus *Inégalité* in erster Linie dazu bestimmt war, dem zunehmenden Drang nach weiterer Ausbildung des sozialen Lebens entgegenzutreten, weil dies nach Ansicht des Verfassers zur Zerstörung der natürlichen Reize des Lebens führen musste, so sollen Herders *Fragmente* zeigen, dass das Streben nach Deutlichkeit und Bestimmtheit der Sprache zur Zerstörung ihrer Schönheit führt. Genausowenig wie Rousseau will er aber ein Zurück zur Natur, d. h. ein Zurück zur primitiven Ursprache oder auch nur zur zweiten Stufe, der poetischen Sprache. Der einzige Vorschlag, den er als praktische Konsequenz seiner Fiktion zu machen hat, ist verbluffend einfach und steht zu dem mit solcher Beredsamkeit vorgetragenen Sprachroman in gar keinem Verhältnis, wenn nicht gar in direktem Widerspruch: man soll die Sprache sowohl zur Prosa wie zur Poesie entwickeln, was, wie Herder sich gewunden ausdrückt, "in einem gewissen Grade geschehen" kann und muss.⁵⁴ Seine früher aufgestellte Behauptung, dass eine Sprache sich nicht zur gleichen Zeit in dem poetischen und dem prosaischen Stadium befinden könne, ändert Herder jetzt mit dem Bemerkten ab, dass bei seiner Kompromisslösung auf die Erreichung der höchsten Stufe auf einem der beiden möglichen Wege Verzicht geleistet werden müsse, immerhin aber eine günstige Mittelstellung zu erlangen sei, die sowohl Philosophie wie Dichtung zulasse. Der ganze so überraschend, ja revolutionär klingende Sprachroman kommt also letzten Endes auf eine Warnung vor den rationalistischen Sprachverbesserern heraus, und gerade diese völlige In-

⁵² I, 155⁵³ I, 158⁵⁴ I, 158.

kongruenz von Theorie und praktischer Konsequenz ist typischer Geist vom Geiste Rousseaus, der wiederholt atemberaubende Systeme entwickelt, um dann schliesslich zu zeigen, dass man am besten alles beim Alten lassen oder sich auf ganz milde Reformen beschränken solle. Wenn uns auch heute der Sprachroman als das Kernstück des ersten *Fragmentes* gilt, so besteht kein Zweifel, dass er für das aktuelle literarische Programm der Schrift nur von geringer Bedeutung ist und kaum als ein notwendiger Bestandteil des Werkes angesehen werden kann. Die Vorstellung, dass eine Sprache überhaupt ausgebildet werden kann, steht im Grunde in unversöhnlichem Gegensatz zu der Annahme einer notwendigen, unveränderlichen Entwicklung nach dem Schema des Gedeihens und Verderbens alles Naturlichen, ein Widerspruch, der nicht minder deutlich bei Rousseau zutage tritt, will doch auch dieser gerade einer Entwicklung ein Ende setzen, die er selbst als notwendig und vom Individuum unabhängig beschrieben hat.

Es erubrigt sich, in diesem Zusammenhange des weiteren auf den ersten Teil der *Fragmente* einzugehen, denn der eigentliche Gegenstand ihrer Untersuchung liegt ausschliesslich auf literarischem Gebiete und hat mit der Entwicklungslehre nichts mehr zu tun. Das stärkste Zeugnis für die Bedeutung Rousseaus für den jungen Herder bleibt die Einverleibung des Sprachromans in die *Fragmente* also solche, denn gerade weil der Roman kein unbedingt notwendiges Glied im Aufbau des Ganzen ist, ja bis zu einem gewissen Grade mit den späteren Ausführungen in Widerspruch steht, so wird es besonders deutlich, wie erfüllt Herder von dem Gedanken der Rousseauschen Kulturentwicklung war,—er fugt ihn sogar an Stellen ein, wo er keine oder wenigstens nur eine sehr fragwürdige Existenzberechtigung hat.

Ein ganz ähnlicher Vorgang, wenn auch in kleinerem Massstabe, wiederholt sich in der zweiten Sammlung der *Fragmente*. Der Hauptgegenstand von Herders Ausführungen hat wieder mit Rousseau nichts zu tun, denn es handelt sich um eine Besprechung der deutschen Dichter, die nach orientalischen und griechischen Vorbildern schaffen. Dieser Untersuchung geht jedoch ein "vorläufiger Discours" voran, der "von dem Ursprung und den Gesichtspunkten, in denen der Kunstrichter erscheint" handelt.⁵⁵ Die hier entwickelten Gedanken sind wieder rein spekulativ und sind unter bewusster Ausscheidung aller einschlägigen Tatsachen entstanden. Rousseau zu Gefallen muss selbst der Kunstrichter unmittelbar aus einem goldenen Zeitalter hervormarschieren kommen:

Der erste Kunstrichter war nichts mehr als ein Leser von Empfindung und Geschmack. Er weidete sich an den Schönheiten und den Erfindungen seiner

⁵⁵ I, 245.

Vorgänger, den Bienen ähnlich, die den Saft und das Blut der Blumen trinken, ohne doch wie die Raupen und Heuschrecken, Kunstrichtersche Gerippe der Pflanzen zurückzulassen. Er war jenem unschuldigen Paare gleich, dem sich im Garten des Vergnügens jede Frucht des Schönen und Guten darbot, ehe es vom philosophischen Erkenntnisbaum genascht hatte. Es hat in der Literatur auch ein Alter gegeben, da die Weisheit noch nicht Wissenschaft, die Wahrheiten noch nicht System waren, vielleicht verdient dies auch den Namen eines goldenen Zeitalters.⁵⁶

Es ist keine Frage, dass Herder den Bogen erheblich überspannt, denn was er hier vom Kunstrichter sagt, lässt sich mit demselben Recht auf jeden anderen Beruf ausdehnen: Der erste Schneider war nicht mehr als . . . etc. Im übrigen fehlt an dieser Stelle jede Verbindung zwischen der Fiktion und den folgenden Ausführungen, die die Aufgaben des Kunstrichters behandeln, sodass sie eher störend als fordernd wirken. Geschickter ist der Gedanke des Kulturpessimismus in der dritten Sammlung, allerdings nur ganz kurz und episodenhaft, eingeführt, wo sich Herder seiner zu einer scharfen Zurückweisung der Aufklärung bedient. Mit Heftigkeit wendet er sich gegen "die Märchen von goldenen Zeitaltern der Wissenschaft" und gegen die Annahme, dass durch "ein allgemeines Nachdenken" der Zustand mittelalterlicher Barbarei in den "einer allgemeinen und vollkommenen Weisheit" übergehen könne.⁵⁷ So sehr diese Gedanken an Rousseau anklängen, so beschränkt sich allerdings hier der Zusammenhang mit ihm hauptsächlich auf die Terminologie, denn Herder ist an dieser Stelle keineswegs willens, das Aufklärungsmärchen von der in der Zukunft liegenden goldenen Zeit mit dem Rousseaus von der verlorenen goldenen Zeit zu vertauschen. Zum ersten Male macht sich bei Herder eine deutliche Tendenz bemerkbar, von überspannten Fiktionen loszukommen und stattdessen die Dinge selber ins Auge zu fassen. Dass Herder trotzdem noch an dem Rousseauschen Schema festhält, zeigt sich allerdings an einer späteren Stelle der dritten Sammlung, denn bewusst kontrastiert er dort "die Macht der Dichtung in jenen rohen Zeiten" mit dem modernen "Verfall der Dichterei," die man der Natur entführt und zur Kunst gemacht habe. Auch wird die engere Verbindung zwischen Natur und Mensch bei den Alten hervorgehoben und das Jahrhundert der goldenen Zeit in diesem Zusammenhange erwähnt.⁵⁸ Im ganzen sind jedoch in der dritten Sammlung der *Fragmente* Anklänge an Rousseau selten, das eigentliche Thema hat mit der Entwicklungsidee nichts zu tun, und Herder macht auch keinerlei Versuche, diesen Gedanken in seine Ausführungen hineinzuziehen.

⁵⁶ I, 245

⁵⁷ I, 369

⁵⁸ I, 395 ff

II DER ANTIROUSSEAUISMUS DES REISEJOURNALS UND DER PREISSCHRIFT

Der Einfluss Rousseaus lässt sich mit Deutlichkeit durch alle Sammlungen der *Fragmente* verfolgen, allerdings mit der Massgabe, dass in der letzten Sammlung die Anklänge an Rousseau erheblich abnehmen. Bedeutet dies eine Änderung in Herders Einstellung? Der Name des Genfer Philosophen wird um diese Zeit nicht annähernd so häufig erwähnt, wie es früher der Fall war, und wo er genannt wird, finden sich keine Spuren von Herders ursprünglichem Enthusiasmus. In einem Briefe vom 29. Juli 1767 sendet ihm Hamann die Uebersetzung einer englischen *Apologie des Rousseau*, die er die "Grille" gehabt habe, "in die Königsberger Zeitung einfließen zu lassen,"⁵⁹ doch geht Herder in seinem Antwortschreiben nicht über eine kühle Empfangsbestätigung hinaus, ohne der Schrift sonst irgendwelches Interesse entgegenzubringen.⁶⁰ Und nur kurze Zeit später fallen schon die ersten Bemerkungen, die deutlich eine kritische Haltung gegenüber Rousseau verraten, wie z.B. in dem Brief an Scheffner vom 31. Oktober 1767, in dem er sein philosophisches Lehrgedicht an Kant als "das Aufstossen eines von Rousseau'schen Schriften überladenen Magens" bezeichnet.⁶¹ Gleichzeitig kommt in Herders Schriften auch schon deutlicher zum Ausdruck, was schon leise in der dritten Sammlung der *Fragmente* angedeutet war: eine gewisse Uebersättigung mit der Rousseauschen Methode. Was einleitend über Herders Charakter gesagt worden war, dass er im Gegensatz zu Rousseau nicht nur an der Gegenwart, sondern auch an der Vergangenheit interessiert ist, kommt gerade in diesem Stadium besonders deutlich zum Ausdruck. Die Fiktionen à la Rousseau genügen dem werdenden Historiker nicht mehr, so brauchbar sie der Reformator Herder gefunden hatte. Seine beständige Beschäftigung mit vergangenen Dingen mag Herder darauf hingewiesen haben, dass die kühnsten Geschichtskonstruktionen stets falsch und, was für ihn ebenfalls ins Gewicht fiel, letzten Endes unfruchtbar sind. Die Wirklichkeit schreitet nicht in menschlichen Begriffen vorwärts und lässt sich nicht in Analogien zum Leben des Menschen oder der Pflanze pressen. So verlockend solche Analogien sein mögen, so ist es doch die Pflicht des echten Historikers, sich von ihnen frei zu halten und den Wechsel der Dinge ohne jede Spekulation an Hand blosser Beobachtungen aufzuzeigen.

Dieser Tatsache muss sich Herder um jene Zeit klar geworden sein und somit beginnt nun der Uebergang von spekulativem zu wirklich historischem Denken. In der dritten Sammlung der *Fragmente* deutet sich dieser Umschwung gerade erst an, in der zweiten Auflage der

⁵⁹ Hamann, *Werke*, III, 374.

⁶⁰ *Briefe an Hamann*, ed. Hoffmann, S. 38.

⁶¹ *Lebensbild*, I, 2, 290.

ersten Sammlung ist er schon so gut wie vollzogen. Die Schnelligkeit des Ueberganges war zum guten Teil durch aussere Umstände veranlasst. Herders Theorie der Lebensalter der Sprache hatte erheblichen Protest hervorgerufen, die historische Unrichtigkeit jener fiktiven Sprachentwicklung war schnell erkannt worden, und die Frage, ob es jemals eine rein poetische oder rein prosaische Sprache gegeben hatte, wurde sofort laut.⁶² Die Richtigkeit seiner Lebensgeschichte der Sprache gegenüber diesen Einwänden zu verteidigen, wäre ein hoffnungsloses Bemühen gewesen; die ganze Theorie plötzlich aufzugeben, ging nicht an, und so versucht Herder, sie durch einige Modifizierungen der Geschichte anzupassen und sie in dieser veränderten, historischen Form aufrecht zu erhalten. Dass auf diese Weise kaum mehr als ein Zwitterding herauskommen konnte, lässt sich leicht vorstellen, und so ist durch die schliessliche Unterdrückung der zweiten Auflage kein Schade geschehen. In diesem Zusammenhang bleibt sie aber trotzdem interessant, weil sie auf deutlichste die nunmehr einsetzende Abkehr von Rousseau demonstriert.

Garve hatte in der *Neuen Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* Herders Theorie als einen "philosophischen Sprachroman" bezeichnet,⁶³ doch verwahrt sich Herder ausdrücklich dagegen, dass er einen solchen habe schreiben wollen.⁶⁴ Aber dass die von ihm skizzierte Entwicklung rein hypothetisch war, gibt er zu, und zögert daher auch nicht, den Ausdruck Garves späterhin selbst zu übernehmen. Auch fühlt er sich gezwungen, sein "dichterisches" Verfahren in Schutz zu nehmen, d. h. die Freiheit und Unbeschwertheit, die er den Tatsachen gegenüber bewiesen hatte, und er tut dies mit einer Erklärung über die drei Möglichkeiten, die nach seiner Auffassung zur Ergründung des Ursprungs der Sprache führen konnten: Man könne ihn entweder "historisch erfahren, oder philosophisch erklären, oder dichterisch muthmassen." Keineswegs dunkt ihm das letztgenannte Verfahren als das schlechteste, wenn er auch eingesteht, dass es voll befriedigend nur in Verbindung mit den andern beiden Methoden ist.⁶⁵ Dass sein Sprachroman einer historischen Grundlage nicht entbehrt, will er nun beweisen.

Sein grosstes Problem bei dieser Aufgabe war unzweifelhaft, das Kindes- und Greisenalter der Sprache zu verteidigen. "Ohne nun einen Rousseauschen Zustand der Natur romanhaft zu erdichten, oder das Bild eines werdenden Volkes zu übertreiben," behauptet er jedoch, die Kindheit der Sprache retten zu können,⁶⁶ und bevor wir uns dieser Ret-

⁶² Ueber die Aufnahme der *Fragmente* vgl. Haym I, 207 ff.

⁶³ *Loc. cit.*, IV, 40 ff.

⁶⁴ II, 60. Trotz dieses Widerspruchs hat Herder Garves Rezension "wie ein Geschenk" geschätzt, vgl. Brief an Scheffner, *Lebensbild*, I, 2, 272.

⁶⁵ II, 61.

⁶⁶ II, 69.

tung zuwenden, sei angemerkt, wie bedeutsam dieser Ausfall gegen Rousseau gerade an dieser Stelle ist. Infolge seiner Annäherung an empirisches Denken geht es Herder offensichtlich darum, den früher hoch verehrten Meister zu verleugnen und sich dadurch von dem Verdachte rein zu waschen, je ähnliche Methoden befolgt zu haben. Nicht Fiktionen, sondern Tatsachen will er im Sinne gehabt haben, als er die Kindheit der Sprache darlegte, und als solche führt er Zeugnisse aus dem Altertum und Berichte über die Sprache der Wilden an, ohne allerdings die eigentliche Kernfrage auch nur zu berühren, ob diese Angaben seine Theorien tatsächlich bestätigen. Wie dem auch sei, er beruft sich auf Autoren wie Goguet und Hume, denen man nicht so leicht romanhafte Konstruktionen vorwerfen kann, und damit wendet er sich von dieser ihm offenbar nicht ganz sympathischen Erörterung ab, um auf das Jugendalter überzugehen, wo er sich auf sichererem Boden befindet. Noch bleibt ihm aber die Aufgabe übrig, den zweiten Stein des Anstosses zu beseitigen, doch macht Herder um das Greisenalter der Sprache nicht viel Aufhebens. Der in die Enge getriebene Autor "trinkt Lethe" über das Problem der Möglichkeit einer solchen Sprache, wie er sich ausdrückt, denkt sich "eine solche an sich" und zeigt uns, wie sie beschaffen sein wurde.⁶⁷ Vergessen ist aber der wichtigste Punkt aus der ersten Fassung der *Fragmente*. Hatte dort Herder behauptet, dass die genannten vier Stadien auf dem Wege der Entwicklung jeder Sprache lagen, so ist diese Allgemeingültigkeit jetzt beseitigt: die Existenz des Greisenalters bezweifelt er selber, und die Kindheit beruht, soweit die ihn allein interessierenden Sprachen Europas und des Mittelmeers in Frage kommen, allein auf einer ungewissen Analogie. Für die eigentliche Entwicklung bleiben somit nur zwei Epochen übrig, die der Poesie und die der schonen Prosa und hier genügt nun tatsächlich ein Hinweis auf die Geschichte, um gegenüber widersprechenden Meinungen und Rezensionen zu beweisen, dass Sprachen regelmässig erst eine Poesie aubsilden, bevor sich eine wirkliche Prosaschriftstellerei entwickelt.⁶⁸ Dass die ältesten Denkmäler in allen Sprachen poetisch sind, ist eine unumstössliche Tatsache, und das ist schliesslich alles, was von dem auf historischen Boden gestellten Sprachroman übrig bleibt. Wahrlich ein dürftiger Kern; aber dieses Resultat war unvermeidlich: wer eine Dichtung auf nackte Tatsachen reduziert, behalt nichts oder wenig übrig.

Rousseau hatte Herders Neigungen zum Ursprünglichen und Alten durch den einfachen Weg, den er dahin zu zeigen schein, zunächst in ganz besonderem Masse angeregt,⁶⁹ hatte sich dann aber als ein unbrauchbarer Führer erwiesen und war von Herder aufgegeben worden.

⁶⁷ II, 91. ⁶⁸ II, 79.

⁶⁹ Vgl. dazu Joseph Kornei in *Ztschrift f. dt. Unterricht*, xxvii, 7

In der neuen Fassung der ersten Sammlung der *Fragmente* ist aller Rousseauismus sorgfältig vermieden und nur der geschichtlich belegbare Inhalt der ersten Auflage übernommen. Dieselbe Tendenz zeigt sich in der Handschrift zu der geplanten zweiten Auflage der zweiten und dritten Sammlung, insbesondere der Anfang der zweiten Sammlung ist völlig geändert, indem an die Stelle der "Entwicklung" des Kunstrichters ein Bekenntnis zum streng historischen Denken getreten ist, wie es eher den Ideen des 19 als des 18. Jahrhunderts entspricht.⁷⁰ Klare Erkenntnis geschichtlicher Daten und sichere Schlussfolgerungen aus ihnen ist das Ziel, das Herder dem Studium der Vergangenheit weist. An die Stelle mußiger Spekulationen über ungewisse Ursprünge soll das exakte Studium der Geschichte der Griechen treten und diese Geschichte soll dann wieder als eine "Projektion der ältesten Welthistorie" dienen. Winckelmanns *Geschichte der Kunst* findet nach wie vor sein Lob, aber auch hier ist Herder kritischer geworden, denn er bemerkt jetzt einige ganz unhistorische Elemente in dem früher so verehrten Werke *Die Geschichte der Kunst* ist zu sehr System, zu sehr Lehrgebäude und zu wenig Geschichte, und sie bemüht sich ausserdem nicht, die Griechen in ihren historischen Zusammenhang einzureihen. Er verwirft Winckelmanns Isolierung und Idealisierung des Griechentums und fordert stattdessen eine Kunstgeschichte, in denen die Griechen nicht als selbstständige Anfänger, die zur Vollendung durchdringen, sondern als Erben des alten Ägyptens betrachtet werden.⁷¹ In seiner Denkschrift auf Abbt preist er als einen besonderen Vorzug des Verstorbenen dessen historischen Geist, "der jede seiner Philosophischen Gedanken und Situationen aus der *Geschichte* zu beleben sucht." Abbt habe sich nicht von wilden Spekulationen hinreißen lassen, sondern habe stets die Wirklichkeit im Auge behalten, eine Eigenschaft, die Herder jetzt ganz besonders bewundert.⁷² Historismus und Antirousseauismus sind bei Herder praktisch identisch: je mehr er sich dem Geiste des Ersteren hingibt, umso weiter entfernt er sich von Rousseau, der ihm zum Inbegriff unhistorischen, spekulativen Denkens wird. Dieselbe Schrift über Abbt bringt daher auch schon einen heftigen Ausfall gegen Rousseau, dem Eitelkeit vorgeworfen wird,⁷³ doch ist Herder noch objektiv genug, Rousseaus Bedeutung für Abbt anzuerkennen.⁷⁴ Dass er selber auch noch nicht ganz

⁷⁰ II, 112 ff

⁷¹ II, 123 ff. Arnold E. Berger bringt Herders Entfernung von Winckelmann mit den *Nouveaux Essais* von Leibniz in Verbindung. Herders zunehmender Historismus dürfte aber diesen Umstand besser erklären, vgl. *Der junge Herder und Winckelmann* (Halle, 1903), S. 42.

⁷² II, 273. Es ist interessant, Herders Urteil mit dem Mosers zusammenzustellen, der Abbt gerade das volle Verständnis für historische und politische Realitäten abzusprechen geneigt war, vgl. Mosers *Werke*, ed. Abeken, x, 144. ⁷³ II, 269. ⁷⁴ II, 276.

von dem Einflusse Rousseaus frei ist, zeigen einige Stellen in den *kritischen Waldern*, die an entwicklungsgeschichtliche oder primitivistische Gedanken anklingen,⁷⁵ doch hegt die Uebereinstimmung mit Rousseau ausschliesslich in der Terminologie und erstreckt sich weder auf den Inhalt noch auf die Methode der Ausführung.⁷⁶

Den deutlichsten Ausdruck findet die neue Denkart Herders in dem *Journal meiner Reise im Jahre 1769*, deren erster Teil das Programm für die Art der Geschichtsbetrachtung darstellt, wie sie jetzt Herder allein zulässig erscheint. Die Bildung und Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart ist das Gebiet seines Interesses, wobei der Hauptton auf das Wort Anfang zu legen ist, denn Herders Vorliebe für die ältesten Zeiten hat keineswegs abgenommen. Nur der Weg hat sich geändert, auf dem er in das Dunkel der Anfänge des Menschengeschlechts einzudringen plant. Für die Philosophen war dieses Problem identisch mit dem der Eigenschaften des Naturmenschen geworden, Herders Fragestellung lautet dagegen: Wo war die "Vagina hominum"?⁷⁷ Es spielt keine Rolle, dass er auf diese Frage nur mit einer Vermutung antworten kann,—bis zum heutigen Tag hat diese Frage noch keine endgültige Lösung gefunden,—entscheidend bleibt die Tatsache, dass die Formulierung der Frage von selbst blosser Abstraktion ausschliesst und auf Tatsachen und Geschichte verweist. Ausdrücklich kennzeichnet Herder seine Antwort nur als eine Möglichkeit, indem er sie nur als Frage vortragt: "Ist, dass sich jenes (sc. das Menschengeschlecht) von Morgen nach Norden gestürzt . . . ?"⁷⁸ Zwar knüpft er Folgerungen an diese unbewiesene Hypothese, die er persönlich glaubt, ohne sie beweisen zu können, aber er macht keinen Versuch an dieser Stelle, die Hypothese für eine Tatsache auszugeben. Aber diese Unsicherheit seines Fundaments hält ihn andererseits auch nicht davon ab, ein kühnes Programm der Universalgeschichte für den Fall zu entwerfen, dass sich seine Hypothese als richtig herausstellen sollte: "Ein Werk über das menschliche Geschlecht! den menschlichen Geist! die Cultur der Erde! aller Raume! Zeiten! Völker! Kräfte! Mischungen! Gestalten" will er schreiben, ein Werk, das zum Gegenstand haben soll:

Asiatische Religion! und Chronologie und Policei und Philosophie! Aegyptische Kunst und Philosophie und Policei! Phöniciſche Arithmetik und Sprache und Luxus! Griechisches Alles! Römischeſes Alles! Nordische Religion⁷⁹

kurzum ein Werk, das die menschliche Geschichte in ihrer Totalität

⁷⁵ Vgl. z. B. III, 34 und 37.

⁷⁶ Ueber die wachsende Bedeutung des Historismus in den *kritischen Waldern*, auf die in diesem Zusammenhang nicht weiter eingegangen werden kann, vgl. Bruno Markwardt, *Herders Kritische Walder* (Leipzig, 1925), S. 72.

⁷⁷ IV, 351.

⁷⁸ IV, 352.

⁷⁹ IV, 353.

umfasst. Und so stellt er seiner Zeit die Aufgabe, die seitdem das Grundproblem alles geschichtlichen Strebens geworden ist: "Universalgeschichte der Bildung der Welt" Politik, Sitten, Kultur, Kunst, Literatur—alles soll in historischen Zusammenhang gebracht und auf diese Weise anschaulich gemacht werden. Und wenn es das Prinzip der Aufklärungshistoriographie gewesen war, Geschichte ausschliesslich vom Standpunkt der Gegenwart zu schreiben, d. h. die Vergangenheit nur als Vorstufe zur Gegenwart zu betrachten, so tritt hier Herder in scharfen Gegensatz zu dieser Einstellung und wird damit zum Vorläufer des eigentlichen Historismus. Deutlich leuchtet das Prinzip geschichtlicher Individualität aus seinen Worten heraus. Herder will jede Zeit und jedes Volk als eine Totalität erfassen und in allen Zweigen verstehen.⁸⁰ Zwar ist der Gedanke, dass das Studium der Geschichte Weissagungen für die Zukunft möglich mache, noch nicht völlig überwunden,⁸¹ aber das ändert nichts an der Tatsache, dass Herder sich in dem *Reisejournal* dem Geiste moderner Geschichtsschreibung starker genähert hat als irgendeiner seiner Zeitgenossen. Rankes Forderung an den Historiker zu zeigen, wie es eigentlich gewesen, wird von Herder, wenn auch nicht mit absoluter Klarheit, so doch schon deutlich genug ausgesprochen und aufs energischste verfochten.

Die Wendung zum Historismus und die automatisch darin liegende Abkehr von Rousseau lassen es beinahe erwarten, dass Herder sich gegen den Genfer wendet, um die Weite des Abstandes darzutun, die ihn jetzt von diesem trennt.⁸² Der Gedanke, dass Glückseligkeit im negativen oder positiven Sinne von der Entwicklung der Menschheit abhänge, wird von ihm als ein Fehler erkannt, hervorgerufen durch eine historisch nicht zu rechtfertigende Beurteilung eines vergangenen Zeitalters nach dem Massstabe des eigenen:

⁸⁰ Am deutlichsten findet sich das Individualitätsprinzip formuliert IV, 364

⁸¹ IV, 352

⁸² Der Antirousseausmus des *Reisejournals* ist schon von Otto Braun (*Ztschrift f. Philosophie und Phil. Kritik*, CXLIV, 178) implizite ausgesprochen worden, indem er Herders Plan einer Universalgeschichte mit "Darstellungen wie Iselins Menschheitsgeschichte" kontrastiert. Gerade in Bezug auf seine Methode hatte sich aber Iselin ganz in den Bahnen Rousseaus bewegt. Eine ältere Darstellung wie die von Charles Joret, *Herder et la Renaissance Littéraire en Allemagne* (Paris, 1875), S. 324, sieht dagegen in dem *Reisejournal* gerade einen unwiderleglichen Beweis für die Kontinuität und Dauerhaftigkeit des Einflusses Rousseaus auf Herder. Der Grund für diese Behauptung liegt vor allem in einer Verwechslung allgemeiner antintellektualistischer Tendenzen jener Zeit (Haym *genius epidemicus* der Zeit) mit Rousseaus Philosophie. Andererseits darf nicht übersehen werden, dass die pädagogischen Ansichten des *Reisejournals* tatsächlich mit denen Rousseaus stark in Einklang stehen, doch darf dieser Umstand nicht dazu verleiten, Herders "manière de sentir et de penser," wie sie im *Reisejournal* zum Ausdruck kommt, mit der Rousseaus gleichzusetzen.

. wir, in dem unsrigen, schweifen aus, wenn wir wie Rousseau Zeiten preisen, die nicht mehr sind, und nicht gewesen sind, wenn wir aus diesen zu unserm Missvergnügen, Romanbilder schaffen und uns wegwerfen, um uns nicht selbst zu geniessen⁸³

Dass er mit diesem Angriff auf Rousseau auch gleichzeitig die Methode verurteilt, die er selber in den *Fragmenten* angewandt hatte, ist evident, aber sie erscheint ihm jetzt als derartig verfehlt, dass er sich kaum genug tun kann in scharfen Aburteilungen. Er beklagt sich über Rousseaus "unausstehliche, immer unerhorte Neuigkeit und Paradoxie," ein Vorwurf, der sich selbstverständlich in erster Linie auf die spekulative Entwicklungsidee des Philosophen bezieht, und fährt dann, in noch schärferem Tone, fort.

So sehr Rousseau gegen die Philosophen ficht, so sieht man doch, dass es auch ihm nicht an Richtigkeit, Gute, Vernunft, Nutzbarkeit seiner Gedanken gelegen ist, sondern an Grosse, Ausserordentlichem, Neuen, Frappanten. Wo er dies finden kann, ist er Sophist und Verteidiger. Was aber opfert nun nicht Rousseau einer Neuigkeit. auf!⁸⁴

Gewiss, niemand hat weniger Recht, diesen Vorwurf gegen Rousseau zu erheben wie Herder, denn Rousseau hatte genau so ehrlich an die Richtigkeit seiner Entwicklungsidee geglaubt wie der Verfasser der *Fragmente*, hatte jedoch nicht, wie dieser, das Glück gehabt, früh genug auf die Unschlussigkeit seiner Argumentation aufmerksam gemacht zu werden. Rousseau wurde tatsächlich bald genug eines Besseren belehrt, aber sein Ruf als Primitivist war damals schon zu fest begründet, als dass er seine früheren Auffassungen einfach hatte über Bord werfen können, und so war er gezwungen, auf Umwegen, die häufig schief genug waren, seine Fiktionen mit den Tatsachen auszusöhnen,⁸⁵ während Herder, der wenigstens dem grossen Publikum gegenüber durch die Anonymität der *Fragmente* geschützt war⁸⁶ und ausserdem persönlich noch nicht so bekannt war, von seinen Jugendwerken leichter abrücken und die verfehlten Theorien darin aufgeben konnte. Wenn er sich trotzdem so scharf gegen Rousseau wendet, so ist das nicht zuletzt der Renegat, der seine Sünden vergessen machen mochte.

Herder fand bald genug Gelegenheit, seinen nunmehr gefestigten Standpunkt des Historismus und Antirousseauismus an einem praktischen Problem zu erweisen. Die Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften hatte einen Preis auf die Beantwortung des Problems des Ursprunges der Sprache gesetzt und hatte damit einen der strittigsten Punkte der Zeit

⁸³ IV, 364

⁸⁴ IV, 425

⁸⁵ Vgl. das Vorwort zu seiner Komödie *Narcisse*, v, 99 ff.

⁸⁶ Sie wurde durch die Erklärung im *Hamburger Correspondenten* vom 20. V. 69 endgültig aufgegeben, vgl. IV, 340 f.

aufgegriffen. Auch Herder hatte sich schon seit längerer Zeit dafür interessiert und hatte, wie ein Brief an den Kriegsrat Scheffner in Königsberg vom 31. Oktober 1767 zeigt,⁸⁷ schon in Riga Lust verspürt, "ein paar Worte öffentlich zur Sprachhypothese zu sagen," sodass die Aussetzung des Preises als ein willkommener Anlass kam, auf diese lang gehegten Plane zurückzugreifen und sie zur Ausführung zu bringen. Im Anschluss an das Altertum hatte sich der Streit um den Ursprung der Sprache zunächst um die Frage *θέσει* oder *φύσει*⁸⁸ gedreht,⁸⁹ doch hatte Hobbes scharfe Zurückweisung der Lehre von der Schöpfung der Sprache durch willkürliche Vereinbarung das Problem etwas verschoben.⁹⁰ wenn die Vertragstheorie auch noch nicht beseitigt war,⁹¹ so ging doch der eigentliche Streit jetzt darum, ob sich die Sprache natürlich aus tierischen Lauten entwickelt habe oder dem Menschen auf Grund göttlicher Verleihung zuteil geworden sei. Beide Theorien finden sich am schärfsten gegenübergestellt in Warburtons *Divine Legation of Moses*.⁹² Mit der ihm eigenen Liebe für Paradoxe hatte der englische Bischof beide Theorien zugleich vertreten, indem er einerseits den göttlichen Ursprung auf Grund der unumstößlichen Autorität der Heiligen Schrift verteidigte, andererseits aber die Möglichkeit einer natürlichen Entwicklung der Sprache so überzeugend darzustellen versuchte, dass sein darauf folgendes Bekenntnis zur Offenbarung ironisch anmutet und die Lehre vom göttlichen Ursprung eher lächerlich zu machen als zu verteidigen scheint.

Gerade aus diesem Grunde hatte Warburtons Sprachtheorie, die unter dem Titel *Essay sur les Hiéroglyphes* von dem übrigen Werke getrennt ins Französische übersetzt worden war,⁹³ im Lande der *philosophes* erhebliches Aufsehen erregt. Den dort vorgetragenen, wenn auch nachträglich abgelehnten Gedanken des natürlichen Ursprunges hatte der Abbé Condillac aufgegriffen und, unter volliger Auslassung der Offenbarung, ausführlich dargestellt.⁹⁴ Als Ursprache nahm er die animalischen Laute an, durch die das Tier seinen Empfindungen Luft macht und sah in den

⁸⁷ *Lebensbild*, I, 2, 287

⁸⁸ Ueber die Vieldeutigkeit dieser Begriffe in der Terminologie des Altertums vgl. Steintal, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern* (Berlin, 1863)

⁸⁹ Vgl. hierzu und zum Folgenden Theodor Benfey, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und orientalischen Philologie* (München, 1869), S. 283 ff.

⁹⁰ *Elementorum philosophiae Sectio secunda*, c. 10 (Amstelod., 1668)

⁹¹ Im 17. Jahrhundert vor allem Locke in seinem *Essay concerning Human Understanding* III, chapter 2, wo die Frage allerdings ganz kurz abgetan wird. Nach Benfey (*loc. cit.*) gehört auch Maupertuis zu den unentwegten Anhängern dieser Theorie.

⁹² London 1738–41, 4 Bände

⁹³ Paris, 1744

⁹⁴ *Essai sur l'Origine des Connoissances Humaines*, seconde partie, *Œuvres complètes* (Paris, 1798), I, 257 ff.

Variationen dieser Laute unter verschiedenen Umständen und gleichmassiger Wiederholung dieser Variationen unter gleichen Umständen den Uebergang zur menschlichen Sprache, indem nach seiner Meinung durch die Fixierung dieser Variationen Worte entstehen⁹⁵ Die vollige Unschlüssigkeit dieser Theorie liegt auf der Hand, Condillac übersieht den Unterschied zwischen einem bloss physischen Laut und dem auf Vernunft und Begriffsbildung beruhenden Wort, und gerade dieses vollständige Verkennen des eigentlichen Problems macht Herders hartes Urteil über diese "hohle Erklärung von Entstehung der Sprache" verständlich⁹⁶ Von Condillac hatte Rousseau das Problem übernommen, der es, sagt Herder, "nach seiner Art in Schwung brachte, das ist, bezweifelte." Herder bezieht sich dabei nicht auf Rousseaus erst posthum veröffentlichtes *Essai sur l'Origine des Langues*, das ihm noch nicht zugänglich sein konnte, sondern auf die kurzen Bemerkungen, die Rousseau in der *Inégalité* über den Ursprung der Sprache macht⁹⁷ "Le cri de la nature" sei die erste Sprache gewesen, führt Rousseau dort aus, und mit diesem stark an Condillac erinnernden Anfang versucht er ebenfalls, die Entstehung der Sprache zunächst natürlich zu erklären, wird sich aber im Fortgange seiner Untersuchungen der Problematik dieses Unterfangens so bewusst, dass er schliesslich in den Ruf ausbricht:

Quant à moi, effrayé des difficultés qui se multiplient, et convaincu de l'impossibilité presque démontrée que les langues aient pu naître et s'établir par des moyens purement humains, je laisse à qui voudra l'entreprendre la discussion de ce difficile problème . . .⁹⁸

Zweifellos hatte Rousseau ursprünglich nicht die Absicht gehabt, mit diesem Gedanken zu schliessen,⁹⁹ denn mit der Annahme einer direkten Einwirkung Gottes werden seine vorhergehenden Ausführungen im Grunde überflüssig, und das umso mehr, als bei der damaligen Lage der Dinge dieser eine Ausruf genugte, Rousseau als Anhänger der Theorie vom göttlichen Ursprung abzustempeln. Andererseits war Rousseau zu scharfsinnig, die logische Unschlüssigkeit Condillacs zu übersehen, und so blieb ihm schliesslich nichts anderes übrig, als diesen gordischen Knoten zu zerhauen, anstatt ihn zu lösen

Herder wendet sich nun bewusst gegen alle die bisher erwähnten Theorien, gegen Condillac, gegen Rousseau und mit besonderer Heftig-

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, S 260 ff, 274 f, 362 ff

⁹⁶ v, 20

⁹⁷ *Œuvres*, I, 94-96

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 96

⁹⁹ Ausdrücklich betont Rousseau seine volle Uebereinstimmung mit Condillac, dessen "recherches toutes confirment pleinement mon sentiment," cf I, 91 Im *Essai* nimmt Rousseau eine ganz natürliche Entwicklung an, jedoch ist es infolge der Unsicherheit der Datierung schwer zu sagen, ob er hier *noch* oder *wieder* mit Condillac übereinstimmt Wenn Wundt Rousseau den Anangern der Naturlauttheorie zurechnet, so gibt er damit wohl den Eindruck des modernen Lesers wieder, vgl *Volkerpsychologie*, Bd I, Teil II, S 593

keit gegen den deutschen Theologen Susmilch, der gerade kurz zuvor die Lehre vom göttlichen Unterricht von neuem verfochten hatte.¹⁰⁰ Der Anfang seiner *Preisschrift* scheint sich allerdings zuerst durchaus in der französischen Tradition der Aufklärung zu halten, indem er damit anfangt, den Menschen als ein blosses Tier zu betrachten, und ihm auch schon in diesem Zustand Sprache zuschreibt.¹⁰¹ Soweit diese "unmittelbaren Laute der Empfindung" in Betracht kommen, ist die menschliche Sprache ihrem Ursprunge nach in der Tat tierisch, wie Condillac angenommen hatte. Aber,—und das ist der entscheidende Punkt, den Condillac völlig verfehlt hatte, Rousseau nicht erklären konnte,—diese Naturtöne sind "nicht die Hauptfaden der Menschlichen Sprache Sie sind nicht die eigentlichen Wurzeln, aber die Saftte die die Sprache beleben,"¹⁰² und mit Verwunderung fragt Herder, wie Philosophen jemals dem blossen "Geschrei der Empfindung den Ursprung menschlicher Sprache zu erklären" unternahmen. "Alle Thiere bis auf den stummen Fisch tonen ihre Empfindung; desswegen aber hat doch kein Thier, selbst nicht das Vollkommenste, den geringsten, eigentlichen Anfang zu einer Menschlichen Sprache?"¹⁰³

Herder entfernt sich also von Condillacs Theorie an genau derselben Stelle, an der Rousseau seinen Zweifeln Ausdruck gegeben hatte: weder Rousseau noch Herder ist willens, den Uebergang vom blossen Naturlaut zur Sprache als ein natürlich verständliches und erklärliches Phänomen hinzunehmen. Insofern stimmen sie überein, und wenn Herder gerade daraufhinweist, dass das Bezweifeln Rousseaus Verdienst gewesen sei, so darf man vielleicht annehmen, dass diese Uebereinstimmung nicht rein zufälliger Natur gewesen ist: Rousseau hatte Herder auf den schwachsten Punkt der Naturlauttheorie aufmerksam gemacht und ihn somit auf die Notwendigkeit hingewiesen, die Lösung des aufgeworfenen Problems auf andere Weise zu versuchen. In der Art der Lösung gehen aber die Meinungen der beiden Philosophen auseinander, und Herder steht nicht an, tadelnd Rousseaus "Schwung oder Sprung" für die ihm inkonsequent scheinende Lösung des göttlichen Ursprungs verantwortlich zu machen.¹⁰⁴ Seine eigene Lösung hält sich wieder völlig im Rahmen seines Strebens nach geschichtlicher Richtigkeit, das sich gegen Spekulationen jeder Art, religiöser wie philosophischer, wendet und im Reiche der Tatsachen zu bleiben sucht. Mit klarem Ueberblick sondert er in der Lehre vom Ursprung der Sprache die rein spekulativen und die empirisch haltbaren Elemente, verweist die ersteren aus dem Rahmen seiner Untersuchung und kommt auf Grund der Letzteren zu dem einfachen Resultat, dass Mensch und Sprache zusammengehören. Die Sprache ist

¹⁰⁰ *Susmilchs Beweis, dass der Ursprung der Menschlichen Sprache göttlich sey* (Berlin, 1766). ¹⁰¹ v, 5. ¹⁰² v, 9. ¹⁰³ v, 17 f. ¹⁰⁴ v, 20

dem Menschen "so wesentlich, als—er ein Mensch ist," d h. man kann sich ein Menschengeschlecht ohne Sprache nicht vorstellen. Wesen, die nicht sprechen, sind eben keine Menschen.¹⁰⁵ Was dem Tier sein Instinkt, ist dem Menschen seine Sprache, eine "Naturgabe," die als solche keiner weiteren Erklärung bedarf.¹⁰⁶

Je weiter ein Zeitalter zuruckliegt, umso schwieriger wird es, es in allen seinen Problemen zu verstehen. Die Verteidiger der gottlichen Entstehung der Sprache, allen voran Hamann, sahen in dieser Erklarung Herders eine Art Kampfansage,—fur uns ist es schwierig, den wesentlichen Unterschied zwischen Herders und Rousseaus Erklarung auf den ersten Blick zu erkennen. Rousseau halt die Schopfung der Sprache durch menschliche Mittel fur unmoglich und in der damaligen Terminologie lag in dieser negativen Behauptung automatisch ein positiver Hinweis auf Gott. Herder halt die Sprache fur eine Naturgabe, aber ob man Natur oder Gott sagt, kommt jedenfalls insofern auf dasselbe hinaus, als in beiden Fallen ubermenschliche Krafte am Werke sind, sofern nicht Gott und Natur in diesem Sinne uberhaupt nur verschiedene Namen fur ein und dieselbe Idee sind. Aber so ahnlich diese Theorien heute scheinen, so waren sie aus dem Geiste jener Zeit heraus grundsatzlich verschieden. Rousseau ging auf Grund einer entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Spekulation von einem wilden Urmenschen aus, der zwar schon die Fahigkeiten des wirklichen Menschen besitzt, sie aber noch nicht ausgebildet hat. Den langsamen Uebergang des Naturmenschen zum Gesellschaftsmenschen darzustellen, stiess im allgemeinen auf keine erheblichen Schwierigkeiten; gerade bei der Behandlung der Sprachentwicklung fuhrten diese Spekulationen jedoch in eine Sackgasse, aus der es nur einen Ausweg gab: die Zuhilfenahme eines gottlichen Eingreifens. In dem Schema der Rousseauschen Entwicklung kann dieses Eingreifen nur so vorgestellt werden, dass Gott zu einem gewissen Zeitpunkt die Weiterentwicklung gesellschaftlicher Verhältnisse, die durch das Fehlen eines geistigen Bandes zwischen den Menschen gefahrdet war, durch die Verleihung der Sprache ermoglichte. Dieser wenig befriedigenden Lehre von dem gottlichen Unterricht, wie sie Rousseau andeutungsweise, Susmilch ausfuhrlich vortragen hatte, ging Herder aus dem Wege, indem er die ganze Idee des spekulativen Naturmenschen abschnitt. An Stelle der tierischen Instinkte und Sinne hat der Mensch eine andere Eigenschaft die Herder

¹⁰⁵ v, 27.

¹⁰⁶ Herder hatte ahnliche Gedanken schon in der zweiten Auflage der *Fragmente* entwickelt, wo sich auch schon die Polemik gegen Susmilch findet. F. Lauchert (*Euphron*, I, 758) weist auf Mendelssohns Kritik an den Ausfuhrungen Rousseaus in dem *Sendschreiben an den Herrn Magister Lessing in Leipzig* hin, das dessen Uebersetzung der *Inégalité* begleitete. Mendelssohn betont dort, "dass alles natürlich hat zugehen können."

zur Vermeidung von Missverständnissen gewöhnlich Besonnenheit, zuweilen aber mit dem üblichen Namen Vernunft nennt, und, so fährt er fort, „ist nemlich die Vernunft keine abgetheilte, einwirkende Kraft, sondern eine seiner Gattung eigne Richtung aller Kräfte: *so muss der Mensch sie im ersten Zustande haben, da er Mensch ist*“¹⁰⁷ Der Mensch hat Sprache, weil er Vernunft hat,—wie Steinthal es treffend formuliert: „*cogito ergo loquor*“,¹⁰⁸—und da die Vernunft das entscheidende Wesensmerkmal des Menschen ist, so ist auch Sprache eine unwegdenkbare Eigenschaft des Menschen. Rousseaus Vorstellung, dass der Urmensch blosser Vernunftfähigkeit (*réflexion en puissance*) gehabt habe, jedoch keine ausgebildete Vernunft, wird von Herder als in sich widerspruchsvoll verworfen.¹⁰⁹ Nur wirklichkeitsferne Theorien können zu der Annahme eines Menschen ohne Vernunft und Sprache führen, wer sich im Rahmen der Tatsachen hält, weiss, dass jedes menschliche Wesen, sei es so primitiv wie es wolle, Vernunft und Sprache hat. Und so kommt Herder zu den Kernsätzen seiner Schrift:

Der Mensch in den Zustand von Besonnenheit gesetzt, der ihm eigen ist, und diese Besonnenheit zum erstenmal frei wirkend, hat Sprache erfunden. . . Erfindung der Sprache ist ihm also so natürlich, als er ein Mensch ist.¹¹⁰

Trotz ihrer gemeinsamen Gegnerschaft gegen die Anhänger der Naturalisttheorie stehen sich also Herder und Rousseau in ihrer Erklärung des Ursprungs der Sprache diametral gegenüber. Das geht an sich aus Herders Ausführungen deutlich genug hervor; aber als ob er befürchtete, jemand möchte seine prinzipielle Gegnerschaft zu Rousseau übersehen, so geht er ausdrücklich auf dessen Schrift ein und legt ihre Fehler dar: „Ein Ding, ohne das er nicht Mensch war, und doch ein Zustand, da er Mensch war, und das Ding nicht hatte, das also da war, ehe es da war, sich aussern musste, ehe es sich aussern konnte u. s. w. —alle diese Widersprüche sind offenbar, wenn Mensch, Vernunft, und Sprache für das Wirkliche genommen werden, was sie sind, und das Gespenst vom Wort „Fähigkeit“ in seinem Unsinn entlarvt wird.“¹¹¹ Dieser Angriff richtet sich zwar zunächst gegen Susmilchs Schrift, doch wird gleich darauf betont, dass derselbe Vorwurf auch Rousseaus Lehre trifft. Seine Hypothese „von Ungleichheit der Menschen“ ist auf „Fälle der Abartung“ gebaut, wie sein „Phantom, der Naturmensch“ überhaupt ein „entartetes Geschöpf“ ist, „das er auf der einen Seite mit der Vernunftfähigkeit abspesiet, . . . auf der andern mit der Perfectibilität und zwar mit ihr als Charaktereigenschaft, und zwar mit ihr in so hohem Grade belehnet, dass er dadurch von allen Thiergattungen lernen könne.“¹¹² Mit voller

¹⁰⁷ v, 31¹⁰⁸ Vgl. H. Steinthal, *Ursprung der Sprache* (Berlin, 1888), S. 65.¹⁰⁹ v, 32¹¹⁰ v, 34¹¹¹ v, 42.¹¹² v, 44.

Absicht sind daher die abschliessenden Sätze der Schrift einer nochmaligen Betonung dieses grundsätzlichen Unterschiedes zwischen Herder und den Aufklärungsphilosophen, insbesondere Condillac und Rousseau gewidmet. Herder hebt es hier nochmals ausdrücklicly hervor, dass er nicht vielen Hypothesen eine neue habe hinzufügen wollen, denn "wie pflegt man, was die Form einer Hypothese hat, zu betrachten, als wie Philosophischen Roman?" Sein Streben hat wirklicher philosophischer Wahrheit gegolten und deswegen hat er sich beflissen, "veste Data aus der Menschlichen Seele, der Menschlichen Organisation, dem Bau aller alten und wilden Sprachen, und der ganzen Haushaltung des menschlichen Geschlechts zu sammeln."¹¹³ Diese anhaltende Bezugnahme auf Rousseau und die Betonung der wesentlichen Unterschiede von ihm erwecken den Eindruck, als ob die *Preisschrift* bewusst als eine Schrift gegen Rousseau abgefasst worden sei. Es kann kein Zufall sein, dass in dieser Schrift der Name Rousseau wieder und wieder genannt wird, dass Rousseaus Theorien eingehenden Prüfungen unterzogen werden: offensichtlich ist es Herder darum zu tun, seinen Lesern den prinzipiellen Gegensatz zu Rousseau mit aller nur möglichen Deutlichkeit vor Augen zu führen. Gerade unter diesen Umständen darf man aber nicht übersehen, dass eine Abhängigkeit auch dann vorliegen kann, wenn ein Denker, statt die Ideen eines anderen Denkers zu übernehmen, sich ihnen bewusst entgegenstellt. In der geistigen Entwicklung sind Zustimmung und Widerspruch identische Grossen mit umgekehrten Vorzeichen, und in diesem Sinne ist der Einfluss Rousseaus vielleicht starker in der *Preisschrift*, wo sich Herder mit ihm auseinandersetzt und ihm auf Grund nachhaltiger Ueberlegungen entgegentritt, als in den *Fragmenten*, wo er sich seinem Meister ohne eigene Prüfung anschliesst. Herders Wendung zum historischen und empirischen Denken darf in dieser Bedeutung des Wortes als eine unmittelbare Einwirkung Rousseaus angesehen werden, wobei es eine müssige Spekulation bleibt, ob dieser Uebergang sich auch ohne Rousseau hatte vollziehen können.

Es versteht sich von selbst, dass der Gegensatz zu Rousseau und dessen Art der Betrachtung der Vergangenheit mit Herders Interesse am Ursprünglichen und Primitiven nicht in Konflikt steht. Herder hat auch zu jener Zeit wie überhaupt sein ganzes Leben hindurch einen gewissen Hang zum Primitivismus bewahrt; aber während sich dieser Hang zuerst in den von Rousseau gewiesenen Bahnen bewegt hatte, hat jetzt die Rousseau entgegengesetzte Seite in Herders Wesen, sein echtes Interesse an der Vergangenheit, die Oberhand gewonnen, sodass an die Stelle des Grübelns, wie die Dinge gewesen sein müssen, ein wissenschaftliches Interesse an der Geschichte alter Völker und ein ästhetisches Wohlgefallen

¹¹³ v, 147.

an ihren Dichtungen tritt. Diese Einstellung macht Herder in seinem *Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker* besonders deutlich, in dem er so enthusiastische Worte für primitive Kunst findet:

Sie lachen über meinen Enthusiasmus für die Wilden beinahe so, wie *Voltaire* über *Rousseau*. Glauben Sie nicht, dass ich deswegen unsre sittlichen und gesitteten Vorzüge, worinn es auch sey, verachte. Das Menschliche Geschlecht ist zu einem Fortgange von Szenen, von Bildung, von Sitten bestimmt: wehe dem Menschen, dem die Scene missfällt, in der er auftreten, handeln und sich verleben soll! Wehe aber auch dem Philosophen über Menschheit und Sitten, dem Seine Scene die Einzige ist, und der die Erste immer, auch als die Schlechteste verkennet!¹¹⁴

Die Erwähnung Rousseaus geschieht zwar in diesem Absatz nur wie nebenbei und scheinbar zufällig, doch dürfen wir ruhig annehmen, dass Herder bei der Niederschrift dieser Worte in erster Linie an Rousseau gedacht hat, denn wen anders meint er mit dem Menschen, dem die Szene misfällt, in der er auftreten soll? Herder selber enthält sich jedes Urteils über Zeitalter als solche und beschränkt sich darauf, als unvoreingenommener Betrachter die Jahrhunderte zu studieren, ohne Vergleichen nach mehr oder weniger subjektiven, stets willkürlichen Massstäben vorzunehmen. Dieselbe Haltung kommt auch deutlich in Herders kleineren Schriften zum Ausdruck, insbesondere in den verschiedenen Rezensionen aus jener Zeit. Sie es, dass Herder in den *Frankfurter Gelehrten Anzeigen* sich über Michaelis beschwert, der "alles nur immer im Geiste unsres Jahrhunderts behandelt, dem guten Moses politische Maximen geliehen, die selbst bei uns doch nur oft *loci communes* sind, und jenem Volk, jener Zeit, jenem Gesetzgeber wahrhaftig fremde waren,"¹¹⁵ sei es, dass er Sulzer in der *Allgemeinen Deutschen Bibliothek* ungenügende Berücksichtigung der Geschichte bei der Aufstellung seiner *Allgemeinen Theorie der Schönen Künste* vorwirft,¹¹⁶ Herders Motiv ist immer dasselbe, es ist die Einsicht in die Bedeutung unvoreingenommener Geschichtsschreibung, die ihm jetzt aufgegangen ist. Und so tragen alle Werke aus dem Ende der Rigaer Zeit und der Reisezeit den gemeinsamen Stempel der Neigung zum echten Historismus, eine Tendenz, die bei Herder nicht über das Stadium eines blossen Programmes wesentlich herausgekommen ist, aber auch als solches von grösster Bedeutung bleibt.

III RÜCKKEHR ZU ROUSSEAU: DIE ÄLTESTE URKUNDE

Die Konsequenz, mit der Herder diese historistischen Gedanken wieder und wieder vertritt, erweckt leicht den fälschlichen Eindruck, dass Herder sich zu einer gefestigten Weltanschauung durchgerungen hat, und wenn es auch bekannt ist, dass dies nicht der Fall ist, so ist man doch

¹¹⁴ v, 168.

¹¹⁵ v, 425.

¹¹⁶ v, 380 f.

häufig geneigt, in der Folgezeit eine grossere Stetigkeit in seinen Anschauungen vorauszusetzen. Gerade aus diesem Grunde findet man häufig die Meinung vertreten, dass Herder nunmehr auch gegenüber Rousseau zu einem abschliessenden Urteil gekommen sei, und diese Meinung muss dadurch umso mehr an Bedeutung gewinnen, als sie auch von einer Autorität vom Range Hayms geteilt wird¹¹⁷ Haym nimmt an, dass Herder dem Bürger von Genf gegenüber eine mehr oder weniger gleichmassige Haltung eingenommen habe, nachdem sich seine erste Begeisterung abgekühlt hatte¹¹⁸ Er beschreibt diese Haltung nicht als eine direkte Gegnerschaft, sondern als eine Art kritischer Zurückhaltung, auf Grund deren Herder allerdings meistens zu einem negativen Urteil kommt, ohne deswegen Rousseaus grosse Verdienste zu übersehen Der Biograph bemüht sich, die grundsätzliche geistige Unabhängigkeit Herders von Rousseau darzutun und fasst seine Meinung schliesslich in den Worten zusammen: "Auch der spätere Herder ist sich in diesem, Lob und Tadel so sicher verteilenden Urteil über Rousseau stets gleich geblieben"¹¹⁹ Nun ist es zwar zweifellos richtig, dass Herder niemals wieder für Rousseau geschwärmt hat, wie er es einst in seiner Jugend getan hat, aber es darf andererseits auch nicht übersehen werden, dass die Einstellung des Verfassers der *Ältesten Urkunde* und der *Geschichtsphilosophie* vom Jahre 1774 erheblich von der des Verfassers der Preisschrift und des *Reisejournals* abweicht Deutlich zeigen sich in den beiden Werken aus der Buckeburger Zeit Gedanken, die unverkennbar an Rousseau anklingen Zwar wird der Name Rousseaus in jenen Schriften nur selten erwähnt, doch finden wir ihn dafür umso häufiger in den Briefen aus der Zeit, die der Abfassung dieser Werke unmittelbar vorangeht, insbesondere in dem Briefwechsel mit Caroline.

Schon in einem Briefe aus der Strassburger Zeit vom 12. September 1770 taucht der Name Rousseau zum ersten Male in der Korrespondenz des jungen Liebespaares auf.¹²⁰ Zwar ist diese erste Erwähnung, die nur in einem kurzen Hinweis Herders auf die *Nouvelle Héloïse* besteht, verhältnismässig unbedeutend, da sich keine weiteren Konsequenzen an diese Bemerkung knüpfen und eine Verweisung auf diesen Roman jedem jungen Liebespaare nahe liegen dürfte, das sich auf brieflichen Gedankenaustausch beschränken muss. Umso wichtiger sind aber dafür die wiederholten Erwähnungen Rousseaus, die im Frühjahr 1771 folgen, denn sie

¹¹⁷ Haym, I, 341 ff

¹¹⁸ Ähnlich auch Theodor Genthe, *Der Kulturbegriff bei Herder* (Jena, 1902), S. 14, nach dem Herder "dem ihm zeitlich nahe stehenden Rousseau gegenüber wegen dessen völlig unhistorischer Denkweise mehr und mehr eine ablehnende Haltung einnahm."

¹¹⁹ Haym, I, 343.

¹²⁰ *Briefwechsel mit Caroline Flachland*, Teil I und II, in *Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft*, Bd. 39 und 41 (Weimar 1926 und 1928), Teil I, S. 41.

sind so häufig und so ausführlich, dass sich aus ihnen ein klarer Einblick in Herders geistige Stellung gewinnen lässt. Auf der Reise von Darmstadt nach Buckeburg wirft Herder "einige Blicke in den Rousseau,"¹²¹ und spätere Briefe zeigen uns, dass er diese Lektüre fortgesetzt hat.¹²² Welche Werke des Genfers Herder in dieser Zeit wieder gelesen hat, lässt sich nicht mit volliger Bestimmtheit sagen. Mitt nur zwei Ausnahmen bezieht er sich in diesen Briefen an Caroline aus dem Jahre 1771 stetes auf den *Emile*,¹²³ sodass man zunächst annehmen mochte, dass seine "Blicke in den Rousseau" hauptsächlich diesem Werke gegolten haben, jedoch heisst es später in einem Briefe vom 27. und 28. August 1771,¹²⁴ dass er an seinem Geburtstage, d. h. also am 25. August, den *Emile* neu angefangen habe.¹²⁵ Die erwähnten "Blicke in den Rousseau" aus dem Frühjahr desselben Jahres durften damit also offenbar keine richtige Lektüre des *Emile* bedeuten, sondern weisen eher auf ein Herumblättern in Rousseaus Werken im allgemeinen hin, unter denen ihm der *Emile* für Caroline besonders interessant erschien. Man darf es aber als sicher unterstellen, dass Herder, der selber so stark mit dem Entwicklungsgedanken beschäftigt war, die Schriften Rousseaus, die auf diesen Bezug haben, nicht übergangen hat.

Die häufige Erwähnung Rousseaus in den Briefen der Liebenden beruht auf dem Wunsche Herders, Caroline mit den Werken und Gedanken des Genfers vertraut zu machen. Auf Herders Veranlassung lernt sie französisch, nur um Rousseau im Original lesen zu können,¹²⁶ und tatsächlich ist das Resultat ihrer Lektüre durchschlagend, erwähnt sie doch scherzend, dass sie im Hause ihres Schwagers "die ganze Zeit über Rousseau gepredigt" habe, sodass sie schliesslich sogar den Geheimrat Hesse dazu bewegt, den *Emile* zu lesen.¹²⁷ Ihre Begeisterung für Rousseau kennt keine Grenzen¹²⁸ und der Eindruck, den Rousseau auf sie gemacht hat, wird am deutlichsten aus ihren *Erinnerungen* offenbar, aus denen sich ergibt, dass ihr die Zeit vor und unmittelbar nach ihrer Heirat völlig im Lichte Rousseaus erscheint.¹²⁹ Gerade wie Herder in seiner Jugend, so schwärmt jetzt Caroline für Rousseau, und Herder, der sich gerade noch

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 177 ¹²² *Ibid.*, 293.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 207 und 281, vgl. dazu die Anm. auf S. 467

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 293.

¹²⁵ Richard Fester, *Rousseau und die deutsche Geschichtsphilosophie* (Stuttgart, 1890), S. 51, schliesst aus diesem Brief, dass Herder jetzt den *Emile* zum ersten Male genau liest—eine Annahme, die in dem Text des Briefes keine Begründung findet. Herder betont ausdrücklich, dass es sich um eine erneute Lektüre handelt.

¹²⁶ *Briefwechsel mit Caroline*, I, 273

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ Am schärfersten ist der Brief vom 12. August 71: "... für Rousseau thue ich alles, mir ist er ein Heiliger, ein Prophet, den ich anbete", vgl. *Briefwechsel*, I, 285.

¹²⁹ Caroline Herder, *Erinnerungen aus dem Leben J. G. Herders*, ed. J. G. Müller (Tübingen, 1820), I, 236.

so ablehnend über Rousseau, über dessen Eitelkeit und dessen Neigung zu Paradoxen ausgesprochen hatte, nennt Caroline sein "braves Mädchen," weil sie "im Rousseau so wacker fortliebt."¹³⁰ Auch Herders Urteil über Rousseau hat sich erheblich geändert, der Beredsamkeit des Genfers zollt er jetzt das höchste Lob, und wenn Herder sich auch darüber klar ist, dass dem Philosophen zuweilen "Vorurtheile und Gewohnheit den Blick Einseitig machen," so bleibt für Herder stets "der Prediger der Menschheit sichtbar," der, wie Herder fortfährt, "durch jedes Lob geschmaht" wird: "Wir müssen ihn nicht loben, sondern thun."¹³¹ "A man in the theory, a child in the practice of life," so heisst es in einem Brief an Merck,¹³² in dem Herder seinem Freunde eine ausführliche englische Charakteristik Rousseaus mitteilt, und mit diesen Worten wird ja gerade Rousseau als Philosoph besonders anerkannt, eine erstaunliche Tatsache, wenn man bedenkt, dass Herder noch vor kurzem gerade von dem Philosophen nicht weit genug abrücken konnte.

Sicherlich, der Verfasser des *Reisejournals* und der *Preisschrift* hatte so nicht gedacht, und trotz der gegenteiligen Ansicht Hayms werden wir nicht umhin können, einen ganz unverkennbaren Wandel in Herders Urteil festzustellen. Diese Erkenntnis führt nun auf das Problem hin, aus dessen Lösung allein die Beziehungen Herders zu Rousseau in den folgenden Jahren verstanden werden können. Wie fand Herder den Weg zu Rousseau zurück; was bewirkt den nochmaligen Umschwung, der aus dem ausgesprochenen Gegner und heftigen Kritiker wieder einen Freund und Anhänger macht? Um diese Kernfrage zu beantworten, bedarf es zunächst einer kurzen Erörterung des grossen Wandels in Herders Anschauungen im allgemeinen, der in den ersten Buckeburger Jahren stattgefunden und sich wohl schon vorher angebahnt hat. Herder hatte bisher auf fernem Boden der aufklärerischen Theologie gestanden und hatte in der Religion nur ein Mittel zur Beförderung menschlicher Glückseligkeit gesehen. Der Wolffsche Begriff der Religion als *complimentum moralitatis* war auch in seinen Ideen dominierend gewesen. In Buckeburg tritt hier ein entscheidender Umschwung ein: glaubiges Christentum und mystische Auffassung der Religion werden Herders Ideal, während er für die rationale Religion der Aufklärung sowie für deren freigeistige Tendenzen bald nur noch Schimpf und Spott hat, selbst wenn sie sich in so feiner Form vorgetragen finden wie bei Spalding. Was war die Ursache dieser plötzlichen Aenderung, die mit dem Wandel in Herders Haltung zu Rousseau zeitlich übereinstimmt und daher wohl in irgendeiner Form mit ihr in Verbindung stehen muss?

¹³⁰ Briefwechsel mit Caroline, I, 293.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 297.

¹³² *Lebensbild*, III, 1, 323.

Der erste bedeutsame Umschwung in Herders geistiger Entwicklung, der aus dem spekulierenden Aufklärer einen beobachtenden Historiker und Empiriker machte, war zum grossen Teil durch aussere Ereignisse veranlasst worden: Die Kritik an den romanhaften Teilen seiner *Fragmente* hatte ihn zur Besinnung gebracht und dadurch die Annäherung an den Historismus eingeleitet. Auch bei der jetzt einsetzenden Aufgabe des historischen zugunsten des religiösen Weltbildes sind aussere Einwirkungen deutlich erkennbar, und zwar war es diesmal vor allem Hamann, der den seiner Meinung nach abtrünnigen Schuler und Freund auf diese Bahn lenkte. Die Kontroverse, die sich im Anschluss an die Schrift über den *Ursprung der Sprache* zwischen ihm und Herder entwickelte, ist so häufig dargestellt worden, dass sich eine Wiederholung an dieser Stelle erubrigt.¹³³ Nur darauf sei in diesem Zusammenhang nochmals hingewiesen, dass Hamann Herders Gedanken zweifellos keiner objektiven Würdigung unterzogen hatte. Die Ablehnung der "höheren Hypothese" hatte den Magus so aufgebracht, dass er den grossen Unterschied zwischen Herders Auffassung und den üblichen Theorien der Aufklärung nach dem Muster Condillacs völlig verkannte. Herder hatte im Grunde nicht den Ursprung der Sprache erklärt, sondern nur darauf hingewiesen, dass ein Wesen ohne Sprache kein Mensch sei und dass Sprache einfach als das entscheidende Charakteristikum des Menschen angesehen werden müsse. Die Sätze, mit denen Hamann *Des Ritters Rosenkreuz letzte Willensmeinung über den göttlichen und menschlichen Ursprung der Sprache* zusammenfasst, stehen demgemäss mit Herders Theorie durchaus nicht in Widerspruch; wenn Hamann sagt: "ganz göttlich . . . und ganz natürlich,"¹³⁴ so ist das völlig mit Herder zu vereinbaren, denn dieser fuhrte zwar die Sprache auf die Besonnenheit des Menschen zurück, ohne jedoch den Ursprung dieser Eigenschaft zu erklären. Dass für einen gläubigen Christen diese Eigenschaft genauso wie jede andere als eine Gabe Gottes gelten muss, versteht sich von selbst, verweist doch Herder selber auf das nicht wegdenkbare Walten einer Vorsehung in den ersten Momenten der Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts.¹³⁵

Herder war sich über diese prinzipielle Ähnlichkeit seines Standpunktes mit dem des Magus durchaus im Reinen, wie Haym aus seiner Korrespondenz mit Nicolai nachweist,¹³⁶ jedoch wagte er es mit der ihm eigenen Flexibilität seines Charakters nicht, diese Tatsache Hamann selber vor Augen zu führen, vermutlich, um dessen nicht ganz ungefahr-

¹³³ Vgl. Haym, I, 494 ff.; Unger, *Hamanns Sprachtheorie* (München, 1905), S. 164.

¹³⁴ Vgl. *Hamanns Werke*, IV, 33 f.

¹³⁵ Die grundsätzliche Übereinstimmung zwischen Hamann und Herder wird besonders von Carl Siegel betont, vgl. *Herder als Philosoph* (Stuttgart und Berlin, 1907).

¹³⁶ Haym, I, 496.

lichen Aerger nicht noch mehr zu reizen Stattdessen kommt Herder Hamann gegenüber zu einem volligen "pater peccavi" und schwört seine "ketzerischen" Absichten ab Er entschuldigt sich damit, "dass die Leibniz-Aesthetische Hülle ja die einzige Masque war, unter der ich erscheinen konnte," und versichert seinem Freunde, dass er in der von ihm gerade bearbeiteten Schrift, der *Ältesten Urkunde*, "gerade das Gegentheil" beweisen wolle¹³⁷ So wenig Herder sich über seine Sprachtheorie Vorwürfe zu machen hatte, so wenig hatte er den Mut, sie gegenüber Hamann zu verteidigen, eine eigenartige Tatsache, für die Haym die beste Erklärung gegeben hat: "Er (Herder) fühlte kaum von Weitem die Einwirkung des Letzteren, so zog ihm dieser Magnet starker und starker, zog ihn von dem anderen Pole ab und mit unwiderstehlicher Gewalt zu sich hin"¹³⁸ Und diese magnetische Kraft erstreckt sich nicht nur auf den eigentlichen Gegenstand des Streites, die Sprachtheorie, sondern geht schnell darüber hinaus und wird zu einer volligen Reform an Haupt und Gliedern Auf diese Weise vollzieht sich der radikale Umschwung zu der mystischen Idee eines zwar unbegreiflichen, aber jedenfalls aktiv wirkenden und waltenden Gottes, wie er den Vorstellungen Hamanns entsprach. Mit der ihm eigenen Neigung, von Extrem zu Extrem zu gehen, vertritt Herder jetzt diesen mystischen Gesichtspunkt mit ausserster Scharfe. Die Ideen seiner Preisschrift verleugnet er vollständig, nicht nur Hamann gegenüber, sondern überhaupt. "Was hülfs, wenn die Materie auch noch so aufgeklärt wäre, die Art der Aufklärung *verdunkelt* mich," so schreibt er sogar an Nicolai, den konsequentesten Vertreter der Aufklärung und enthusiastischen Anhänger seiner Preisschrift¹³⁹ Lavater, der ihm seine *Aussichten in die Ewigkeit* übersendet, spendet er Lob für die guten Absichten die er mit diesem Werk verfolgt, aber der in Ausführung stört ihn "ein gewisser kalter, nervenloser Ton", Lavater sei zuweilen "nicht mehr Seher, Schauer göttlicher Geheimnisse, sondern willkürlicher Baumeister eigner, oft sehr subalternen, unwesentlichen und kleinen Ideen"¹⁴⁰ Selbst Lavater scheint jetzt Herder zu rationalistisch!

So tiefgreifend dieser Umschwung aber auch ist, er kann als solcher Herders neue Stellungnahme zu Rousseau nicht erklären, dessen Entwicklungsgedanke gerade aus dem Geiste des Rationalismus entsprungen war. Der Schlüssel zu dieser Wendung liegt in einem Briefe, den Herder im Jahre 1768, also noch in Riga, an Hamann schreibt, als ihn zum ersten Mal die Gedanken beschäftigten, die späterhin in der *Ältesten Urkunde* ihren Niederschlag gefunden haben. Die entscheidenden Absätze dieses

¹³⁷ Brief vom 11. Aug. 72, *Briefe an Hamann*, S. 65.

¹³⁸ Haym, I, 496

¹³⁹ *Von und An Herder* Ungedruckte Briefe aus Herders Nachlass, ed. H. Duntzer und Ferd. G. Herder (Leipzig 1861), I, 328

¹⁴⁰ *Aus Herders Nachlass*, ed. H. Duntzer und Ferd. G. Herder (Frankfurt/M., 1857), II, 12.

Briefes sind wichtig genug, um an dieser Stelle vollständig wiedergegeben zu werden:

In der Reihe unsrer Betrachtungen über die sich aus einander wickelnde Zustände der Menschen finden wir nirgends so sehr eine Lucke, als wie *wurden* wir aus einem Geschopf Gottes, das, was wir jetzt sind, ein Geschopf der *Menschen*? Da unser jetzige Zustand doch wahrhaftig nicht der ursprüngliche seyn kann, wie ward er? wie ward das Uebel der Welt?—Sie wissen, was unsre Handwerksphilosophen für weise Sätze annehmen, wie es aus der Natur der Menschen hat entstehen können, und nach der Natur Gottes hat entstehen *dorfen*? Der eine setzt das Uebel der Welt da—der andre dorthin, nachdem ihn der Schuh drückte und so sann er auch drauf, seinen Wahn, wie er ihn ansah, *pro positu corporis sui* zu erklären —*Rousseau* hat hierinn das Verdienst, wenigstens den *allgemeinsten* Zustand der Menschen, des Menschlichen Uebels, und der Menschlichen Glückseligkeit zu nehmen, *vermuthlich* weil dieser unglückliche Lehrer der Menschen, der weiseste des Pöbels unsrer Zeit das Uebel und die Menschheit am rechten Ort hat kennen lernen. Allein da selbst seine Anbeter nicht laugnen können, dass er seine Wahrheiten und Wahrscheinlichkeiten nur immer in das schiefe Licht der paradoxen Sätze stellet so ist es mir, selbst da ich noch ein so eifriger Rousseauianer war, nicht gelungen, den Mittelknoten in ihm aufgelöst zu finden “wie ward es, dass der Mensch aus dem Zustande der Natur in das jetzige Uebel der Welt überging? wenn in seiner Natur der verschlossene Schatz von Fähigkeiten, von Neigungen u s w lag, der zu seiner Glückseligkeit verschlossen bleiben musste, warum gab ihm Gott diesen Keim des Irrsals? wie keimte derselbe auf?” Ich erinnere mich, einmal Kant, den grossen Schüler des Rousseau hierüber befragt zu haben, er antwortete aber, wie Onkel Tobias Shandy—

Am besten wäre es, wenn wir hierüber eine Art von Urkunde, von alter Urkunde hatten? und wenn diese mehr als Menschliche Meinungen enthielte, noch besser?—Aber *vermuthlich* wird sie Orientalisch seyn, da sich der erste Zustand der Menschen wahrscheinlich nach Orient hinschiebt.—Also auch im Orientalischen Styl vielleicht? nach Orientalischer Denkart? Und da wir vorzüglich von Juden solche Urkunden haben—sehen Sie da mein drittes Kapitel aus dem so genannten ersten Buch Mos —Unsre Dogmatiken schimpfen auf die Allegorien über dasselbe von Origenes zu Beverland sie haben Ursache, allein sie allegorisiren ja dasselbe noch mehr—und dazu ziemlich Metaphysische, Nordisch kalte, Dogmatische Allegorien—z E Schlange, Prüfungsbaum für die obern und untern Kräfte der Seele, nackt seyn, Stimme Gottes, die Strafe, der Weibessaamen—es können keine fremdere Allegorien gefunden werden, als man, über *eine—alte—orientalische—Poetische, Judische—Urkunde* der Nation—anbringt, und unter dogmatischen Schleier, mit verrenktem Genick, verhüllt —¹⁴¹

Als Herder diesen Brief schrieb, befand er sich auf dem Höhepunkte jener Periode seiner Entwicklung, die wir als die des ausgesprochenen Antirousseauismus gekennzeichnet hatten. Diese Haltung spiegelt sich in den angeführten Sätzen deutlich wieder: der Vorwurf der paradoxen

¹⁴¹ Briefe an Hamann, S 40 f

Satze taucht wieder auf, und ausserdem fehlt der Hinweis nicht, dass die Zeit, da Herder selbst Rousseauianer war, der Vergangenheit angehört. So weit steht der Brief mit Herders sonstigen Aeusserungen über Rousseau aus jener Zeit völlig in Einklang, enthält aber andererseits ein Lob, das als neu erscheint: Rousseau hat das Verdienst, ein Problem deutlicher formuliert zu haben, als es andere vermocht haben, und wenn er auch nicht imstande war, dieses Problem zu lösen, so muss doch schon die klare Formulierung dieses Problems als solche anerkannt werden. Dieses Problem ist, in Herders Worten, der Uebergang des Menschen von dem Zustande eines Geschöpfes Gottes zu dem eines Geschöpfes der Menschen, oder, wie es in der Sprache Rousseaus lautet, vom Zustande des *état de nature* zum *état civil*. So deutlich Rousseau diesen Uebergang aber auch dargelegt hat, so glücklich er Anfang und Ende dieses Prozesses beschrieben hat, die Ursache dieser Degeneration hat er nicht entdecken können. Herder behauptet nun, sich der Lösung dieses Problems auf der Spur zu finden: sofern sie überhaupt gefunden werden kann, muss sie sich aus der alten orientalischen Urkunde, der Bibel, ergeben. Und das ist die Quintessenz dieses Briefes: die Bibel enthält den Schlüssel zu Rousseau. Rousseau hat es vermocht, das Schloss zu schmieden, aber nicht, es mit einem Schlüssel zu versehen. Nicht der Philosoph ist imstande, die letzten Rätsel zu lösen, sondern die Heilige Schrift, die nach Herder im dritten Kapitel der Genesis eine eindeutige Antwort auf die Frage des Verderbens des Menschengeschlechts erteilt.

Was den Leser dieses Briefes zunächst überrascht, ist die scheinbar innige Religiosität, die in tiefer Skepsis gegen menschliches Wissen auf das einzige Werk verweist, das, wie hier Herder entsprechend der christlichen Glaubenslehre annimmt, "mehr als menschliche Meinungen" enthält. Und ebenso eigenartig mutet auch Herders in diesem Schreiben deutlich zum Ausdruck kommende Anerkennung der *bonté naturelle* an, gleichgültig ob dieser Begriff philosophischen oder biblischen Ursprungs ist. Der Brief stammt aus dem Jahre 1768, dem Jahre der Arbeit an den *Kritischen Waldern*, stammt also aus einer Zeit, in dem Herders historisches Interesse gerade seinen Gipfel erreicht hatte. Es scheint unter diesen Umständen kaum glaublich, dass Herder zur gleichen Zeit Ideen gehegt haben soll, die mit dieser seiner so energisch vertretenen historischen Weltanschauung und noch viel mehr mit seinem freigeistigen, deistisch gefärbten Christentum in einem derartigen krassen Konflikt standen. Tatsächlich halt die Religiosität dieses Briefes näherer Prüfung nicht stand, denn Herder ist in Wirklichkeit weit davon entfernt, die Bibel als eine uberirdische Offenbarung anzusehen. Sie ist nach seinen eigenen Worten eine "alte—orientalische—Poetische,—Judische—Urkunde der Nation"; in anderen Worten, die Bibel ist nicht das Wort

Gottes, sondern ein national gebundener Mythos, den Herder mit dem griechischen Nationalmythos Homers in Parallele stellt, wie die Zusammenstellung von Moses und Homer in einer anderen Stelle desselben Briefes anzudeuten scheint.¹⁴² In dem Augenblick aber, in dem die Bibel als ein Mythos erkannt wird, fällt ihr überirdischer Charakter weg, sie wird stattdessen Menschenwerk, sie wird Dichtung, Fiktion, und dies gilt umso mehr, als Herder hier keinen Versuch macht, wie in früheren Schriften zwischen menschlich-poetischer Form und gottlich-religiösem Inhalt zu scheiden,¹⁴³—geht es ihm doch, wie die folgenden Ausführungen zeigen, gerade darum, den Inhalt dieses Mythos zu erklären, d. h. aus dem Geiste der alten Juden heraus verständlich zu machen.¹⁴⁴ Mit dieser Charakterisierung der Bibel verschwindet aber die religiöse Problemstellung völlig; an ihre Stelle tritt ein rein geschichtliches, bzw. mythologisches Problem. Wenn Herder in diesem Briefe ganz bewusst den Anschein erweckt, als ob er sich dem Problem als gläubiger Christ näherte, so ist das eine Einkleidung, die am besten aus der Person des Adressaten zu erklären ist, doch wird die Natur von Herders Gedanken dadurch nicht geändert. Was Herder tatsächlich in dem Briefe programmatisch ausführt, ist nicht eine Erklärung Rousseaus durch die Bibel, wie man auf den ersten Blick annehmen mochte, sondern der Bibel durch Rousseau. Die Ähnlichkeit zwischen biblischem und Rousseauschem Primitivismus muss Herder damals in aller Deutlichkeit aufgegangen sein, und die Erkenntnis dieser Parallele gibt dem Historiker einen deutlicheren Einblick in das Wesen jener alten Urkunde. Gerade die wiederholten Angriffe auf Beverland zeigen Herders eigentliche Absicht: er will genau so wie dieser den biblischen Gedanken der Erbsünde erklären; nur dass er zum Unterschiede von ihm nicht eine rationale Interpretation des Bibeltextes, sondern eine mythologische Erklärung der Legende beabsichtigt. Beverlands Behandlung des Problems hatte in vieler Beziehung Gedanken Rousseaus vorausgenommen, wie z. B. seine abschliessenden Worte in dem Kapitel über die Geschichte der Erbsünde zeigen:

On voit par cette histoire du péché originel, que l'homme avoit été créé pur, chaste, et humble; exempt de toutes les passions, et cependant capable d'être attent de toutes les passions.¹⁴⁵

Klingt diese Stelle beinahe, als ob man Rousseau selber sprechen hörte, so zieht Herder die Konsequenz aus dieser Parallele: Die alte jüdische

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, S. 43

¹⁴³ In seiner damals unveröffentlichten Schrift *Versuch einer Geschichte der lyrischen Dichtkunst, Lebensbild*, I, 3, I, 98 ff., bzw. Suphan, XXXII, 95

¹⁴⁴ Vgl. *Briefe an Hamann*, S. 41 Z. 15 bis S. 43 Z. 31

¹⁴⁵ Adriaan Beverland; *de peccato originale*; hier zitiert in der französischen Uebersetzung von Fontenai (Paris, 1714), betitelt. *Etat de l'homme dans le Peché originel*.

Dichtung hat die Degeneration der Menschen, bzw. den Sündenfall überzeugender und befriedigender dargetan, als Rousseau es vermocht hat, und diese Tatsache zu beweisen, ist die Aufgabe, die sich Herder in dem Brief an Hamann stellt. Das Lob, das Herder Rousseau in diesem Schreiben spendet, verkehrt sich damit fast in Tadel, indem dem Guten jetzt das Bessere zur Seite gestellt und der von Rousseau unbefriedigte Leser auf die Bibel verwiesen wird, sodass auch hier wieder Herders Antirousseauismus zum Ausdruck kommt. Wenn der Genfer trotzdem verhaltenismässig glimpflich davongekommt, so liegt das daran, dass Herder, ein zweiter Beverland, wie ihn Hamann in ihrer letzten Unterredung geheissen hat,¹⁴⁶ glaubt, Gedanken Rousseaus zu einer seiner Zeit fasslicheren Verdeutlichung der Heiligen Schrift verwerten zu können.

Was in dem Brief an Hamann nur durch sorgfältige Interpretation klar wird, liegt in Herders fragmentarischem Entwurf, betitelt *Das Lied von der Schöpfung der Dinge* klar zu Tage,¹⁴⁷ das mit dem Brief zeitlich ungefähr übereinstimmt. Die religiöse Einkleidung ist hier völlig verschwunden, stattdessen ist die historische Betrachtungsweise streng durchgeführt. Zum ersten Mal taucht hier der Gedanke auf, dass die erste Genesis (I-II, 3) ein Lied zur Heilighaltung des Sabbats ist, ein Gedanke, dem später in der *Ältesten Urkunde* besondere Bedeutung zuteil wurde. An die Besprechung der zweiten Genesis (II, 4-25) schliesst sich eine ausführliche Besprechung des 3. Kapitels, das mit dem Sündenfall eines der Herder besonders interessierenden Punkte behandelt. "Eine Urkunde von dem Ursprunge der Muhseligkeiten des Lebens" nennt es Herder und er kennzeichnet es als "den Zweck des ganzen Liedes: den Ursprung der menschlichen Bedürfnisse und veränderten Lebensart zu erklären: Aus Eden und Gartenleben in Ackerbau, Sorge, Sklaverei, Tod." Eine kurze Besprechung der Sintflut und des Turmbaus zu Babel bringt das "Lied" zum Abschluss. So dürftig die Bemerkungen sind, so lassen sie doch Herders Absichten deutlich hervortreten. Es geht ihm um zwei Dinge: er will erstens die Bibel von einem rein historischen Standpunkt aus als einen alten Mythos erklären, indem er auf die zeitgebundene Bedeutung der in ihr zum Ausdruck gelangenden Auffassungen aufmerksam macht, indem er sie aus dem Leben und der Ideenwelt ihrer Schöpfer erklärt, und er will zweitens ihren bislang nicht genügend beachteten poetischen Wert, ihre literarische Schönheit, dem modernen Leser vor Augen führen. Wie sich dieses Streben unmittelbar aus den *Fragmenten* entwickelt hat, ist von Haym dargestellt worden;¹⁴⁸ wichtig ist in diesem Zusammenhange nur, dass von dem Rousseauismus der *Fragmente* nichts übrig geblieben ist. Herder arbeitet hier ganz im Geiste der übrigen Erforscher des hebräischen Altertums, im Geiste des

¹⁴⁶ *Briefe an Hamann*, S. 39 f.¹⁴⁷ xxxii, 163 ff.¹⁴⁸ Haym I, 276 f.

“judischen Montesquieu”¹⁴⁹ Michaelis, im Geiste des Philologen Ernesti und des grossen Kirchenhistorikers Semler. Hatte man bisher die Bibel infolge ihrer religiösen Bedeutung auch nur vom religiösen Standpunkt aus betrachtet, so ist es die Absicht dieser Leute, unbeschadet des göttlichen Gehaltes der Schrift sie zunächst als ein menschliches Werk zu erfassen und es als solches gegen seinen geschichtlichen Hintergrund zu halten, statt es als eine einmalige, überirdische Offenbarung nur in volliger Isolierung zu sehen. Dass diese historische Tendenz mit Rousseau nichts zu tun hat, bedurfte an sich keiner besonderen Betonung, wenn nicht der zitierte Brief an Hamann eine solche Beziehung anzudeuten schiene. Dass diese Beziehung aber zunächst—es sollte sich später ändern,—nur in der Erkenntnis der Gleichheit der Problemstellung beruht, war schon zuvor auseinandergesetzt worden, die Methoden sind diametral entgegengesetzt.

Grundsätzlich dasselbe trifft auch auf die *Fragmente zur Archaologie des Morgenlandes* aus dem Jahre 1769 zu, in denen die dürftigen Skizzen des Schöpfungsgliedes eine erste, allerdings immer noch unvollständige Ausarbeitung erfahren.

Das ganze Stück ist offenbar nichts als Gedicht, Morgenlandisches Gedicht, was ganz auf den sinnlichen Anschein, auf die Meinungen des Nationalglaubens, so gar auf durchaus falsche Meinungen, auf Irrthümer der Vorstellungsarten des Volks, auf Blendwerke der Einbildungskraft und des Nationalgefühls baute. . . .¹⁵⁰

so heisst es dort und an diese Charakteristik knüpft sich die Mahnung: Jede gesunde Kritik in der ganzen Welt sagt, dass um ein Stück der Litteratur zu verstehen, und auszulegen, man sich in den Geist seines Verfassers, seines Publikums, seiner Nation und wenigstens in den Geist dieses seines Stücks setzen müsse und die Hermenevtik der Christen sagt ebenfalls!¹⁵¹

Der rein historische Charakter der Problems ist also wieder deutlich ausgesprochen, doch wird in der *Archaologie* zum ersten Mal die Bedeutung Rousseaus im Rahmen dieser ihrem Wesen nach geschichtlichen Abhandlung praktisch dargetan, indem Herder eine poetische Interpretation der ersten Genesis vornimmt. Im Sinne der Bibel wie Rousseaus sieht er den Urmenschen des Paradieses als ein Tier unter Tieren in einem Zustande, der von Herder nicht direkt glücklich genannt wird, aber infolge des pathetischen, sehnsuchtsvollen Tones der Schilderung als solcher erscheint.¹⁵² Auch zuckt hier schon in einer wieder stark an Rousseau gemahnenden Formulierung der Verfallsgedanke auf, indem Herder ganz nebenbei das Ende dieses Zusammenlebens mit den Tieren

¹⁴⁹ So hatte sich Michaelis in seiner Einleitung zum *Mosaischen Recht* selbst genannt, vgl. *ibid.*, S. 60. ¹⁵⁰ VI, 32 ¹⁵¹ VI, 34 ¹⁵² VI, 26.

mit den Worten einleitet: "Endlich, da sich Alles verdarb . . ." ¹⁵³ Deutlich steht dieses erste Alter mit dem *âge d'or* in Parallele, wie es Rousseau in der *Inégalité* beschreibt. Diese Rousseausche Terminologie farbt sogar gelegentlich auch auf den historischen Teil der *Archäologie* ab, so z.B., wenn er gelegentlich auf die Zeit der Schöpfung der ältesten Urkunde als die der "Kindheit der Welt" Bezug nimmt, ¹⁵⁴ doch ist der Ausdruck in diesem Werk noch nicht so zu verstehen, dass eine kontinuierliche Entwicklungsreihe von dem in der Bibel beschriebenen zu dem die Bibel schreibenden Menschenalter angenommen wird. Im Jahre 1769 macht Herder noch eine scharfe Scheidung zwischen Geschichte und Dichtung, und da Rousseau ausschliesslich zur Verdeutlichung der Dichtung herangezogen wird, ohne auf die im Vordergrund stehenden historischen Ausführungen Einfluss zu haben, so ist seine Bedeutung noch verhältnismässig gering. Immerhin zeigt sich an dieser Stelle deutlich der Weg, auf dem sich ein engerer Anschluss an den Philosophen von Genf vollziehen sollte.

Die Vorarbeiten zur *Ältesten Urkunde* in Verbindung mit dem erwähnten Brief an Hamann lassen also deutlich die Motive erkennen, die in Herder wieder ein grösseres Interesse an Rousseau erweckten und den grossen Antagonisten der unhistorischen Entwicklungstheorie gegen diese Lehrer toleranter stimmten. Hatte Herder in der Zeit nach der Veröffentlichung der *Fragmente* erkannt, dass Rousseaus Methode historisch nicht haltbar war, so zeigt ihm die Bibel, dass der Primitivismus trotz seiner geschichtlichen Fehlerhaftigkeit einen gewissen Wert haben müsse und sich mit einer Darlegung seiner mangelhaften Begründung vom wissenschaftlich-kritischen Standpunkt nicht abtun lasse. Der Gedanke des Primitivismus und der Entwicklung nach metaphysischen Prinzipien ist keine Erfindung des 18. Jahrhunderts, wie Herder zunächst angenommen zu haben scheint, sondern eine Vorstellung, die seit der ältesten Zeit wieder und wieder zum Ausdruck gebracht worden ist. Handelte es sich nur um eine einmalige philosophische Spekulation, so wurde sie den Historiker kaum interessieren, das ständige Wiederauftauchen dieses Gedankens notigt jedoch auch dem rein geschichtlich eingestellten Menschen Interesse ab und führt ihn zu der Frage, was diesem Gedanken solche Bedeutung gibt. Herders Antwort auf diese Frage liegt offenbar in dem Hinweis auf den Mythos: Die Vorstellung, dass die Welt nicht immer so verdorben war, dass es einst eine bessere Zeit, ein *âge d'or*, ein Paradies gegeben habe, ist zutiefst im Charakter des Menschen verwurzelt und aussert sich daher wieder und wieder, trotz völliger Unbeweisbarkeit, oder genauer, trotz der Beweisbarkeit des Gegenteils. Der Paradiestraum ist einer jener ewigen Träume der

¹⁵³ VI, 25.¹⁵⁴ VI, 49.

Menschheit, jener Traume, aus denen alle Mythen geboren werden ¹⁵⁵ Rousseau hatte diesem Mythos eine moderne Form gegeben, er hatte ihn seiner Zeit schmackhaft gemacht, und wenn sich der Historiker auch in erster Linie für den alten Mythos interessiert, so bleibt für ihn doch auch dessen modernisierte Form wertvoll, da sie auf die alte Legende Licht wirft. Wenn Herder um das Jahr 1770 herum anfangt, wieder ein so deutliches Interesse für Rousseau zu bekunden, wenn er ihn selber wieder liest und ihn auch seiner Braut nicht genug empfehlen kann, so ist diese Annäherung zweifellos ein unmittelbares Resultat der Erkenntnis, dass Rousseaus Mythos in seinem Kern mit dem der Genesis identisch ist, und das erklärt die eigenartige Tatsache, dass gerade die Heilige Schrift, bzw. deren literaturgeschichtliche Behandlung Herder zu Rousseau zurückführt. Von einem wirklichen Anschluss an Rousseau kann in diesem Stadium allerdings noch keine Rede sein, denn noch ist Herder Historiker und bedient sich Rousseaus nur als eines Mittels, die Bibel in eine dem modernen Menschen gelaufene Terminologie zu übertragen und dadurch Verständnis dafür zu erwecken, was sie ihren ursprünglichen Lesern, dem Publikum, für das sie geschrieben war, bedeutet hatte. Es dürfte daher auch kein reiner Zufall sein, dass Rousseau nur zwei Male in diesen Vorarbeiten zur *Ältesten Urkunde* erwähnt wird und dass eine dieser Erwähnungen in der Form eines Widerspruches gehalten ist, während die andere nur ein unbedeutendes Zitat darstellt ¹⁵⁶ Zwar hat der Widerspruch an sich nicht viel zu bedeuten, denn er richtet sich nur gegen den berühmten einleitenden Satz des *Emile*, ohne sich gegen die Entwicklungstheorie als solche zu wenden, doch will Herder mit dieser aburteilenden Erwähnung Rousseaus offenbar ausdrücklich betonen, dass er trotz gewisser Übereinstimmungen ein kritischer Leser des Philosophen sei, mit offenem Blick für dessen Fehler. Diese reservierte Haltung verschwindet erst in der endgültigen Fassung der *Ältesten Urkunde*, und dieser Wandel ist eine natürliche Folge von Herders Übergang zum mystischen Christentum. Die Bibel ist für Herder als glaubigen Theologen keine bloße Dichtung mehr, sie ist nicht mehr Fiktion, sondern Wahrheit, und daraus ergibt sich eine neue Anwendung des Entwicklungsgedankens als notwendige Konsequenz.

Mehr als alle sonstigen Schriften Herders weist gerade die *Älteste Urkunde* den Charakter der Überganges, und dementsprechend Uneinheitlichkeit und Fehlen einer geschlossenen Darstellung auf. Haym hat es mit der wünschenswerten Klarheit dargelegt, wie sich in dieser eigenartigen Schrift, die selbst Hamann ein "monstrum horrendum" nannte,

¹⁵⁵ Auf diese mythenbildenden Traume hatte Herder in der 2. Auflage der *Fragmente* verwiesen, er spricht dort von den "Kosmogonien, die sich jedes Volk ertraumt"; II, 61.

¹⁵⁶ VI, 152 und 163. An ersterer Stelle findet sich der Widerspruch.

die verschiedenartigsten Elemente, Rationalismus, Historismus und Religiosität, aufs sonderlichste mischen ¹⁵⁷ Der historische Standpunkt der *Archaologie* ist in der *Ältesten Urkunde* nicht völlig aufgegeben: der Gedanke der "ältesten Urkunde" als solcher bleibt geschichtlich und in diesem Sinne weist Herder wieder darauf hin, dass die Bibel ein morgenländisches Märchen sei und nur als solches verstanden werden könne. Im Gegensatz zur *Archaologie* wird diese geschichtlich-wissenschaftliche Methode jedoch nicht konsequent durchgeführt, sondern muss häufig mystisch-religiösen Vorstellungen weichen, und wenn das der Fall ist, so wird die Bibel zu einer von Gott gegebenen Offenbarung, deren überirdischen Charakter Herder betont, eine Auffassung, die er schon 1768 Hamann gegenüber angedeutet ("mehr als menschliche Meinungen"), jedoch aus der tatsächlichen Ausführung herausgehalten hatte. In der *Archaologie* ist die Bibel nichts als ein historisches Dokument, das nur historisch verstanden werden kann, in der *Ältesten Urkunde* hat sie zuweilen denselben Charakter, erscheint jedoch meistens als Ausfluss übermenschlicher Weisheit, die sich als solche nicht in einen historischen Zusammenhang fügen lässt. Herder, als christlicher Theologe, versucht, aus jener einmaligen göttlichen Offenbarung Nutzenanwendungen zu ziehen, und damit wird aus dem historischen Denkmal, in dem er ursprünglich nur den Schlüssel zu den "origines" der Menschheit suchte, ein Buch mit unmittelbarem Wert für die Gegenwart, und in der *Ältesten Urkunde* bemüht sich Herder, gerade diesen unhistorischen Gegenwartswert der Heiligen Schrift darzulegen. Lag in der *Archaologie* der Hauptton auf den historischen Anmerkungen über die Bibel, so tritt jetzt die Auslegung der Bibel in den Vordergrund ¹⁵⁸ Nun hatten wir schon bei den Vorarbeiten zur *Ältesten Urkunde* festgestellt, dass Rousseaus Bedeutung sich auf den interpretativen Teil beschränkt, dort allerdings auch deutlich wahrnehmbar ist, während er keinen Einfluss auf die eigentlichen historischen Auseinandersetzungen hat. Indem der interpretative Teil in der *Ältesten Urkunde* auf Kosten des historischen in den Vordergrund rückt, so nimmt auch die Bedeutung Rousseaus erheblich zu. So unhaltbar Rousseaus Gedanken vom historischen Standpunkt waren, vom theologischen waren sie es zweifellos nicht, denn die grundsätzliche Übereinstimmung der biblischen mit der Rousseauschen Entwicklungsidee musste zu einer unwiderleglichen Rechtfertigung der letzteren führen, sobald die erstere als göttlich sanktioniert und somit über jede Kritik und jeden Zweifel erhaben anerkannt wurde.

¹⁵⁷ Haym, I, 552 ff

¹⁵⁸ Vgl. über diesen Unterschied zwischen *Archaologie* und *Ältester Urkunde* Fritz Strich, *Die Mythologie in der deutschen Literatur* (Halle, 1910), I, 116 f. Strich weist darauf hin, dass die mythologische Einstellung der *Archaologie* in der *Ältesten Urkunde* aufgegeben ist.

Hatte sich die erneute Annäherung Herders gerade während der Arbeiten und zu einem erheblichen Teil gerade infolge der Arbeiten an der *Aeltesten Urkunde* vollzogen, so ist jedoch der tatsächliche Einfluss Rousseaus auf die endgültige Fassung geringer, als man erwarten mochte, allerdings aus einem rein ausserlichen Grunde. Die *älteste Urkunde* beschränkt sich in ihrer endgültigen Fassung auf das erste Kapitel der Genesis und damit kam der Hauptanlass zur Erörterung entwicklungsgeschichtlicher Fragen in Wegfall. Das Werk beschränkt sich in erster Linie auf religiöse und religionsgeschichtliche Probleme, während die in den Vorarbeiten angedeutete Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts in ein anderes Werk, die Geschichtsphilosophie von 74 verwiesen wird, wo ihr eine nähere Ausgestaltung zuteil wird. Gerade die Tatsache, dass trotz dieser Scheidung entwicklungsgeschichtliche Ideen auch in der *Aeltesten Urkunde* noch eine bedeutsame Rolle spielen, dass ihnen ein nicht unerheblicher Teil des Werkes gewidmet ist, zeigt, was für einen starken Einfluss diese Ideen wieder auf Herder gewonnen hatten. Man hat diese Zunahme der Bedeutung Rousseaus unter Hinweis darauf in Frage gestellt, dass das Schema Uroffenbarung-Entartung, wie es sich in der *Aeltesten Urkunde* abzeichnet, zwar als "ein Erzeugnis Rousseauscher kulturkritischer Stimmung" begriffen werden könne, dass jedoch in Wirklichkeit das religiöse Element überwiege und somit der Einfluss Rousseaus nur gering angeschlagen werden dürfe.¹⁵⁹ Zweifellos stimmt das insofern, als das Problem als solches religiös ist, aber die Art der Behandlung entstammt dem Geiste Rousseaus. Bibel und Rousseau schlossen sich nicht aus, sondern ergänzen sich in diesem Werk. Zwei Faktoren, dieselben, auf Grund deren wir schon den Einfluss Rousseaus auf die *Fragmente* hatten feststellen können, dürfen auch hier wieder als Beweis dafür herangezogen werden, dass Herder an seiner schon in dem Brief an Hamann dargelegten Absicht, die Bibel mit Hilfe Rousseauscher Gedanken zu interpretieren, nichts geändert hat, und diese beiden Faktoren sind erstens die Analogie der Entwicklung einer Gruppe, hier des Menschengeschlechts, zum menschlichen Leben, d. h. der vegetative Entwicklungsgedanke, und zweitens die Verwendung des Entwicklungsgedankens zu einer scharfen Anklage der Gegenwart.

Von dem "lebenden, wirkenden Naturmenschen" geht Herder bei der Behandlung der Schöpfung des Menschen aus und zögert nicht, dieses Alter als ein wahres age d'or darzustellen. "Wie mehrere Weisheit! Macht! Gottheit!" findet man in jener Zeit, in der, nach den Worten des Autors, die Ausbildung des Menschen noch von Gott selbst vorgenommen wurde.¹⁶⁰ In dieser unmittelbaren Ausbildung durch Gott scheint

¹⁵⁹ Martin Doerne, *Die Religion in Herders Geschichtsphilosophie* (Leipzig, 1927), S. 28.

¹⁶⁰ VI, 267 f

nun allerdings eine erhebliche Abweichung von dem Rousseauschen Gedanken der natürlichen Entwicklung zu liegen, doch ist das tatsächlich nicht der Fall, da Herder sich nur einer metaphorischen Redewendung bedient, die stark irreführend ist und wohl auch sein soll. Die "Lehrmethode Gottes" ist, wie wir anschliessend belehrt werden, durchaus natürlich: die Morgenrote ist die "sanfte Lehrerin," die "den Hymnus der Schöpfung, Offenbarung Gottes" in dem von Herder gefeierten "täglchen Morgengesang" beschreibt, und zwar so deutlich, dass Herder in die rhetorische Frage ausbricht:

. . . wem kann er unverständlich bleiben? wer ihn hören und vergessen? wer sein mude werden und vor ihm erblinden?—liebliche, Menschliche, ewige Lehre des Schöpfers . . . ¹⁶¹

"Ein Menschengeschlecht in seiner Kindheit" wird nicht "durch Schlüsse und Abstraktionen," sondern "allein durch Gegenwart und Kraft" belehrt und Gott tut dies, indem er dem unmundigen Menschen die Welt in ihrer Gegenwartigkeit und dem Widerspiel ihrer Kräfte vor Augen führt.¹⁶² Uebersetzt man diese Ausführungen in eine weniger mystische Sprache, so bedeuten sie nur, dass der Urmensch aus unmittelbarer Beobachtung zu lernen und sich zu bilden anfangt, ohne abstrakte Gedanken zu brauchen oder auch nur zu verstehen, und gerade in dieser Beziehung schliesst sich der Urmensch Herders ganz an den Rousseaus an, denn auch Rousseau hatte ja gerade die Priorität des Gefühls vor der Vernunft im *âge d'or* wieder und wieder betont. Herders Lehrmethode Gottes und Rousseaus Lehrmethode der Natur sind also identisch.

Auf die Kindheit der Menschheit folgt "der Erste furchtsame und muhsame Schritt des menschlichen Geschlechts zur burgerlichen Weisheit, zur Ordnung und Einrichtung der Gesellschaft, zur Kultur!"¹⁶³ Zwar wird auch dieser Wandel mit der Gottheit in Verbindung gebracht, doch vollzieht er sich wieder in natürlichen Bahnen, indem Herder allein auf die Bedeutung der Religion bei der ersten Einrichtung der Gesellschaft verweist.¹⁶⁴ Ueber diesen Punkt wird die Geschichte der Entwicklung nicht hinausgeführt, doch machen es die fortgesetzten Angriffe auf spätere Zeitalter klar, in welcher Richtung sich Herder das Fortschreiten dieser Entwicklung denkt. Rechtfertigte der eben zitierte Satz mit seinem Ausblick auf die entstehende Kultur einen gewissen Optimismus, so belehrt uns Herder bald eines anderen, denn er kann sich nicht genug tun in abfälligen Bemerkungen über das Zeitalter der Zivilisation. Das von der Bibel beschriebene glückliche Zeitalter liegt, wie er sagt,

. . . vor der Klagezeit des Tagelohnerdienstes, des Despotismus späterer Gesell-

¹⁶¹ VI, 267 f.¹⁶² VI, 269¹⁶³ VI, 282 f.¹⁶⁴ VI, 282

schaften und Reiche, vor den verfallnen Religionen, der verdorbenern Moral, dem Zustande und Geschmack der Tragheit, der immer schon eine entnervte, niedergedruckte Seele, so wie einen erschlafften Körper und durch gewaltsame Bande hartangezogene Glieder der Gesellschaft anzeigt, vor alle dieser Holle der Tragheit, in die wir jetzt Orient hineinmalen, lange vorher¹⁶⁵

Er hasst die "burgerliche Weisheit" seiner "politischökonomischen Zeiten," die wir "Kultur nennen und oft vielleicht am besten Frohndienst genannt werden konnte,"¹⁶⁶ er klagt über die allgemeine Neigung zu Abstraktionen, zum vernunftmassigen Zergliedern, zur philosophischen Betrachtung aller Dinge, durch die sich die Menschheit weiter und weiter von der gottgewollten reinen Beobachtung der Naturmenschen entfernt:

Jemehr wir uns durch Abstraktion schwachen, Sinne absondern und vertheilen, mit Erinnerungen und Vernunftgeschäfte unser ganzes Gefühl in kleine Faden auflösen, die nichts mehr ganz und rein fühlen—natürlich muss damit, dieser grosse Sinn "Gottes, des Allgegenwärtigen in der Welt" geschwacht und gestumpft werden¹⁶⁷

so warnt er seine Zeitgenossen, und diese Warnung ist identisch mit der Rousseaus, der ebenfalls die sogenannte Kultur, die Künste und Wissenschaften, für das Uebel in der Welt verantwortlich gemacht hatte. Wie einst in den *Fragmenten*, so ist auch in der *Ältesten Urkunde* der eigentliche Zweck des Entwicklungsgedankens in der Polemik enthalten, die sich an ihn knüpft. Verdammung, bzw. Warnung der Gegenwart, wird immer stärker sein letztes Ziel in dieser Schrift, während die Erschliessung der Vergangenheit mehr und mehr zurücktritt. So wird die *Älteste Urkunde* in ihrer Tendenz wieder den *Fragmenten* ähnlich und gleicht somit auch Rousseaus *Inégalité*. Dass mit dieser Verdammung der Gegenwart die Vorstellung, dass Gott die Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts, wenn auch nicht direkt leite, so doch wenigstens in einer bestimmten Form geplant habe, völlig zerstört wird, ergibt sich von selbst, denn auch die Gegenwart musste ein Teil jenes göttlichen Planes sein; aber Herder lässt sich wieder viel zu schnell von den anklagerischen, primitivistischen Ideen davontreiben, um sich dieses Widerspruches bewusst zu werden. Ein ebenso evidenter Widerspruch zu der Grundtendenz des Gesamtwerkes dürfte darin zu sehen sein, dass Herder in einer ausführlichen Anmerkung einen scharfen Angriff auf die Theorie des Naturzustandes überhaupt vornimmt.¹⁶⁸ In der *Archäologie* wäre ein solcher Angriff durchaus berechtigt gewesen, denn dort ist ihm die Genesis nur eine historisch interessante Legende, deren Inhalt infolge ihres als fiktiv erkannten Charakters keinerlei Beweiskraft zukommt; in der *Ältesten Urkunde* dagegen scheint dieser Angriff bedenklich, da die

¹⁶⁵ VI, 283 f.¹⁶⁶ VI, 283¹⁶⁷ VI, 273¹⁶⁸ VI, 307

Genesis jetzt als gottliche Offenbarung gilt. Zwar enthält sie keine Physik,¹⁶⁹ und vielleicht sollte man per Analogie schliessen, auch keine Geschichte, aber was enthält sie nun wirklich, wenn ihre Mitteilungen über die Vergangenheit und die Entstehung der Menschen objektiv unrichtig sind, wenn der von ihr angedeutete Naturzustand "schon an sich so widersprechend zerfällt, als es von *allen Historischen Beweisen entblosst ist*"¹⁷⁰ Gewiss, auch in der *Aeltesten Urkunde* ist die Theorie von dem alten Nationalmythos nicht aufgegeben, aber wenn dieser Mythos gottliches Wort, Offenbarung enthält, so musste sie ihrem Inhalt nach mehr sein als blosser Erdichtung. Soll Herders Werk nicht, wie sein Verfasser an Hamann schreibt, "*Keim und Morgenrothe zur neuen Geschichte und Philosophie des Menschengeschlechts* werden, auf dass Gottes Ruhm bestehe," eine Charakteristik, die durch den folgenden, allgemeiner gehaltenen Satz ergänzt wird. "Glauben Sie, mein liebster Freund, es wird einst werden, dass die *Offenbarung* und *Religion* Gottes, statt dass sie jetzt *Kritik* und *Politik* ist, *simple Geschichte* und *Weisheit* unseres Geschlechts werde"¹⁷¹ Obwohl die Offenbarung also nicht Geschichte "ist," so soll sie es jedenfalls "werden," wie es hier heisst, und wenn auch dieser Begriff des Werdens völlig dunkel ist, so brauchen wir bloss einen Blick in Herders gleichzeitig geschriebene Geschichtsphilosophie zu werfen, um dort den Naturzustand als eine anerkannte geschichtliche Hypothese vorzufinden.¹⁷² Herder hat also keine Ursache, sich über den "Philosophischen Geist" zu beschweren, der diesen Naturzustand eingeführt hat. Herder hatte vielleicht deutlicher als die meisten seiner Zeitgenossen die völlige Unhaltbarkeit dieser Lehre erkannt, aber das ändert nichts an der Tatsache, dass er sich nach aussen hin ebenfalls zu diesem Mythos zu bekennen schien, der durch die von ihm anerkannte Offenbarung den Stempel einer höheren Wahrheit erhalten hatte. Dass es sich dabei um keinen Wechsel in seiner innersten Ueberzeugung handelt, ist sicher; es durfte eher Verzicht auf gewonnene Erkenntnis *in maiorem dei gloriam* vorliegen wie er damals auf religiösem Gebiet häufig vorgenommen wurde. Intellektuell lehnte er diese Lehre ab, aber man darf andererseits nicht den emotionalen Einfluss des biblischen Mythos unterschätzen, und soweit Herder unter diesem Einfluss stand, mag der Naturzustand für ihn eine Art Wahrheit gewesen sein.

Eine ähnlich zwiespaltige Haltung nimmt Herder in Anbetracht der Sprachtheorie ein, auf die er in der *Aeltesten Urkunde* wieder eingeht. In einer Anmerkung nimmt er ausdrücklich auf seine Preisschrift Bezug, und wenn er auch nur deren "Bestimmung, Einschränkung und Anwendung" in Aussicht stellt, so bedeuten doch seine Ausführungen zumindestens ausserlich die dem Magus seinerzeit versprochene Ableug-

¹⁶⁹ VI, 205¹⁷⁰ VI, 307¹⁷¹ *Briefe an Hamann*, S. 80¹⁷² V, 477 ff

nung der fruher vertretenen Ideen, ein Umschwung, dessen Aufrichtigkeit insbesondere in Hinblick auf Herders Vorrede zu "*Des Lord Monboddo Werk von dem Ursprung und Fortgang der Sprache*"¹⁷³ zuweilen angezweifelt worden ist.¹⁷⁴ Die Methode der Preisschrift, nur historisch und empirisch erreichbare Tatsachen zu verwerten, gibt Herder auf und wendet sich stattdessen wieder spekulativen Ideen zu. Das von ihm in der Preisschrift erwähnte Phanomen der Besinnung interpretiert er jetzt in ein blosses Vermögen um, eine blosser Anlage zur Sprache, aus der sich die Sprache selber nicht erklären lasse, und erkennt damit gerade den Punkt an, den er seinerzeit am heftigsten bestritten hatte. Ganz ähnlich wie Rousseau, der aus der Schwierigkeit der Sprachentwicklung auf die Notwendigkeit einer übermenschlichen Einwirkung geschlossen hatte, so sagt jetzt auch Herder:

Mussts also seyn, dass eine *fremde Kraft* diese Besinnung, die nichts als Vermögen, d i Receptivitat war, weckte, oder sie ware ewig schlafend, dammernd, todt blieben.¹⁷⁵

Allerdings verlegt Herder diese übermenschliche Einwirkung in den ersten Moment des menschlichen Daseins, denn da er nach wie vor daran festhält, dass Vernunft nicht ohne Sprache, Sprache nicht ohne Vernunft möglich ist, so muss die überirdische Erweckung der Sprache mit der Schöpfung des Menschen zeitlich zusammenfallen.¹⁷⁶ Das bedeutet dann aber nichts anderes, als dass der Mensch von vornherein mit Sprache begabt geschaffen wurde, und damit ist Herder dem Resultat, wenn auch nicht der Methode nach, wieder bei seiner ursprünglichen Auffassung angelangt, dass der Mensch immer Sprache gehabt habe. Zwar hutet er sich, dieses Resultat deutlich auszusprechen, und zieht es vor, seine Erörterungen in ein mystisches Dunkel zu verhüllen, aber dass sich seine Ansichten über den Ursprung der Sprache im Grunde nur wenig geändert haben, kann als sicher angenommen werden. Gott "losete ihm (dem Menschen) Sprache und Zunge," so sagt er an anderer Stelle,¹⁷⁷ aber diese theologische Ausdrucksweise kann über die wirkliche Auffassung des Verfassers nicht hinwegtäuschen. Aus diesem Grunde darf auch die Ähnlichkeit mit Rousseau in diesem Zusammenhange nicht überschätzt werden, denn Rousseau geht von dem Gedanken einer Verleihung der Sprache im Laufe der Entwicklung aus, während für Herder Mensch und Sprache untrennbar bleiben. Eine Spracherfindung im eigentlichen Sinne,

¹⁷³ xv, 179 ff¹⁷⁴ Steinthal, *Ursprung der Sprache*, S. 35¹⁷⁵ vi, 299

¹⁷⁶ vi, 299 f. Herder sagt dort "Da von der Sprache nun aller Gebrauch der Vernunft, und aller Unterscheidungskarakter der Menschheit, wie Ihr selbst bewiesen habt, abhängt! Mensch also nur durch Sprache das Geschöpf seyn konnte, was er seyn sollte—wird und muss ihn nicht diese weckende Kraft vom Ersten Augenblicke des Daseyns belebt, geleitet, geführt haben?"

¹⁷⁷ vi, 286.

sei sie natürlich oder ubernatürlich, findet bei Herder nicht statt. Sprache ist ganz menschlich, weil kein Wunder zu ihrer Erschaffung nötig war, sie ist ganz göttlich, weil alles Irdische letzten Endes ein Wunder ist. Soweit hier eine Anlehnung an Rousseau stattfindet, ist sie mehr oder weniger durch die Verlegenheit diktiert, in der sich Herder durch die ihm wenig sympathische Lehre vom göttlichen Ursprung befand, nicht durch wirkliche Gleichheit der Ueberzeugung. Die Formel: göttlich und menschlich bedeutet natürlich eine starke Anlehnung an den Ritter Rosenkreuz, doch findet Hamanns Begriff eines Logos, wie ihn Unger nachweist, bei Herder keine Parallele.¹⁷⁸

IV DIE GESCHICHTSPHILOSOPHIE

Religiöser Uebereifer und historisches Denken hatten Herder bei der endgültigen Fassung der *Ältesten Urkunde* die Feder geführt, aber diese beiden Elemente waren zu heterogen, als dass aus ihrer Verbindung fruchtbare Gedanken hatten entspringen können. Erfreut uns der Historiker durch interessante Betrachtungen über das jüdische Altertum, so stösst uns im nächsten Augenblick der wetternde Theologe ab, der mit unglaublicher Hartnäckigkeit und Intoleranz auf seiner Meinung besteht, ohne zu bemerken oder bemerken zu wollen, dass zahlreiche innere Widersprüche diese Meinung schlechthin unannehmbar machen. In Herders folgender Schrift, die den sonderbaren Titel führt: *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit, Beytrag zu vielen Beytragen des Jahrhunderts*, ist dieser Uebereifer zum blossen Eifer herabgestimmt,¹⁷⁹ und wenn auch historisches und theologisches Denken nicht zu einem vollständigen inneren Ausgleich gekommen sind, so wirken sie bis zu einem gewissen Grade befruchtend aufeinander¹⁸⁰ und fördern eine der schönsten Schriften Herders zutage. Zwar enthält auch sie grosse Mängel,—und wer den Einfluss Rousseaus feststellen will, muss gerade diesen Mängeln besonderes Interesse zuwenden,—aber mit allen diesen Fehlern versöhnt der Gesamteindruck des Werkes reichlich.

Was Rousseau in der *Inégalité* in Bezug auf einzelne Nationen ausge-

¹⁷⁸ Hamanns *Sprachtheorie* (München, 1905), S. 170

¹⁷⁹ Wie sehr sich Herder selber dieses Nachlassens seines religiösen Eifers bewusst war, scheint mir am deutlichsten aus dem Brief an Lavater hervorzugehen, den er der Geschichtsphilosophie beilegt. Herder erwähnt dort Pläne zu einem zweiten Teil, der sich zum ersten wie der Schlüssel zum Schloss verhalten solle. Dieser Schlüssel sollte sein "Religion, Christus, Ende der Welt mit einer glorreichen, seligen Entwicklung." Herder behauptet, nicht zu wissen, ob er diesen Teil je schreiben wird, doch wusste er vermutlich sehr gut, dass er ihn nicht schreiben würde, denn offenbar handelt es sich hier nur um eine Entschuldigung für die geringe Berücksichtigung theologischer Vorstellungen in dem Werk gegenüber dem frommen Lavater, vgl. *Aus Herders Nachlass*, II, 110.

¹⁸⁰ Bezüglich der religiösen Elemente in der Geschichtsphilosophie sei auf die ausführliche Erörterung bei Dörne, *o. c.* S. 89 ff. verwiesen.

fuhrte hatte, das will Herder in einem grossen Wurf auf die Welt als solche ausdehnen und ihre Geschichte mit den Begriffen des Heranreifens und Verfallens aus einem einheitlichen Gesichtspunkt erfassen, das ist der Grundgedanke der Geschichtsphilosophie. In diesem Sinne beginnt sie mit der Beschreibung des glücklichen Urzeitalters, "wo ein Menschenpaar unter den mildesten Einflüssen der schaffenden Vorsehung, unter Beistande der erleichterndsten Fugungen rings um sich her, den Faden anspann. . ." ¹⁸¹ Die Vorstellung dieses Naturzustandes ist bei Herder und Rousseau identisch, abgesehen davon, dass ersterer bewusst den Eindruck zu erwecken versucht, als sei er auf Grund einer prinzipiell verschiedenen Methode zur Erkenntnis dieser Urzeit gelangt. Hatte Rousseau ehrlich eingestanden, dass dieser Naturzustand weder empirisch, noch historisch erschlossen sei, ¹⁸² so scheint Herders einleitender Satz darauf hinzudeuten, dass die Erkenntnis der Anfänge des Menschengeschlechts auf dem Wege empirischer Forschung liege:

Je weiter hin es sich in Untersuchung der ältesten Weltgeschichte, ihrer Völkerwanderungen, Sprachen, Sitten, Erfindungen, und Traditionen aufklart: desto wahrscheinlicher wird mit jeder neuen Entdeckung auch der *Ursprung des ganzen Geschlechts von Einem*. ¹⁸³

Auf den ersten Blick scheint dieser Satz zu bedeuten, dass das goldene Zeitalter bisher nur eine Hypothese sei, jedoch eine Hypothese, die wahrscheinlicher Weise in absehbarer Zeit durch neue Entdeckungen in ein historisches Faktum umgewandelt werden durfte. Es kann dahingestellt bleiben, ob Herder bei der Formulierung dieses Satzes wirklich an die beginnende historische Altertumsforschung dachte wie er andeutet ¹⁸⁴ oder an die Versuche eines Lafitau ¹⁸⁵ und eines Jens Kraffts, ¹⁸⁶ die Urzeit

¹⁸¹ v, 477

¹⁸² Vgl. *Oeuvres*, I, 83 und 91. I, 85 verspricht Rousseau, den Urmenschen so zu beschreiben, "qu'il a dû sortir des mains de la nature"

¹⁸³ v, 447. Auch Rousseau macht einmal eine Bemerkung, die auf die Möglichkeit einer experimentellen Erkenntnis des Urmenschen hinzudeuten scheint: "Quelles expériences seroient nécessaires pour parvenir à connoître l'homme naturel, et quels sont les moyens de faire ces expériences au sein de la société" (I, 79). Dieser Satz hat mit Herders Ausführungen gewisse Ähnlichkeiten, doch denkt Rousseau dabei tatsächlich nicht an Geschichte, zweifelt er doch selber, ob der Naturmensch je existiert hat, wie er gerade zuvor ausgeführt hat, vgl. *Oeuvres*, I, 79.

¹⁸⁴ Das einzige Buch, das Herder mit Namen anführt, ist *Neueste historische Untersuchungen und Reisen in Asien*. Diesem Hinweis auf historische Forschung darf man jedoch nicht zu grosse Bedeutung beimessen; Herder wollte häufig Historiker scheinen, wo er es tatsächlich nicht war.

¹⁸⁵ Joseph François Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps* (Paris, 1724).

¹⁸⁶ Jens Krafft, *Die Sitten der Wilden, zur Aufklärung des Ursprungs und Aufnahme der Menschheit*, Deutsche Uebersetzung (Kopenhagen, 1766). Das Buch lehnt sich stark an Lafitau an.

durch einen Vergleich mit den Wilden der Gegenwart zu erschliessen, denn die naturgeschichtliche Einkleidung des Satzes darf uns nicht über die wahre Methode hinwegtauschen: Herder beschreibt den Naturzustand nicht hypothetisch, wie er auf Grund bisheriger Forschung sein konnte, sondern mit absoluter Gewissheit und stellt nur gleichzeitig fest, dass sich auch die empirische Wissenschaft einer Erkenntnis näherte, die er, Herder, schon ohne sie besass. Der hypothetische Charakter des Urzustandes wird nur im ersten Satze erwähnt, verschwindet danach jedoch völlig,¹⁸⁷ in der gesamten weiteren Untersuchung wird er als eine fest gegründete Tatsache hingenommen. Die Quelle für Herders Kenntnis dieses frühesten Stadiums der Menschheit wird uns erst etwas später mitgeteilt:

Die Geschichte der frühesten Entwicklung des Menschlichen Geschlechts, wie sie uns das älteste Buch beschreibt, mag also so *kurz* und *apokryphisch* klingen, dass wir vor dem Philosophischen Geist unsres Jahrhunderts, der nichts mehr als *Wunderbares* und *Verborgenes* hasset, damit zu erblöden scheinen eben deswegen ist sie wahr¹⁸⁸

Lost man diesen Satz in seine einzelnen Teile auf, so geht Herder in folgender Weise vor: die früheste Geschichte der Menschheit ist in der Bibel mitgeteilt, die Art und Weise, in der sie dort beschrieben ist, scheint uns heute sonderbar, das Sonderbare daran ist jedoch nicht Grund zum Zweifel, sondern Beweis der Wahrheit: *credo quia absurdum*. In dieser Erfassung des Naturzustandes auf religiösem Wege scheint sich nun Herder wieder ganz von Rousseau zu entfernen, der allein auf Grund rationaler Erwägungen vorgegangen war. In Wirklichkeit liegt die Sache jedoch anders. Macht schon die Übereinstimmung im Ergebnis zweifelhaft, ob Herder wirklich eine grundsätzlich verschiedene Methode anwendet, wie er andeutet, so belehrt uns eine eigenartige Bemerkung, die sich an das *credo quia absurdum* anschliesst, eines Besseren:

Scheint nicht selbst für das Maulwurfsauge dieses lichtesten Jahrhunderts doch ein längeres Leben, eine stiller und zusammenhangender wirkende Natur, kurz eine Heldenzeit des Patriarchenalters dazu zu gehören, die erste Formen des Menschengeschlechts, welche es auch seyen? den Stammvatern aller Nachkommenschaft ein—und für die Ewigkeit anzubilden?

Sieht man von dem an dieser Stelle nicht gerechtfertigten Angriff auf das lichteste Jahrhundert ab, so enthält der Satz ein rein spekulatives Argument: die ersten Formen des Menschengeschlechts müssen in der angegebenen Weise beschaffen gewesen sein, weil sich vernünftige Ueberlegung eine andere Beschaffenheit nicht vorstellen kann. Es muss so

¹⁸⁷ Ein Verfahren, das dem Rousseaus sehr ähnlich ist. Auch Rousseau verwischt häufig die Grenze zwischen Hypothese und Realität.

¹⁸⁸ v, 478

gewesen sein, folglich war es so; das ist die Methode des Rousseauschen Primitivismus, des *écarter les faits*, und wenn Herder auch seinen ersten Begriff vom Naturzeitalter durch die Bibel erhalten zu haben behauptet, so meldet sich der Rationalist schnell genug, um etwaige Zweifel an der Zuverlässigkeit der biblischen Erzählung zu zerstreuen. Herder bedient sich also zweier grundsätzlich verschiedener Methoden zum Beweis seines Urzeitalters: Als Theologe verkündet er das *credo quia absurdum*, als Philosoph glaubt er dasselbe, aber nicht, weil es absurd, sondern gerade im Gegenteil, weil es vernünftig ist. Die beiden angewandten Methoden ergänzen sich nicht, sondern schliessen sich gegenseitig aus. Dass dabei der rationalen der Vorrang gebührt, ist offensichtlich, denn wenn dieselbe Behauptung einmal auf die an dieser Stelle nicht ganz sicher scheinende Autorität des ältesten Buches, dann auf vernünftige Ueberlegung gestützt wird, so ist der letztere Beweis überzeugender als der erste, und somit darf man wohl behaupten, dass der in der Geschichtsphilosophie beschriebene Urzustand zwar durch die Bibel angeregt, jedoch nach dem Muster Rousseaus erkannt und ausgebildet ist.

Dies zeigt sich besonders deutlich in seiner näheren Ausgestaltung. Alle wesentlichen Eigenschaften des "Jahrhunderts des Verfalls" existieren in ihm nicht; dem "so oft mishelligen Verhältniss zwischen Kraft und Besonnenheit, Fähigkeit und Klugheit, Anlage und gutem Herzen, die ein Jahrhundert des Verfalls immer bezeichnen,"¹⁸⁹ entspricht zu jener Zeit eine ungetrübte Harmonie im Seelenleben des Menschen, sodass alle seine Neigungen "die natürlichsten, stärksten, einfachsten" sind. Gerade wie für Rousseau, so wird auch für Herder der Naturzustand mit dem Zustande absoluter Vollkommenheit identisch, und beide Philosophen bedienen sich desselben Mittels zur Konstruktion dieses Zustandes: die üblichen Schwächen und Fehler, mit denen Menschen im allgemeinen behaftet sind, sprechen sie ihrem Urmenschen ab und leugnen alle Instinkte und Leidenschaften, die ihn mit andern Vertretern seines Geschlechts in Wettbewerb oder gar Unfrieden bringen konnten. Automatisch ergibt sich aus diesen Vorstellungen die Anerkennung der *bonté naturelle*: der Urmensch war gut, nicht weil er es sein sollte, sondern weil er nicht anders sein konnte.¹⁹⁰ Und so sieht jetzt Herder den Ursprung der Menschheit in demselben verklärten Licht wie der Verfasser des *Emile*, der an den Anfang seines Buches den berühmten Satz stellte:

¹⁸⁹ v, 478

¹⁹⁰ Rousseau hatte bekanntlich die *bonté naturelle* nicht im Text der *Inégalité* bewiesen, sondern behauptet nur in der berühmten Anmerkung 1, dass er es getan zu haben glaube. "Bewiesen" oder nicht, der Gedanke der *bonté naturelle* ist eins der Fundamente der Rousseauschen Schrift. Herder erwähnt das Problem als solches nicht, doch enthält S. 479 nichts als den Versuch einer Beschreibung des von Natur guten Menschen.

“Tout est bien, sortant des mains de l'Auteur des choses, tout dégénère entre les mains de l'homme.”¹⁹¹

Von den “heroischen Anfängen der Bildung Menschlichen Geschlechts” lenkt Herder anschliessend den Blick seines Lesers nach dem Orient, um dort den “Trummern der weltlichen Geschichte” nachzugehen.¹⁹² Diese Ausdrucksweise erweckt den Eindruck, als versuche er aus seinen theologischen, bzw. rationalistischen Spekulationen herauszukommen und den Uebergang zur Geschichte zu finden. Soweit der erste Absatz, der dieser Stufe der Entwicklung gewidmet ist, in Betracht kommt, muss dieser Versuch allerdings als vollig misslungen gelten. Zwar behauptet Herder, sich in seinen Ausführungen auf die “Tradition unserer ältesten Geschichte” zu verlassen, und ein Blick auf seine Schilderungen zeigt, dass er sich tatsächlich eng an die Bibel anschliesst und bei seinen Hirten und Patriarchen an Abraham, Jacob und Joseph denkt; aber zweifellos beruht dieser Anschluss an die Bibel ebenso sehr auf der zufälligen Uebereinstimmung der Bibel mit Herders eigenen Gedanken und Absichten als auf bewusster Anlehnung. Was Herder schildert, ist zunächst nichts anderes als das Zeitalter der beginnenden Gesellschaft, nach Rousseau wie nach Herder das glücklichste der Menschheit. Obgleich Rousseau im Anfang des zweiten Teiles der *Inégalité* die Gründung jeder Gesellschaft, auch der rudimentärsten, verflucht,¹⁹³ ändert er seinen Standpunkt im Fortgange seiner Schrift vollig und sieht den Zwischenzustand des einfachen Wilden, der schon in einer Gesellschaft lebt, aber sich noch die schönsten Eigenschaften des Naturzustandes bewahrt hat, als die goldene Zeit der Menschheit an.¹⁹⁴ Das Glück, das die Menschheit jetzt neu gewinnt, beschreibt er ausführlich:

L'habitude de vivre ensemble fit naître les plus doux sentiments qui soient connus des hommes, l'amour conjugal et l'amour paternel . Un voisinage permanent ne peut manquer d'engendrer enfin quelque liaison entre diverses familles. De jeunes gens de différens sexes habitent des cabanes voisines, le commerce passager que demande la nature en amène bientôt un autre non moins doux et plus permanent par la fréquentation mutuelle . . . le chant et la danse, vrais enfans de l'amour et du loisir, devinrent l'amusement ou plutôt l'occupation des hommes et des femmes oisifs et attroupés . . .¹⁹⁵

Stellen wir einige von Herders Kernsätzen neben diese Beschreibung Rousseaus, so ergibt sich mit volliger Deutlichkeit, wo die wichtigste Quelle für Herders Schilderung des Orients zu finden ist:

Das Hirtenleben im schönsten Klima der Welt, wo die freiwillige Natur den einfachsten Bedürfnissen so zuvor oder zu Hülfe kommt, die ruhige und zugleich

¹⁹¹ *Œuvres*, II, 3

¹⁹² V, 480

¹⁹³ *Œuvres*, I, 105

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 110.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 108, 109.

wandernde Lebensart der väterlichen Patriarchenhütte, . . der damalige Kreis Menschlicher Bedürfnisse, Beschäftigungen und Vergnügen . . Gott! welch ein Zustand zu Bildung der Natur in den einfachsten, nothwendigsten, angenehmsten Neigungen!¹⁹⁶

Die Zeit der Patriarchen gilt ihm als "das goldene Zeitalter der Kindlichen Menschheit," und gerade dieser Ausdruck zeigt deutlich, dass Herder wieder in den Bahnen der Entwicklungstheorie gelandet ist. Seine Methode ist genau genommen weder theologisch, noch historisch, sondern schliesst sich in diesem Teil des Werkes an Rousseau an, dessen bestechendes Schema Herder wieder aufgenommen hat

Eine Philosophie der Geschichte hatte Herder versprochen, aber bisher hatte er nur Philosophie und keine Geschichte geliefert. Erst der folgende Absatz soll die wirkliche Verbindung mit der Geschichte bringen, indem sich Herder bemüht, seine Theorie über die glückliche Kindheit der Menschheit im Orient durch historische Daten aus der wirklichen Entwicklung jener Völker nachzuweisen. Abweichend von Rousseau versucht er also doch, sich auf die Zeugnisse der Geschichte zu verlassen, muss allerdings dabei die Erfahrung machen, dass sie, ganz wie Rousseau behauptet hatte, ungewiss, wenn nicht sogar direkt störend sind. Die Verlegung der goldenen Zeit nach dem Orient bringt ihn mit einer der Lieblingsvorstellungen seiner Zeit in Konflikt. Seit dem Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts hatte sich ein lebhaftes Interesse am Orient entwickelt, das im 18. Jahrhundert ständig zunahm, die *Marchen aus Tausend und einer Nacht* waren zum ersten Mal ins Französische übertragen worden,¹⁹⁷ die *Zend-Avesta* war gerade kurz vor der Abfassung von Herders Geschichtsphilosophie durch Anquetils Uebersetzung zugänglich geworden,¹⁹⁸ Reisebeschreibungen erschienen in grosser Zahl, und auch die Philosophie hatte sich des Orients bemächtigt, aber in einer Art, die Herders Theorien strikt zuwiderlief. "Le Despotisme Oriental" war eine Art Schlagwort geworden und sozusagen ein Lehrbeispiel für die denkbar schlechteste Regierungsform. Ricaut's *Etat de l'Empire Ottoman*, Herbelots *Bibliothèque Orientale* und Chardins *Voyage en Perse* hatten den Grundstein zu dieser Auffassung gelegt, Montesquieu, im *Esprit des Loix*, bezieht sich fast stets auf den Orient, wenn er die Auswüchse des Despotismus illustrieren will,¹⁹⁹ Voltaire hatte hauptsächlich aus seiner antireligiösen Einstellung heraus das jüdische Volk in das denkbar schlechteste Licht zu stellen gesucht,²⁰⁰ Helvetius hatte ein vernichtendes Bild der

¹⁹⁶ v, 480, 481

¹⁹⁷ I A Galland, *Les Mille et une nuits* (Paris, 1704–17)

¹⁹⁸ Anquetil-Duperron, *Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre* (Paris, 1771)

¹⁹⁹ *Esprit des Loix*, II, 5, v, 14

²⁰⁰ *Tratté de la Tolérance, Œuvres*, xxv, 77 ff.; *Philosophie de l'Histoire, Œuvres* xi, 110 ff.

sozialen und politischen Zustände des Orients entworfen²⁰¹ und Boulanger hatte im Jahrzehnt vor dem Erscheinen von Herders Geschichtsphilosophie alle diese Auffassungen in seinem grossen Werke *Recherches sur l'Origine du Despotisme Oriental* zusammengefasst und dabei ebenfalls ein erschreckendes Bild orientalischer Verhältnisse entworfen²⁰² Boulanger hatte dabei besonders darauf hingewiesen, dass dieser Despotismus nicht von heute oder gestern stamme, sondern auf eine lange Geschichte zurückblicke²⁰³ Herder war mit seinen Anschauungen wohl vertraut, schon in seiner Jugend hatte er sich mit Boulangers eigenartigen Theorien auseinanderzusetzen gesucht,²⁰⁴ und gerade diese vollige Einstimmigkeit aller Autoren musste es für ihn umso schwieriger machen, gegen sie alle Stellung zu nehmen Wenn er dabei an sein Publikum die Mahnung richtet, sich "von dem Worte des Fachphilosophen nicht irren"²⁰⁵ zu lassen, so klingt das wenig überzeugend, denn wenn er auch nur verächtlich Fachphilosoph—natürlich mit der Betonung auf Philosoph—sagt, so musste es doch eigentlich Fachmann heissen Nur ein Schriftsteller hatte es gewagt, vor Herder ähnliche Gedanken zum Ausdruck zu bringen, Isaak Iselin, der den morgenlandischen Despotismus "in seiner ersten Anlage" als "eine vaterliche, und . . hirtenthümliche Regierungsform" bezeichnet hatte²⁰⁶ Aber auch Iselins Kenntnis des Orients "in seiner ersten Anlage" stammt nicht aus Forschungen, sondern er schildert den Orient einfach so, wie er ihn zur Aufrechterhaltung der Kontinuität seines Entwicklungsgedankens braucht. Ausserdem hatte Herder bestimmt kein Recht, sich gerade auf Iselin zu beziehen, denn wenn es auch unzweifelhaft ist, dass dessen *Geschichte der Menschheit* auf Herders Geschichtsphilosophie von erheblichem Einfluss gewesen ist,²⁰⁷ so hatte sich doch Herder bewusst gegen den Schweizer gestellt und ihn zusammen mit den Aufklärungshistorikern Hume und Robertson "und was dem nachhinkt und nachlallet" abgelehnt²⁰⁸ Und war Iselin bei seinen gewagten

²⁰¹ *De l'Esprit*, 3^e discours, chap. xvii bis xxi, *Œuvres* (Londres, 1791), 178 ff., mit ausführlicher Darlegung der 4 üblen Folgen des Despotismus

²⁰² Anonym veröffentlicht im Jahre 1761

²⁰³ *Recherches*, S. 2 Von den Fürsten wird dort gesagt "qu'ils ont toujours été regardés comme des Dieux visibles, devant qui le reste de la terre anéantie devoit se prosterner en silence"

²⁰⁴ Vgl. Herders *Zur Geschichte der Wissenschaften aus Boulanger*, xxxii, 153 ff

²⁰⁵ Die Warnung vor dem Fachphilosophen bezieht sich nach einer Anmerkung auf "Montesquieu's Schaaren Nachfolger," v, 482

²⁰⁶ *Geschichte der Menschheit*, II, 101 Vgl. jedoch Iselins abfällige Aeusserungen über den historisch verbürgten Despotismus des Orients auf S. 75

²⁰⁷ Ueber das Verhältnis von Herders *Geschichtsphilosophie* und Iselins *Geschichte der Menschheit* haben R. Fester (*Rousseau u. d. dt. Gesch. Phil.*, S. 57) und A. Regli (*Iselins Geschichte der Menschheit, eine Vorarbeit zu Herders "Ideen,"* S. 75) ausführlich gehandelt

²⁰⁸ v, 530 Anmerkung.

Behauptungen immerhin noch mit einer gewissen Vorsicht und Zurückhaltung verfahren, so belehrt uns Herder, dass im Orient ideale Verhältnisse bestanden hatten, ohne auch nur den Versuch zu machen, diese Behauptung durch Tatsachen zu beweisen. Rousseau hatte von vornherein die vollige Unvereinbarkeit zwischen seiner Entwicklungslehre und der Geschichte eingesehen und deswegen die Geschichte konsequent ausgeschieden, Herder schliesst dagegen einen vom historisch-wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt bedenklichen Kompromiss. Er biegt die Geschichte so zurecht, wie er sie zur Stützung seines Entwicklungsgedankens braucht, geht also durchaus nicht anders vor als Iselin, dessen Philosophie er bekämpft. Nicht ohne Grund hat man Herder vorgeworfen, dass er mit "Phantasiefarben" male²⁰⁹ und Posadzy durfte in mancher Beziehung Recht haben, wenn er sagt. "Er (Herder) glaubt stets an der historischen Tatsächlichkeit sich zu orientieren und lebt nur in einer künstlich konstruierten Ideenwelt."²¹⁰ Man darf solche Behauptungen gewiss nicht auf das Werk als Ganzes ausdehnen, aber an dieser Stelle wie an mancher anderen sind sie unzweifelhaft gerechtfertigt. Und gerade bei solchen Ausführungen zeigt sich, wie sehr Herder im Geiste Rousseaus arbeitet, denn wer anders hatte ihm diese Geringschätzung der Tatsachen gelehrt? Obwohl Herder in allen ihm zugänglichen Quellen das genaue Gegenteil fand, sieht er "im Zelte des Patriarchen allein Ansehen, Vorbild und Autorität," sodass der Despotismus unter Herders Händen zur "Vaterautorität, Haus und Hütte zu regieren" wird.²¹¹ Modern Forschung hat in der Tat verschiedene Vermutungen Herders über den Orient bestätigt, insbesondere den patriarchalischen Aufbau der Gesellschaft bei den arabischen Nomaden,²¹² aber das ändert nichts an der Tatsache, dass Herder nicht auf Grund ihm zugänglicher wissenschaftlicher Erkenntnis, sondern im deutlichen Gegensatz dazu zu seiner Auffassung gelangt ist. Niemand ist sich darüber klarer als Herder selbst: Dass die Verhältnisse des Orients, soweit historisch verbürgte Nachrichten vorliegen, seinem Ideal nicht entsprechen, gibt er zu, aber, so fährt er fort,

alle das später dahingestellt, und zugegeben. Anfangs unter der milden Vaterregierung war nicht eben der Morgenländer mit seinem zarten Kindesinne der glücklichste und folgsamste Lehrling? Alles ward als Muttermilch und väterlicher Wein gekostet!²¹³

Herders Methode wird durch diesen Satz deutlich: statt sich auf Tatsachen zu stützen, hat er wieder nur Fiktionen herangezogen. Aus dem

²⁰⁹ Friedrich Meinecke, *Entstehung des Historismus*, II, 434

²¹⁰ Ludwig Posadzy, *Der entwicklungsgeschichtliche Gedanke bei Herder* (Posen, 1906), S. 57

²¹¹ v, 482 f.

²¹² A. T. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, S. 39.

²¹³ v, 484.

Fehlen von Nachrichten über jene prahistorische Zeit leitet er das Recht ab, die Zustände des Orients so darzustellen, wie sie seinem System am besten entsprechen, und so wird es Herders eigenen Ausführungen schließlich klar, dass er auch bei der Ausmalung der Kindheit der Menschheit nicht mit geschichtlichen Tatsachen, sondern ausschliesslich mit subjektiven Ideen gearbeitet hat ²¹⁴

Rousseau war bei seiner Entwicklungstheorie von der Vorstellung eines doppelten Sundenfalles ausgegangen. Der erste bewirkt den Uebergang vom Naturzustand zu dem der primitivsten Gesellschaft, in der Rousseau die Unabhängigkeit der Menschen voneinander als die Garantie ihres Glucks und ihrer Freiheit angesehen hatte. Der zweite Sundenfall bewirkt den Uebergang zum wirklichen gesellschaftlichen Leben, das als die Ursache aller Uebel erscheint:

... dès l'instant qu'un homme eut besoin du secours d'un autre, dès qu'on s'aperçut qu'il étoit utile à un seul d'avoir des provisions pour deux, l'égalité disparut, la propriété s'introduisit, le travail devint nécessaire, et les vastes forêts se changèrent en des campagnes riantes qu'il fallut arroser de la sueur des hommes, et dans lesquelles on vit bientôt l'esclavage et la misère germer et croître avec les moissons ²¹⁵

Herder teilt Rousseaus Pessimismus nicht vollig, doch gibt auch er zu, dass auf der nächsten Stufe der Entwicklung, dem Knabenalter, wie er es nennt, der "Himmlische Anstrich" der Kindheit des Menschengeschlechtes verloren gegangen ist ²¹⁶. Aegypten ist das Land, in dem sich das Knabenalter entfaltet. Ackerbau löste das Hirtenleben ab, die Industrie kam auf und damit nahm das Leben ernstere Formen an. Auch dies ist wieder ein Anklang an Rousseau, der in der Einführung des Ackerbaus und der Metallbearbeitung den Hauptunterschied zwischen der glücklichen Kindheit und dem fortgeschrittenen Kulturzeitalter gesehen hatte ²¹⁷. In Aegypten entstanden nach Herder Gesetze, die nicht mehr "vaterliche Orakelsprüche der Gottheit," sondern "politische Regeln der Sicherheit" waren. Während der Morgenländer als "ein freies Thier des Feldes" gelebt und gewebt hatte, entwickelt sich jetzt städtische Kultur und politische Organisation. ²¹⁸ Aber auch hier verwickelt sich Herder in Widersprüche, diesmal allerdings nicht so sehr mit den Tatsachen, als mit seinem eigenen Entwicklungsgedanken. Es ist eine hoff-

²¹⁴ Meinecke (*Historismus*, II, 418) mochte gerade in Herders Behandlung des Orients einen Gegensatz zur Aufklärung erblicken, indem hier "ihre starren Begriffe . . . unter der warmen Sonne einer menschlich liebenden und darum verstehenden Empfindung" zu schmelzen beginnen. Es sei im Gegensatz dazu nochmals betont, dass Herder nur die übliche Phraseologie der Entwicklungstheorie verwendet und nur willkürlich diese Vorstellungen im Orient lokalisiert. ²¹⁵ *Oeuvres* I, 110. ²¹⁶ v, 488.

²¹⁷ *Oeuvres* I, 110.

²¹⁸ v, 489.

nungslose Aufgabe, die Jugendlichkeit der ägyptischen Kultur zu beweisen, und doch musste das geschehen, wenn Aegypten das Knabenalter der Menschheit darstellen soll. Aber gerade Aegypten war dazu so ungeeignet wie nur möglich: die Tradition spielte hier eine sonst im Altertum unbekannte, ja ungeahnte Rolle, das Land besass seit undenklichen Zeiten einen hoch entwickelten politischen und religiösen Apparat, eine streng organisierte Bureaukratie und Hierarchie²¹⁹—und dies alles als Knabenalter der Menschheit hinzustellen, scheint allerdings ein mehr als gewagter Schluss, der nicht mit der Behauptung gerechtfertigt wird, dass man "von Europa her die verzogenste Fratze" sahe²²⁰. Doch findet Herder auch in diesem Dilemma einen Weg, die Notwendigkeit von Religion, Furcht, Autorität und Despotismus zu begründen: sie waren das "Vehikulum der Bildung," denn ". . . mit dem Knaben von 7 Jahren last sich nicht, wie mit dem Greis und Mann vernunfteln." Herder scheint es nicht zu bemerken, dass diese Art der Beweisführung mit seinem Grundprinzip, der Analogie zur Entwicklung des Menschen, in diametralem Gegensatz steht und stattdessen auf der Analogie zur Erziehung beruht. Sollten sich nach dem ursprünglichen Plan die politischen, sozialen und kulturellen Einrichtungen der Menschen mit ihrem langsamen Heranreifen von selbst entwickeln, so muss an dieser Stelle die Vorsehung eingreifen, um die Menschen mit den zu ihrer weiteren Bildung notwendigen Einrichtungen zu versehen. Wenn aber die Vorsehung das Schicksal der Menschen leitet, dann bedarf es keiner Geschichtsphilosophie, dann ist die Analogie mit den Lebensaltern ubeflüssig, und an die Stelle derartiger Ueberlegungen muss die Frage nach den höheren Absichten Gottes treten. In dieser Aenderung des ursprünglichen Schemas liegt an sich eine Abweichung von Rousseau, obwohl auch dieser zuweilen, wie bei der Sprachentstehung, seine Zuflucht zur Vorsehung nahm; doch kommt diesem Umstand keine weitere Bedeutung zu, da es sich hier nur um ein Gebot der Verlegenheit handelt: Unfähig, die ägyptische Kultur seiner Entwicklung folgerichtig einzupassen, geht Herder temporär zu dem Erziehungsgedanken über, um mit dieser nicht leicht erkennbaren Inkonsistenz das Schema seiner Entwicklung ausserlich zu retten.²²¹ Im Gegensatz

²¹⁹ Vgl. James Baikie, *A History of Egypt* (New York, 1929), S. 186 ff.

²²⁰ v. 490. Derartige Anschauungen finden sich z. B. bei Goguet (*De l'Origine des Loix, des Arts et des Sciences et de leur Progrès chez les anciens Peuples*, I, 336 ff.), der auf die Unehrlichkeit und Unsittlichkeit der altägyptischen Kultur hinweist. Im allgemeinen scheint man jedoch von Aegypten milder gedacht zu haben, vgl. Voltaire, *Philosophie de l'Histoire, Œuvres*, XI, 59 ff.; Fénelon, *Télémaque*, 2. Buch, etc.

²²¹ Posadzy (*op. cit.*, S. 38) weist auf die Verquickung von göttlicher Lenkung mit dem Entwicklungsgedanken hin. Solche Verquickungen kommen zuweilen auch in der Schilderung des Orients vor, vgl. v. 482.

zur Schilderung des Orients darf man aber bei der Schilderung Aegyptens Herder keine Verfälschung der Tatsachen vorwerfen, er verfälscht seine Entwicklungsidee, lasst aber der Geschichte als solcher volle Gerechtigkeit wiederfahren.

Phonizien, die nächste Stufe der Entwicklung, ist der reine Handelsstaat, durch den die Beziehungen der Völker untereinander zur Ausbildung gelangen. Zum ersten Mal fallen hier Worte, die schon auf einen Abstieg der Entwicklung hindeuten: "Bequemlichkeit, Ueppigkeit und Pracht."²²² Aber das sind bisher nur Vorzeichen eines zukünftigen, erst sehr viel später einsetzenden Verfalls, denn von Phonizien findet der direkte Uebergang zum Junglingsalter der Menschheit statt, zu Griechenland. Obwohl Herder Griechenland stark idealisiert, so halt er sich damit an die zu seiner Zeit allgemein anerkannten Anschauungen, ist sogar in mancher Beziehung kritischer als die Kenner des Altertums, sodass er vom damaligen Standpunkt durchaus historisch vorgeht, wenn er schliesslich ausruft: "Griechenland! Urbild und Vorbild aller Schöne, Grazie und Einfalt! Jugendbluthe des Menschlichen Geschlechts—o hatte sie ewig dauern können!"²²³ Wieder weicht Herder hier vom Schema Rousseaus ab, indem er gewissermassen ein zweites *age d'or* annimmt. Diese Abweichung von Rousseau ergab sich mit Notwendigkeit aus Herders ästhetischen Neigungen. Das eigentliche Urzeitalter war gut und glücklich, d. h. es war ein goldenes Zeitalter vom sozialen und moralischen Gesichtspunkt aus Griechenland, und insbesondere Athen, an das Herder vor allem denkt, hatte in der Perikleischen Zeit sicherlich nicht diese Eigenschaften eines goldenen Zeitalters dieser Art, nur bei ästhetischer Bewertung erscheint es als eine der glanzendsten Perioden der Geschichte und kann Anspruch auf den Titel eines goldenen Zeitalters erheben.²²⁴ Für Rousseau kam dieser ästhetische Gesichtspunkt nicht in Betracht, sodass er eher dazu neigt, das künstlerisch unproduktive Sparta auf Kosten Athens hervorzuheben,²²⁵ während Herder gerade Athen im verklärten Licht sieht. Griechenland gilt Herder als "die Bluthe einer neuen schönen Natur," als deren Symbol sich ihm ein "edler Jungling mit gesalbten Gliedern, Liebling aller Grazien, und Liebhaber aller Musen, Sieger in Olympia und all "andern Spiele, Geist und Körper zusammen nur Eine blühende Blume" seinem verzuckten Auge darstellt.²²⁶ Zwar zollt er auch den politischen Einrichtungen Athens zuweilen

²²² v, 493²²³ v, 498

²²⁴ Die Bedeutung Griechenlands als ästhetischer Idealzeit untersucht Erich Aron ausführlich, vgl. *Die deutsche Entwicklung des Griechentums durch Winckelmann und Herder* (Heidelberg, 1929), S. 79 ff.

²²⁵ Diese Tendenz zeigt sich vor allem im *Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts*; vgl. *Œuvres*, I, 7.

²²⁶ v, 495.

Lob, jedoch nur, um gleich darauf wieder auf ästhetische Betrachtungen zurückzukommen ²²⁷

Von Griechenland geht Herder auf Rom über, das er als das Mannesalter der Menschheit auffasst. Eine konsequente Weiterführung der vegetativen Entwicklungsidee wurde es notwendig gemacht haben, anschliessend den Verfall der Menschheit zu zeigen. Tatsächlich fand ein Verfall statt, aber aus den Ruinen erhob sich neues Leben und dieses neue Leben liess sich nicht in der geplanten Weise in Herders Plan einfügen. Rousseau hatte sein Schema nur auf einzelne Nationen angewendet und hatte daher an dieser Stelle keine Schwierigkeiten gefunden; sollte jedoch die gesamte Geschichte des Menschengeschlechts in dieses Entwicklungsschema gepresst werden, so hatte sie mit dem Greisenalter zum Abschluss kommen müssen. Die römische Spätzeit wird auch noch ganz in diesem Sinne geschildert:

Alles war erschöpft, entnervt, zerruttet · von Menschen verlassen, von entnervten Menschen bewohnt, in Ueppigkeit, Lastern, Unordnungen, Freiheit und wildem Kriegesstolz untersinkend Die schonen Römischen Gesetze und Kanntnisse konnten nicht Krafte ersetzen, die verschwunden waren, Nerven wiederherstellen, die keinen Lebensgeist fuhlten, Triebfedern regen, die da lagen—also Tod! ein abgematteter, im Blute lgender Leichnam . . . ²²⁸

Aber der auf dieses Zitat folgende Satz: "da ward in Norden neuer Mensch gebohren," zeigt, dass die universalhistorische Erfassung der Entwicklung sich nur auf einen Teil, das Altertum, beschränkt.²²⁹ Die christliche Aera hat an dem den Lebensaltern analog gestalteten Entwicklungsprozess keinen Anteil, ja, die Analogie hat hier überhaupt keinen Raum mehr. Ab und zu taucht zwar ein anderes Bild auf, das des aufstrebenden Baumes, aber es ist, wie gesagt, nur Bild, nicht dominierendes Schema. Um es kurz zu machen · Im zweiten Teil der *Geschichtsphilosophie* ist der Zusammenhang mit Rousseau erheblich gelockert, da sich dessen Methode auf die christliche Aera nicht anwenden lässt. Historische Erörterungen treten in den Vordergrund, und nur noch gelegentlich finden wir Gedanken, die an Rousseau erinnern wie z B. die Schilderung der Einfachheit und Starke Germaniens, das dem in Ueppigkeit und Wohlleben verfallenden Rom gegenüber gestellt wird,—ein deutlicher Anklang an Tacitus und wohl auch an Rousseau.²³⁰ Solchen vereinzelt Anklängen kommt jedoch nur geringe Bedeutung zu, wesentlich ist allein Herders schon häufig beobachtete Uebereinstimmung mit Rousseau

²²⁷ v, 495 f. ²²⁸ v, 514 f.

²²⁹ Stadelmann macht darauf aufmerksam, dass die Zweiteilung der Geschichte in Altertum und Neuzeit ungleich wichtiger ist als die Scheidung nach Lebensaltern; vgl. *Der historische Sinn* (Halle, 1928), S. 87.

²³⁰ v, 514 Tacitus wird dort ausdrücklich erwähnt.

in der standigen Polemik gegen die modern Zeit in diesem Werk, das nach Herders eigenen Worten "Feuer und gluhende Kohle auf die Schadel unseres Jahrhunderts" enthalt ²³¹ Gerade wie die *Inégalité* und der *Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts*²³² so ist auch der zweite Teil der Herderschen Schrift im Grunde nichts als eine grosse Anklage der Gegenwart, mit der die standige "Rettung" anderer Zeiten Hand in Hand geht. Hatte der erste Abschnitt den Orient und Aegypten gerettet, Griechenland verherrlicht und Rom gepriesen, so bringt der zweite die Rettung des Mittelalters, wahrend Herder uber seine eigene Zeit kein gutes Wort finden kann. Er ist sich dieser feindlichen Haltung durchaus bewusst und verteidigt sich gegen den Vorwurf, dass er "immer die Ferne lobe und uber die Gegenwart klage" mit der Behauptung, dass ihm die Vorzuge seiner Zeit durchaus klar seien ²³³ Dass es ein grosses Jahrhundert der Erleuchtung sei, verkennt er keineswegs, genausowenig, wie Rousseau im *Contrat Social* geleugnet hatte,²³⁴ dass die Zeit der Gesellschaft der Urzeit vieles voraus habe, aber selbst Herders offenbar ehrlich gemeinte Versuche, die guten Eigenschaften seines Jahrhunderts darzulegen, enden doch nur in umso heftigeren Anklagen, aus denen sich schliesslich ein rational kaum fassbarer Glaube an eine grossere Zukunft herausschalt.²³⁵ Diese grosse Zukunft war auch der Traum und die Hoffnung des Verfassers der *Inégalité* gewesen, der seine flammende Beredsamkeit nicht nur darum entwickelt hatte, um die Unabwendbarkeit eines gewissen Unterganges darzulegen, sondern um zur Einkehr zu mahnen und so den drohenden Verfall aufzuhalten. Trotz seines uberwiegenden Interesses an der Vergangenheit als solcher hegt Herder zweifellos ahnliche Gedanken und in dieser Beziehung bleiben sich die beiden Kulturphilosophen einig.

Es sei an dieser Stelle nochmals die Frage nach dem Charakter dieser Uebereinstimmung aufgeworfen. Zufallig ist sie bestimmt nicht, aber ist sie, wie Haym es nannte, blosser "genius epidemicus der Zeit,"²³⁶ oder ist sie mehr als das, ist sie mehr oder weniger bewusste und gewollte Anlehnung? Rousseau wird in der ganzen Schrift nur ein einziges Mal direkt erwahnt, dort allerdings im Tone des Lobes und der Sympathie, als ein Gegenbild zu dem heftig angegriffenen Voltaire,²³⁷ aber aus dieser Erwahnung lassen sich keine Schlüsse ziehen. Bedeutsamer ist eine andere Stelle, in der Rousseau durch Auslassung erwahnt wird, wenn dieses Paradoxon zulassig ist. Am Ende des ersten Abschnittes beklagt sich Herder uber die historischen Zweifler in Frankreich, die in der Weltgeschichte nur ein ewiges Auf und Ab, ein "Weben und Aufreissen, ewige Revolu-

²³¹ Brief an Hartknoch, *Von und an Herder*, II, 43.

²³² Fester (*op cit*, S 55) fuhrt ebenfalls aus, dass sich Herders Schrift mit Rousseaus erstem Diskurse in ihrer polemischen Tendenz beruhre ²³³ v, 545

²³⁴ *Oeuvres*, III, 315

²³⁵ v, 580.

²³⁶ S. o S 753.

²³⁷ v, 583

tion" sehen, jedoch "keinen Plan, keinen Fortgang" darin wahrzunehmen glauben. In einer Anmerkung zu dieser Stelle nennt Herder Montaigne als Urheber dieser Anschauung und erwägt dann "Voltaire, Hume, selbst die Diderots"²³⁸ Rousseau hatte auf Grund seines Kulturpessimismus und seiner Kreislauftheorie in diesem Zusammenhang leicht Erwähnung finden können, die Tatsache, dass Herder ihn nicht nennt, dürfte als Beweis dafür angesehen werden, dass er sich einer gewissen Übereinstimmung mit Rousseau bewusst ist. Aber bewusste Übereinstimmung darf nicht mit bewusster Anlehnung verwechselt werden, und als Beweis für die letztere konnte somit nur wieder auf den Brief verwiesen werden, in dem Herder sechs Jahre zuvor die Grundgedanken der *Ältesten Urkunde* Hamann zuerst mitgeteilt hatte.²³⁹ Zwar bezieht sich dieser Brief nur auf Vorarbeiten zur *Ältesten Urkunde*, aber da sich Herders erneute Zuwendung zu dem Entwicklungsgedanken, wie er dann auch in der *Geschichtsphilosophie* von 74 zum Ausdruck kommt, aus seinem Studium der Genesis ergeben hatte, so dürfen die Vorarbeiten zur *Ältesten Urkunde* auch als Vorarbeiten zur *Geschichtsphilosophie* aufgefasst werden, und das berechtigt zu der Annahme, dass das Schema Rousseaus bei der Konzeption der *Geschichtsphilosophie* von entscheidender Bedeutung gewesen ist. Die Ausgestaltung der *Ältesten Urkunde* und der *Geschichtsphilosophie* erstreckte sich aber über mehrere Jahre, Jahre, in denen sich Herders Ideen entscheidend wandelten, und dieser Wandel war gerade in Bezug auf die *Geschichtsphilosophie* von grosster Bedeutung. So deutlich sich daher das Rousseausche Entwicklungsschema in ihr, oder wenigstens in ihrem ersten Teil abzeichnet, so stark die polemische Grundhaltung an den ewig unzufriedenen Jean-Jacques erinnert, so darf man sich doch nicht darüber täuschen, dass Herders Werk so grundsätzlich verschieden von allem ist, was Rousseau je geschaffen oder geplant hat, dass man von einem eigentlichen Einfluss Rousseaus im Jahre 1774 kaum noch reden kann, sondern nur noch von Anregungen. Die *Fragmente* waren seinerzeit unmittelbar aus der Schwärmerei für Rousseau heraus entstanden, sie zeigen den Geist des Genfers auf Schritt und Tritt, ohne Zufugung wirklich bedeutsamer Züge, während in der *Geschichtsphilosophie* von 74 die selbstständigen Zutaten Herders derartig überhand genommen haben, dass die Beziehung zu Rousseau von entscheidender Bedeutung nur noch in der Entstehungsgeschichte des Werkes, nicht in dem Werke selbst ist. Denn wenn sich auch das Schema Rousseaus darin deutlich abzeichnet, so ist es doch mit neuen Inhalten erfüllt, und diese neuen Inhalte sind wichtiger als das alte Schema. Um der Bedeutung Rousseaus die richtige Proportion zu geben, bedarf es einer Erwähnung der Elemente der *Geschichtsphilosophie*, die über ihn hinausführen. Da es

²³⁸ v, 512²³⁹ S. o S 785.

aber gerade diese Elemente gewesen sind, die stets das grösste Interesse hervorgerufen haben, und zahlreiche Behandlungen vorliegen,²⁴⁰ so ist an dieser Stelle eine kurze Zusammenfassung hinreichend.

Man hat Rousseau die Verneinung des Wertes der Geschichte genannt,²⁴¹ und die Richtigkeit dieser Behauptung zeigt sich deutlich darin, dass er die Entwicklung der Welt nicht nur in einigen schematisch skizzierten Altern zu erfassen sucht, sondern darüberhinaus auf die Herstellung einer greifbaren Verbindung zwischen diesen Altern verzichtet. Die Entwicklung vollzieht sich bei ihm ausschliesslich in abstrakten Begriffen: auf die Entstehung folgt die Blüte, auf diese die Reife, auf diese der Verfall. Obgleich Herder sich im wesentlichen an dieses Schema halt, so weicht er doch gerade in diesem Punkte davon ab: er bemüht sich darum, die tatsächliche Entwicklung, d. h. die Uebergänge zwischen den verschiedenen Altern, darzulegen, indem er die Ursachen andeutet, die das Ende des einen und die Entstehung des nächsten Zustandes zur Folge haben. Herder ist darin nicht ganz konsequent und stellt häufig, besonders am Anfang des Werkes schablonenmässig einen Zustand an den anderen, gerade wie es vor ihm Iselin in seiner *Geschichte der Menschheit* getan hatte,²⁴² doch kommt dafür an anderer Stelle der Gedanke historischer Kausalität umso deutlicher zum Ausdruck. Es ist ihm klar, dass eine Regierungsform wie die der griechischen Republik nicht plötzlich vom Himmel fallen konnte, sondern eine langsame Entwicklung über Despotismus, Landzunft und Aristokratie voraussetzt.²⁴³ Ausdrucklich weist er darauf hin, dass Griechenland bei aller Originalität nur ein Produkt der übrigen Völker ist. Gewiss, "nichts Orientalisches, Phonizisches und Aegyptisches behielt seine Art mehr, es war Griechisch," aber auch als solches bleibt es ein Ergebnis der Wirksamkeit früherer Zeiten und Völker.²⁴⁴ Die menschliche Natur muss "alles lernen, durch Fortgange gebildet werden, im allmählichen Kampf immer weiter schreiten." "Man bildet nichts aus, als wozu Zeit, Klima, Bedürfniss, Welt, Schicksal, Anlass gibt."²⁴⁵ Stadelmann

²⁴⁰ Auf zwei Schriften sei hier besonders hingewiesen: Meineckes Ausführungen im *Historismus* (II, 416 ff.) und Stadelmann, *Herder und der historische Sinn*.

²⁴¹ Ernst Troeltsch, *Der Historismus und seine Probleme* (Tübingen, 1922, S. 18).

²⁴² Soweit das Verhältnis der Herderschen Geschichtsphilosophie zu der Iselins in Betracht kommt, so hat gerade Regli dieses Problem besonders ausführlich behandelt. In der Einfügung des Gedankens der geschichtlichen Kausalität in die schon von Iselin angewandte Entwicklungs-idee findet er Herders bedeutsamste Eigenheit, vgl. *op. cit.* S. 76 ff. Für Iselin gab es nur Einzelphänomene ohne inneren Zusammenhang, verbunden allem durch religiöse Metaphysik (S. 53). Ob diese Metaphysik allerdings wirklich so religiös war, scheint mir zweifelhaft, denn wenn auch Iselin ein ganz anderes Ziel verfolgt als Rousseau, — er will gerade die Kontinuität des Fortschritts erweisen —, befolgt er doch dieselbe Methode wie Rousseau, beide stehen in dieser Beziehung im Gegensatz zu Herder.

²⁴³ v, 495

²⁴⁴ v, 499

²⁴⁵ v, 505.

hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, wie verschwommen der Entwicklungsbegriff bei Herder noch ist: er ist zuweilen teleologisch bedingt, dann wieder rein kausal und gelegentlich auch schon deutlich organisch, ohne dass Herder das Verhältnis dieser Begriffe zueinander klar gestellt hatte.²⁴⁶ Entscheidend bleibt jedenfalls, dass Herder über die rein metaphysische Verkettung der einzelnen Stadien hinausgekommen ist und damit den Rousseauschen Entwicklungsgedanken für geschichtliche Zwecke fruchtbar gemacht hat.

Die reale Verknüpfung der einzelnen Stadien lässt auch ihre Schematik in einem milderen Licht erscheinen. Die ersten Stufen dieses Prozesses bleiben trotz aller Versuche, sie historisch zu beleben, noch recht schablonenmassig, insbesondere das Zeitalter der Entstehung und das des Orients sind, wie dargelegt, nichts als Abstraktionen, aber je weiter Herder vorrückt, umso mehr verliert sich diese Schematik, um in der christlichen Ära dann ganz zu verschwinden. Vom Standpunkte eines strengen Historismus ist die Anwendung von Begriffen wie Kindheit, Junglingszeit etc. stets bedenklich, denn auf diese Weise zeigt man nicht, wie eine Zeit wirklich gewesen, sondern verdeutlicht nur, wie sie sich unserm Geiste darstellt. Aber gerade in dieser Beziehung sind wir heute milder geworden. Die Zeiten Rankes sind vorüber und der Begriff geschichtlicher Wahrheit, wie er von diesem grossen Historiker vertreten wurde, ist erschutert. Tatsachen als solche sind tot, um lebendig zu werden, müssen sie sinnvoll gemacht werden, und dieser Sinn, der nicht *eo ipso* in ihnen vorhanden ist, muss vom betrachtenden Individuum hineingelegt werden. Nicht Nachahmung einer Wirklichkeit, die sich tatsächlich in Worten gar nicht wiedergeben lässt, sondern formende Sinnggebung ist Geschichte. Historische Wahrheit ist nichts Statisches, sondern "intellektuelle Aktivität," ist ein vor allem subjektiv geistiger Prozess, wie die moderne Geschichtsphilosophie lehrt.²⁴⁷ Rousseaus Schema, das mit der Geschichte keinerlei Verbindung hatte, war in dieser Beziehung völlig unfruchtbar. Iselin hatte zwar schon den Versuch gemacht, ein derartiges Schema mit der Geschichte zu verbinden, aber er war dabei rein schablonenmassig vorgegangen und hatte die Geschichte als ein, meistens recht widerspenstiges Beweismittel für seine Theorien angesehen. Indem Herder diese Schematik wenigstens teilweise überwindet, beginnt sein Werk Formen anzunehmen, deren philosophische Berechtigung erst in moderner Zeit erwiesen worden ist. Zwar geht es auch Herder zunächst darum, die Übereinstimmung in der Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts mit der des einzelnen Menschen nachzuweisen, aber im Verlaufe seiner Ausführungen tritt diese ursprüngliche Absicht mehr und mehr zurück, wah-

²⁴⁶ Stadelmann, *op cit* S. 69

²⁴⁷ Georg Simmel *Die Probleme der Geschichtsphilosophie*, S. 59.

rend der Geschichte als solcher ein immer starkerer Vorrang gewahrt wird, —hatte er doch schon bei der Schilderung Aegyptens seine Theorie zugunsten der geschichtlichen Tatsachen umgebogen, wenn nicht direkt durchbrochen. Damit treten die theoretischen Ausführungen in ein ganz anderes Verhältnis zu den historischen: Es handelt sich jetzt nicht mehr um Behauptung und deren Beweis, sondern gerade um sinnvolle Gestaltung historischer Tatsachen nach Ideen. Und wenn dabei zuweilen auch die Ideen noch den Sieg über die Tatsachen gewinnen, indem die letzteren etwas zwangsvoll zurecht gestutzt werden,²⁴⁸ so wird doch die Grundtendenz deutlich sichtbar: ideenbeseelte Geschichte, nicht ungeschichtliche Ideen sind sein Ziel. Auch hier hat Rousseau wieder Gedanken angeregt, die ihm völlig fern standen, Gedanken, die sich direkt auf Hegel und weiterhin auf die oben erwähnte moderne Schule fortpflanzen sollten.

Er ergibt sich aus Herders eigenen Worten, dass diese Interpretation seines Werkes im modernen Sinne seinen Gedanken entspricht. Am deutlichsten zeigt sich das in der Bemerkung im Vorwort zu den *Ideen*, in dem er die Unterstellung zurückweist, dass er mit den Begriffen "Kindheit, Jugend, das mannliche und das hohe Alter" eine Heerstrasse für die Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts habe aufzeigen wollen.²⁴⁹ Aber auch in der Geschichtsphilosophie von 74 selber betont er, dass niemand "die Schwache des allgemeinen Charakterisirens" mehr fühle als er.²⁵⁰ Da sich dieser Satz innerhalb der Schilderung der Entwicklung der alten Welt befindet, die sich immerhin an Rousseaus Schema anlehnt, so wirkt er zunächst verbluffend, denn selbst bei allem Verständnis für Herders Fehler in seinen geschichtlichen Darlegungen wird man ihm den Vorwurf eines zu allgemeinen Charakterisierens kaum ersparen können. Aber Herder leugnet diese Tatsache im Grunde nicht, sondern verteidigt sein System unter Berufung auf die Notwendigkeit einer Vereinfachung und Beschränkung der historischen Wirklichkeit. Mit wenigen Kernsätzen zeigt er die völlige Unmöglichkeit einer alles umfassenden Charakterisierung. Der Charakter auch nur einer einzigen Nation hat eine solche Tiefe, dass er trotz häufigen Wahrnehmens und Anstaunens "doch so sehr das Wort fleucht." "Das Weltmeer ganzer Völker, Zeiten und Lander" lässt sich nicht "in einen Blick, ein Gefühl, ein Wort fassen," und so bleibt dem Historiker nichts übrig, als sich auf die wichtigsten Züge zu beschränken.²⁵¹ Jeder Mensch, jede Zeit ist bis zu einem gewissen Grade das Resultat aller vorhergehenden Menschen und Zeiten, aber darum dürfen sie nicht als "Quintessenz aller Zeiten und Völker" betrachtet werden,

²⁴⁸ Posadzy (*op cit*, 56) hat dies etwas zu scharf formuliert "Herder will die scheinbaren Willkürlichkeiten der Geschichte in eine Gesetzmässigkeit auflösen, aber seine Prinzipien reichen dazu nicht aus" ²⁴⁹ XII, 4. ²⁵⁰ V, 501 ²⁵¹ V, 502

sondern es gilt, die wesentlichen Merkmale herauszufinden.²⁵² In die Sprache der modernen Geschichtsphilosophie übertragen wurde man das von Herder aufgestellte Prinzip als "die Notwendigkeit der engeren Auslese" bezeichnen, "die nicht nur den Gegenstand aus dem Fluss der Dinge herauschneidet, sondern auch innerhalb des Gegenstandes nur die wesentlichen oder charakteristischen Züge, sozusagen das *vinculum substantiale*, betont."²⁵³ Gerade dieses *vinculum substantiale* ist es, das Herder mit Hilfe des Rousseauschen Schemas herauszuarbeiten hofft, und deshalb macht er sich ruhig "auf kleinfugige Widersprüche gefasst, aus dem grossen Detail von Völkern und Zeiten."²⁵⁴ Gewiss, diese Gedanken waren damals nichts absolut Neues mehr, schon Voltaire hatte das "malheur aux details" als eine notwendige Voraussetzung jeder Geschichtsschreibung erkannt,²⁵⁵ aber wenn man bedenkt dass zu jener Zeit die Historiographie nach chronologischen und genealogischen Gesichtspunkten noch nicht ausgestorben war,²⁵⁶ dass neben den grossen Ereignissen der Weltgeschichte auch die Feuersbrunst noch eine Rolle spielte, kurz dass dieses Ausleseprinzip damals noch durchaus keine Selbstverständlichkeit dar, so bleibt doch Herders "hingestellt in die Absicht des grossen Folgeganzen" ein Satz, der zum mindesten damals noch nicht voll anerkannte Prinzipien bestätigte und ihnen durch die neuartige Fundierung in dem Rousseauschen Schema endgültig zum Siege verhalf.

Eine Entwicklung bedarf eines Ausgangspunktes und eines Zieles. Blosser Wandel ist keine Entwicklung; von einer solchen lässt sich erst reden, wenn dieser Wandel eine bestimmte Richtung erhält. Was ist dieses Ziel? Rousseau hatte in dieser Frage geschwankt²⁵⁷ und auch Herder hat sich niemals zu einer festen Ansicht durchringen können. Stadelmann hat seine Haltung treffend formuliert: "Man hat es schwer zu entscheiden, ob Herder eher Aufstiegsoptimist gegen besseres Wissen oder Relativist wider seinen Willen gewesen ist."²⁵⁸ So unsicher Herders Haltung aber auch sein mag, so finden sich doch in der Geschichtsphilosophie einige methodisch ausserordentlich wichtige und fordernde Gedanken über diesen Problemkreis. Gerade die Verbindung mit Rousseau bewahrt ihn davor, gleich Iselin in den Fehler zu verfallen, die Geschichte

²⁵² v, 503²⁵³ Troeltsch, *op. cit.* S. 39²⁵⁴ v, 504²⁵⁵ Lettre à l'Abbé Dubos, Cirey, le 30 octobre 1738, *Œuvres*, xxxv, 30²⁵⁶ Fueter (*Historiographie*, S. 375) rechnet sogar noch Gatterer zu der alten Schule der Historiographie²⁵⁷ Lanson hat sich bemüht, die gedankliche Einheitlichkeit des Rousseauschen Werkes dazutun. Es kann hier dahingestellt bleiben, ob eine solche durch geschickte Interpretation nachweisbar ist, doch ist es unzweifelhaft, dass die einzelnen Werke aus verschiedenen Absichten heraus geschrieben worden sind. Der *Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts* ist schlechthin unvereinbar mit dem *Contrat Social*. Vgl. Lanson, *Annales Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (1912), S. 12²⁵⁸ Stadelmann, *op. cit.*, S. 69.

der Menschheit als einen standigen Fortschritt aufzufassen, während er sich auf der anderen Seite bemüht, den Pessimismus der Rousseauschen *Inégalité* zu überwinden. Auch er muss sich schliesslich zu einer agnostischen Haltung bekennen: der Sinn des Menschengeschlechtes muss "ausser dem Menschengeschlechte liegen" und so arbeiten die Menschen "zu höhern dir unbekannten Zwecken" an der Fortentwicklung mit ²⁵⁹ Trotz dieses entscheidenden Ignoramus besteht aber Herder darauf, dass die Geschichte nur unter dem Gesichtspunkte des Fortstrebens aufgefasst werden könne, und diesen in der Weltgeschichte sichtbaren "Plan des Fortstrebens" bezeichnet er als sein "grosses Thema."²⁶⁰

Der Aegypter konnte nicht ohne den Orientalier seyn, der Grieche bauete auf jene, der Römer hob sich auf den Rücken der ganzen Welt—wahrhaftig *Fortgang*, *fortgehende Entwicklung*, wenn auch kein Einzelnes dabei gewonne! Es geht ins Grosse!²⁶¹

Mit Skepsis und Zweifeln allein lässt sich keine Geschichte schreiben, der Historiker braucht Werte und Massstabe, um dem von ihm dargestellten Teil der Geschichte einen Zielpunkt geben zu können. Der radikale Relativismus, auf den der reine Historismus hindrangt, bedeutet Anarchie der Werte, und nur wer wie Herder ein grosses Fortstreben, das nicht mit Fortschritt verwechselt werden darf, schildert, kann diesem Uebel ausweichen ²⁶² Das bedeutet nichts anderes als eine Bekämpfung des Relativismus durch den Subjektivismus, aber da es keinen anderen Ausweg gibt, so wird das zu einem Problem nach der Art von Scylla und Charybdis. Wer einen alles zersetzenden Relativismus vermeiden will, der muss sich zu einer subjektiven Weltanschauung bekennen und von dieser Grundlage aus der Geschichte ein Ziel weisen. Daher muss nach jeder bedeutsamen politischen Verschiebung die Geschichte der Welt neu geschrieben werden, denn da wir ihr mit dem Wandel unserer Anschauungen neue Ziele setzen, ist die früher geschriebene Geschichte unmodern, man kann fast sagen: unrichtig geworden.

Eine zielbedingte Entwicklung setzt eine Kraft voraus, die sie in der ihr bestimmten Richtung vorwärts treibt. Hinweis auf den Willen einzelner Individuen gewährt in dieser Hinsicht keine befriedigende Antwort, denn wenn auch der eine oder andere grosse Staatsmann dieses Ziel vielleicht selber im Auge gehabt hat, so beruht doch der Gang der Entwicklung in der Hauptsache auf Faktoren, deren Hauptzweck nicht die Forderung dieser Ziele ist. In der Aufklärung hatte sich aus dieser Erkenntnis der beruchtigte geschichtliche Pragmatismus entwickelt.²⁶³ Die

²⁵⁹ v, 559f.

²⁶⁰ v, 511

²⁶¹ v, 513.

²⁶² Troeltsch, *Historismus*, S. 122 f.

²⁶³ Fueter (*Historiographie*, S. 342), der allerdings darauf hinweist, dass der Pragmatismus schon vor der Aufklärung existiert hatte und von der Aufklärung nur konsequenter durchgeführt worden war.

grossen Geschichtsschreiber jener Zeit, allen voran Voltaire, fanden ein besonderes Vergnügen darin, grosse historische Ereignisse aus ganz inadäquaten Ursachen zu erklären, wie z B Pascal noch auf den Einfluss der Grosse von Kleopatras Nase auf die Gestaltung der Welt hingewiesen hatte ²⁶⁴ Indem Herder zeigte, dass sich die Entwicklung der Menschheit nach allgemeinen Principien vollzieht, die über dem Individuum stehen, entzog er diesem Pragmatismus den Boden, ohne jedoch die Bedeutung des Individuums in historischen Prozess zu verkleinern. Andererseits bedurfte aber die Frage einer Klärung, wodurch die Verwirklichung dieser überindividuellen Prinzipien gewährleistet sei, und die Antwort darauf konnte nur der Hinweis auf irrationale und unbewusste Kräfte sein. Ganz im modernen Sinne weist Herder häufig auf den Nationalgeist und seine Auseinandersetzung mit andern Nationalgeistern als die eigentlich treibende Kraft der Geschichte hin, häufig nimmt er allerdings zu transzendenten Mächten seine Zuflucht, indem er die Welt zu einem Schauplatz der Gottheit macht ²⁶⁵ Die letztere Ansicht wird von der modernen Geschichtswissenschaft nicht mehr geteilt, aber wesentlich bleibt es unter allen Umständen, dass Herder mit dem Aufklärungsrationalismus in der Geschichte energisch Schluss gemacht hat. Wenn man bedenkt, wie sehr noch ein Historiker vom Range Schlozers alles rational verständlich zu machen sucht, ²⁶⁶ so zeigt sich wieder, wie fruchtbar das Schema Rousseaus für Herder war und wie selbständig er es in einem ganz neuen Sinne fortgebildet hatte Mit Recht darf er trotz aller Anlehnungen an den Genfer seinem Freunde Hartknoch gegenüber behaupten, dass es "wirklich meine Philosophie der Geschichte" sei ²⁶⁷

Aber wenn Herder im Verhältnis zu Rousseau eine solche innere Selbstständigkeit besass, warum lehnte er sich dann, zum mindesten ausserlich, so stark an ihn an? Dass Rousseaus Schema der Entwicklung durchaus unhistorisch ist, war ihm schon bei der Neubearbeitung seiner *Fragmente* klar geworden; warum übernimmt er des Schema trotzdem wieder, und zwar in einem überwiegend historischen Werke, in dem es infolge seiner Schablonenhaftigkeit letzten Endes doch eher störend wirkt, so fruchtbar es auch im einzelnen gewesen war und so sehr es die Entwicklung seiner neuen Ideen gefordert hatte? Zwei Gründe durften Herder dazu veranlassen haben. Der eine ergibt sich aus der Entstehung des Werkes: es war ursprünglich in viel engerem Anschluss an Rousseau konzipiert worden,

²⁶⁴ *Pensées*, Teil I, Art. 9, §46.

²⁶⁵ Troeltsch (*op. cit.* S 46) weist daraufhin, dass die Annahme eines Gemeingeistes "ein Bewusstsein ausserhalb des aktuellen Bewusstseins des Individuums" voraussetzt Auch Herder ist diese Tatsache intuitiv klar geworden und so beruft er sich stets auf die Vorsehung, wenn er mit diesem ihm auf andere Art unlösbaren Problem in Berührung kommt.

²⁶⁶ Vgl. Hermann Wesendonck: *Die Begründung der neueren Geschichtsschreibung durch Gatterer und Schlozer* (Leipzig, 1876), S. 93. ²⁶⁷ *Von und an Herder*, I, 43.

und so behalt Herder dieses Schema bei, ohne zu bemerken, dass er ihm teilweise entwachsen ist. Später, bei der Niederschrift seiner *Ideen*, ist ihm dies klar geworden, und er gibt dies Schema auf, ohne dass diese Aenderung eine entscheidende Umgestaltung des Entwicklungsgedankens nach sich zöge. Aber auch innerhalb der *Geschichtsphilosophie* als solcher erfüllt das Rousseausche Schema noch einen bestimmten Zweck: Herder verwendet es, um das Wesen der historischen Individualität zu verdeutlichen. Die Geschichte galt ihm einerseits als ein grosses Fortstreben, aber andererseits forderte jeder einzelne Teil dieses Fortstrebens selbstständiges Interesse. Hier wird die Parallele zu den Lebensaltern fruchtbar: Gerade wie die einzelnen Lebensalter des Menschen sowohl Zweck in sich selbst sind wie auch zur gleichen Zeit das nächste Alter vorbereiten, so ist auch "im Reiche Gottes . . . alles Mittel und Zweck zugleich, und so gewiss auch diese Jahrhunderte."²⁶⁸ Die Doppelstellung aller geschichtlichen Erscheinungen wird damit deutlich gekennzeichnet: jede Zeit ist Baustein im Fundament der folgenden, aber sie hat gleichzeitig auch ihren eigenen Sinn und bedarf demgemäss einer selbstständigen Wertung nach ihren eigenen Massstäben.²⁶⁹ Daher ist es sinnlos, die einzelnen Stadien des Entwicklungsganges zu vergleichen, sinnlos zu fragen, welche Nation am glücklichsten gewesen sei, denn jede Nation und dementsprechend auch jede Zeit "hat ihren Mittelpunkt der Glückseligkeit in sich, wie jede Kugel ihren Schwerpunkt."²⁷⁰ Die Verbindung dieses Gedankens der historischen Individualität mit dem des universalgeschichtlichen Fortstrebens zu verdeutlichen, war die Aufgabe, zu deren Lösung Herder sich des Rousseauschen Schemas bediente.

Das "grossartige Grundbuch des Historismus" nennt Stadelmann die Geschichtsphilosophie von 74,²⁷¹ und Meinecke sieht in ihr die "höchste Synthese geschichtlichen Denkens."²⁷² Es ist verblüffend, dass ein solches Werk auch nur in entferntester Verbindung mit Rousseau entstehen konnte, der schlechthin als die Inkarnation unhistorischen Denkens gelten kann, aber gerade deshalb müssen wir Herder umso mehr bewundern, dass es ihm gelang, den weiten Weg von Rousseaus metaphysischer zur universalhistorischen Entwicklungsidee zu finden. Trotz vielfacher Fehler, Halbheiten, Verschwommenheiten und direkter innerer Widersprüche tritt der Entwicklungsgedanke in der Geschichtsphilosophie zum ersten Male in der Art und Weise hervor, wie er sich allein bis auf unsere Tage als brauchbar erwiesen hat. Herder hat recht: sein Werk

²⁶⁸ v, 527

²⁶⁹ Auf die Verwendung der Lebensalter zur geschichtlichen Individualisierung macht H. Grigenson aufmerksam, vgl. *Das Problem des geschichtlichen Fortschritts bei Iselin und Herder* (Erlangen, 1913) ²⁷⁰ v, 508 f. ²⁷¹ Stadelmann, *op. cit.*, S. 28.

²⁷² Meinecke, *Historismus*, II, 440.

ist in der Tat "sehr niedlich." Und indem wir Herder somit als bahnbrechenden Neurerer anerkennen, fällt auch ein Teil des Verdienstes an diesen Neuerungen auf Jean-Jacques. Teils im Widerspruch zu ihm, teils in Anlehnung an ihn, stets jedoch in Verbindung mit ihm ist Herder zu den geschichtsphilosophischen Anschauungen gelangt, die ihn zu einem solchen Neuerer machten. Seine ursprüngliche Schwarmerei für Rousseau war schnell genug zusammengebrochen, die Reaktion gegen Rousseau hatte die heilsame Wirkung, ihm eine grossere Ehrfurcht vor den Tatsachen einzuflossen, die Rückkehr zu Rousseau brachte ihm schliesslich zum Bewusstsein, dass sich Geschichte nur mit Ideen schreiben lasse. Und wenn auch Herder seine eigentliche Geschichtsphilosophie keineswegs Rousseau verdankt, so kommt diesem doch schon als blossem Anreger dieser Ideen eine entscheidende Bedeutung für das deutsche Geistesleben zu.

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DIE NAMENGEBUG BEI JEAN PAUL

“Jede Namengebung ist eine Art Belebung, Beseelung, Individualisierung ”

Harry Maync

I. Es gibt meines Wissens noch keine zusammenfassende historische oder theoretische Untersuchung über die dichterische Namengebung. Mir sind ausser kleineren Aufsätzen, die das Thema mehr plaudernd und feuilletonistisch behandeln,¹ nur wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen über die Namen bei einzelnen Dichtern bekannt, z B. bei Aristophanes, Shakespeare, Dickens, Raabe, Fontane. Gelegentliche Bemerkungen und Beobachtungen zu dem Thema finden sich natürlich überall verstreut.² Es wäre sicher eine dankbare, wenn auch schwierige Aufgabe, die Frage, nach welchen Rücksichten und Prinzipien die Dichter ihre erfundenen Personen getauft haben, einmal im weitesten zeitlichen und räumlichen Umfange zu beantworten; die Unterschiede der Zeiten, der Völker, der Sprachen wurden sich in diesem Spiegel klar auffangen lassen.

Wer sich dieser Aufgabe unterziehen wollte, musste allerdings nicht nur über umfassende Literaturkenntnis, sondern vor allem auch über die gründlichste Sprachenkenntnis verfügen. Es gehört eine besonders intime Vertrautheit mit fremden Sprachen dazu, um gerade die Eigenart der Namen richtig beurteilen zu können. Es kommt ja dabei nicht so sehr auf den direkten Sinn und Klang des Namens an als vielmehr auf die mannigfachen Nebentöne, die dabei mitschwingen, auf die näheren oder fernerer Assoziationen, die sich daran knupfen. Wie schwer solche Nuancen für einen mit der betreffenden Sprache nicht ganz und gar Vertrauten richtig zu erfassen sind, erkennt man z B. an den Missgriffen, die manchen Schriftstellern bei der Wahl fremdlandischer Namen untergelaufen sind. Selbst ein so guter Kenner der deutschen Sprache wie Carlyle hat dem Helden seines humoristischen Romans Sartor Resartus den unmöglichen Namen Teufelsdröckh gegeben. In Sinclair Lewis' Roman Samuel Dodsworth, der zum Teil in Deutschland spielt, kommen z B. ein Professor Braut und eine Fürstin Drachenthal vor, Namen, die wohl

¹ Als Beispiele seien nur angeführt die Plauderei von Ernst Eckstein “Wie tauf' ich meinen Helden?” in dessen Essaysammlung *Leichte Waare* (Leipzig, 1879), S 65-75, und der gehalt- und kenntnisreiche Aufsatz von Harry Maync “Nomen et omen. Von burgerlicher und dichterischer Namengebung” in *Westermanns Monatsheften*, 62. Jg., 1917/18, S 653-664. (Diesem Aufsatz ist unser Motto entnommen.) Wenig für unser Thema bietet die kleine Schrift von Eduard Boas “Namensymbolik in der deutschen Poesie,” Landsberg a. d. W. 1840.

² Z B. in R. M. Meyers Literaturgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts und in Keller-Keiters Theorie des Romans.

gelegentlich vorkommen mögen, aber darum nicht minder unpassend erscheinen. In Maupassants *Mademoiselle Fifi* tragen die deutschen Offiziere sogar sprachlich unmögliche Namen wie Kelweingstein, Farlsberg, Scheunabourg. Vermutlich wird es in deutschen Romanen mit den ausländischen Namen nicht viel besser bestellt sein, E. Th. A. Hoffmanns Balletmeister Legénie (im Meister Floh) oder Raabes Oberst Timotheus Trichinow Resonowsky (im Hungerpastor) durften in französischen bzw. russischen Ohren sonderbar genug klingen, und die Entschuldigung, dass sie eben nur für deutsche Ohren bestimmt seien, ist doch nur eine halbe

Besonderes Augenmerk musste in einer solchen Untersuchung auf die Behandlung sogenannter "redender" Namen in Uebersetzungen gerichtet werden, ein schwieriges, fast unlosbares Problem, mit dem sich die Uebersetzer zu verschiedenen Zeiten sehr verschieden abgefunden haben, worauf ich hier nicht näher eingehen kann.³ Es musste natürlich überall zwischen ernsten und komischen, zwischen idealistischen und realistischen Dichtungen unterschieden werden, und wohl auch zwischen epischen und dramatischen Werken, denn in beiden unterliegen die Namen doch sehr verschiedenen Bedingungen. Auf der Bühne ist der Eindruck, den wir von einer neuauftretenden Person erhalten, in erster Linie von ihrer äusseren Erscheinung und ihrem Gehaben abhängig; der Name spielt dabei im allgemeinen nur eine untergeordnete Rolle, zumal da er oft kaum genannt wird. In der Erzählung dagegen trägt der Name sehr wesentlich dazu bei, von dem Träger eine bestimmte Vorstellung zu erwecken. Das gilt nicht nur für den Leser, sondern sogar für den Verfasser selber. Es ist uns von manchen erzählenden Dichtern, z.B. von Fontane, bezeugt, dass ihnen eine selbsterfundene Gestalt erst recht lebendig und deutlich geworden, wenn sie einen passenden Namen für sie gefunden hatten. So sagt Jean Paul einmal nicht ganz ohne Grund, die Heldinnen und Helden seiner Romane könnten ohne ihre kostlichen Namen gar nicht existieren.⁴

II. Wenn eine solche allgemeine Geschichte der dichterischen Namensgebung einmal geschrieben werden sollte, so musste darin Jean Paul eine hervorragende Stelle zugewiesen erhalten, zum mindesten innerhalb der deutschen Entwicklung. In seiner kenntnisreichen und anregenden Schrift über die deutschen Vornamen bezeichnet Robert Franz Arnold⁵ Jean Paul als denjenigen deutschen Dichter (neben Richard Wagner), der die psychologischen Werte der Namen am tiefsten erkannt und am

³ Vgl. darüber Ludwig Tiecks *Nachgelassene Schriften*, hsgb. von Rudolf Kopke (Leipzig, 1855), II, 66 ff.

⁴ Jean Pauls *Sämtliche Werke*, historisch-kritische Ausgabe (Weimar, 1927 ff.), I Abt., XIII, 139 — Im folgenden mit S. W. zitiert, wenn keine Abteilung angegeben, ist die erste gemeint. ⁵ Die deutschen Vornamen, 2. Aufl. (Wien, 1901), S. 52 und 58.

meisterlichsten ausgenutzt habe, und wünscht daher eine Spezialuntersuchung über seine Namenwahl. Ueber den Geschmack der von Jean Paul gewählten Namen lässt sich gewiss oft streiten, aber das wird man ihnen zugestehen müssen, dass sie auffallen und sich dem Gedächtnis leicht einprägen. Daraus erklärt es sich, dass selbst Leuten, die wenig oder nichts von seinen Werken gelesen haben, doch Namen wie Wutz, Fixlein, Siebenkas, Katzenberger, Kuhschnappel vertraut zu sein pflegen. Bekanntlich ist ja auch einer seiner Ortsnamen zu einer allgemeinen Bezeichnung geworden; denn wenn Krahwinkel auch erst durch Kotzebues Lustspiel *Die Kleinstadter* (1803) in Aufnahme gekommen ist, so war doch der Name zwei Jahre vorher von Jean Paul zuerst in der Erzählung *Das heimliche Klaglied der Manner* als Bezeichnung einer klatschsuchtigen deutschen Kleinstadt verwendet worden. Es fehlte nicht viel, so hatte auch der Schauplatz von Siebenkas' Ehestand, Tod und Hochzeit, der Marktflecken Kuhschnappel, als Typus eines deutschen Abdera sprichwörtliche Bedeutung gewonnen.⁶

Jean Paul ist denn auch einer der ersten gewesen, die sich über die Frage der dichterischen Namenwahl theoretisch geäußert haben. Er sagt darüber in seiner *Vorschule der Aesthetik* (1804) am Schluss der "Regeln und Winke für Romanschreiber" (§74 der zweiten Auflage):

Sogar die Kleinigkeit des Namen-Gebens ist kaum eine Wieland, Goethe, Musaus wussten echt deutsche und rechte zu geben. Der Mensch sehnt sich in der kleinsten Sache doch nach ein wenig Grund . . . So sucht er im Namen nur etwas, etwas Weniges, aber doch etwas. Torre-Cremada oder Latour brûlée, desgleichen Feu-ardent hießen (kann er versichern aus Bayle) schon über der Taufschüssel zwei Monche, welche die halbe religiöse Oppositionspartei froh verbrannten⁷).—Unausstehlich ist dem deutschen Gefühle die britische Namensvetterschaft mit der Sache,—wozu Hermes früher die hasslichen Proben mit den Herren Verkennt und Grundleger und neuerlich an Herrn Kerker und überall geliefert⁸). Aber ganz und gar nichts soll wieder kein Name bedeuten, besonders da nach Leibniz alle Eigennamen ursprünglich allgemeine waren, sondern so recht in der Viertels-Mitte soll er stehen, mehr mit Klängen als mit Silben reden und viel sagen, ohne es zu nennen, wie z. B. die Wielandschen Namen Flock, Flaunz, Parasol, Dindonette etc.⁹) So hat z. B. der uns bekannte Autor [Jean Paul] nicht ohne wahren Verstand unbedeutende Menschen einsilbig. Wutz, Stuss, getauft, andere schlimme oder scheinbar wichtige mit der Iterative-Silbe

⁶ Vgl. S. W. VI, Einleitung S. XLII

⁷ Auf solche ominösen Namen weist Jean Paul auch sonst gern hin, z. B. auf den des rauberischen französischen Kommissars in der Schweiz Rapinat, s. S. W. XIII, 138, II. Abt., IV, 72.

⁸ In Hermes' Romanen *Zween literarische Märtyrer* und *deren Frauen* (1789) und *Mutter, Amme und Kind* (1809)

⁹ Flaunz in Wielands *Geron der Adelige*, Parasol und Dindonette im *Neuen Amadis*. Flock kommt meines Wissens nicht bei Wieland vor.

-er Lederer, Fraischdorfer, einen kahlen, fahlen Fahland, etc.¹⁰ Was die Weiber anlangt, so erstreckt sich das indische Gesetz, dass der Bramine stets eines mit einem schonen Namen heiraten soll, bis in die Romane herüber, jede Heldin hat neuerer Zeiten, wenn auch keine andere Schönheit, doch diese, nämlich eine welsche Benennung statt eines welschen Gesichts.

Hier ist also der Kernpunkt scharf und zweifellos in der Hauptsache richtig aufgezeigt: Der dichterische Name soll "viel sagen, ohne es zu nennen," mehr durch Klang als durch eigentliche Bedeutung wirken. Dieser heute wohl allgemein anerkannte, wenn auch nicht immer befolgte Grundsatz war damals noch weit davon entfernt, sich durchgesetzt zu haben. Es hatten wohl einzelne Dichter gelegentlich instinktiv danach gehandelt, aber weder in der Theorie noch in der Praxis war das Prinzip Gemeingut geworden.

III Vergewärtigen wir uns zunächst einmal, wie es denn zu Jean Pauls Zeit mit der dichterischen Namensgebung, besonders im Roman, bestellt war. Da herrschte z B noch vielfach die alte Sitte oder Unsitte, Personen- und Ortsnamen nur mit einzelnen Buchstaben, meist den Anfangsbuchstaben, oder mit Sternchen zu bezeichnen, was für unser Gefühl besonders storend wirkt, wenn der Name schon im Titel erscheint, z B. in Gellerts Geschichte der schwedischen Gräfin von G, in Pfeils Geschichte des Grafen von P. und noch in Kleists Marquise von O. Dieser Brauch, der aus der Memoirenliteratur stammte und mit der krampfhaft festgehaltenen Fiktion der historischen Wahrheit des Erzählten zusammenhing, über die man ästhetisch doch eigentlich längst hinaus war, fand sich trotz einzelner Proteste¹¹ nicht etwa nur in Romanen, die in höheren Gesellschaftskreisen spielten, wie z B. in Schillers Geisterseher, wo es allenfalls noch gerechtfertigt erscheinen mochte, sondern vielfach auch in bürgerlichen und humoristischen Romanen, z.B. in Musaus' Grandison II und in Hippels Lebenslaufen nach aufsteigender Linie.¹² Bei Jean Paul begegnet man solchen Buchstaben und Sternchen fast nur in seinen frühen Satiren,¹³ einigemal auch noch in

¹⁰ Stuss in Jeans Pauls Paltingenesien, Lederer der betrügerische Konsistorialbote im Jubelsenior, Fraischdorfer der unsympathische Kunstrat in der Geschichte meiner Vorrede zum Quintus Fixlein und im Titan, Fahland der Zensor in Des Luftschiffers Giannozzo Seebuch, 4. Fahrt.

¹¹ Z B von Karl Friedrich Cramer in seiner Uebersetzung von Jens Baggesens Labyrinth, I, 86 ff (1793)

¹² In der 2. Auflage von Musaus' Roman, die 1781/82 unter dem Titel Der deutsche Grandison erschien, sind die Buchstaben zum Teil zu vollen Namen ergänzt. Bei Hippel ist nur eine Nebenperson mit dem Familiennamen bezeichnet, Dr. Saft. Merkwürdigerweise kommt auch in dem Personenverzeichnis von Goethes Hanswursts Hochzeit ein Dr. Saft vor.

¹³ Er nimmt dann aber meist die ersten oder letzten Buchstaben des Alphabets (Dichter

seinem ersten Roman, der Unsichtbaren Loge, aber nur dann, wenn es sich um flüchtig angeführte Nebenpersonen handelt, wie etwa die Soupergäste der Residentin von Bouse.¹⁴ In seinen späteren Werken pflegt er auch solche nur im Vorbeigehen erwähnte Personen mit vollen Namen zu bezeichnen, z.B. im 39. Zykel des Titan die Gäste des Ministers von Froulay. Im Hesperus kommt allerdings einmal ein Graf von O vor; aber das ist hier keine Abkürzung, sondern der ganze Name.¹⁵ Mit der Fiktion der Wirklichkeit, die Jean Paul ja auch noch überall aufrecht erhält, wenn auch meist nur in ironisch-humoristischer Form, findet er sich, wie andere vor und nach ihm, unschwer ab durch die Ausrede, er habe die wahren Namen durch erfundene ersetzt.¹⁶

Auch die von andern, z.B. von dem namenscheuen Goethe, gern angewandte Methode, statt eines Namens nur den Beruf (der Architekt, der Hauptmann, etc.) oder den Familienstand (die Mutter, der Oheim, etc.) anzugeben, hat Jean Paul nur selten und nur bei gleichgültigen Episodenfiguren geübt und dann meist noch mit irgend einer scherzhaften Bemerkung ausdrücklich entschuldigt; "was wird der Leser nach Zunamen dieses Volks fragen!" heisst es etwa einmal in der Unsichtbaren Loge, oder von der Aebtissin im Hesperus: "ihr Name wird mir gar nicht berichtet," oder von einer Dame im Titan: "Hafenreffer [der angebliche Lieferant des historischen Materials] weiss selber nicht, wie sie heisset."¹⁷ Ihm war jede Anonymität, ausser etwa auf Reisen,¹⁸ schon im gewöhnlichen Leben unsympathisch, während Goethe sie liebte. "Wenn ich von einem ungekannten Wesen," schreibt er einmal, "nur den Namen weiss, so ist's mir individueller und meinem Herzen näher als ohne diesen."¹⁹ Im §131 der Levana weist er im Anschluss an Pestalozzi nachdrücklich darauf hin, wie sehr die Namen der Dinge zu deren Erfassung und Unterscheidung dienen: "Durch Benennung wird das Aeussere wie eine Insel erobert und vorher dazu gemacht, wie durch Namengebung Tiere bezahmt werden."²⁰ Er fand es daher hübsch und richtig, dass die alten Ritter auch ihren Pferden und Schwertern Eigennamen gaben. Der Posthund im Hesperus bekommt sogar einen Nachnamen: Spitzius Hofmann.²¹ Wenn er ausnahmsweise einmal einer Person keinen Namen gibt,

A, Kandidat Z etc.), um anzudeuten, dass es sich nicht um bestimmte, sondern um beliebige Personen handelt, s. S.W. I, 102, 156, 205, 209, II, 244. ¹⁴ S.W. II, 257 f.

¹⁵ S.W. III, 149. Der Graf von O, an den Jean Paul denkt, war preussischer Major und im Siebenjährigen Kriege Kommandant der Festung Glatz, er entstammte dem alten französischen Adelsgeschlecht von O. ¹⁶ Vgl. z.B. S.W. V, 281, VIII, 57.

¹⁷ S.W. II, 109, IV, 151, VIII, 183. Vgl. auch XIII, 147. " . . . Jungling, dessen Taufname Ernst uns genügen mag." ¹⁸ Vgl. S.W. XI, 427. ¹⁹ S.W. II, Abt., V, 126.

²⁰ Vgl. Zschokkes Selbstschau (1840), S. 83. "Man *kennt* nur, was man auch *nennen* kann."

²¹ S.W. III, 38. Der Name dient später (IV, 4) zu einem satirischen Ausfall gegen den Wiener Spitzel Leopold Aloys Hoffmann.

so erhält sie doch wenigstens irgend eine charakteristische, unverwechselbare Bezeichnung. So nennt er in der Unsichtbaren Loge den herrnhutischen Erzieher des Helden, dessen Herkunft absichtlich in einem mystischen Dunkel bleibt, den Genius, eine Ministerin ebenda, die gern in Ohnmacht fällt, die Défaillante, den Hauskaplan im Kampaner Thal Phylax; der geheimnisvolle Oheim im Titan heisst der Kahlkopf, der unheimliche Nachtwandler im Komet der ewige Jude oder der Ledermann. In der humoristischen Beschreibung des Umreitens der vogtländischen Ritterschaft werden die einzelnen adligen Herren nach der bekannten Regel der lateinischen Grammatik mit Panis, Piscis, Crinis etc. angeführt.²² Die drei unehelichen Söhne des Fürsten von Flachsenfingen werden, entsprechend den Kronprinzen von England, Portugal und Spanien, als der Walliser, der Brasilier, der Asturier bezeichnet,²³ sie selber nennen sich nach den drei Königen aus dem Morgenlande Kaspar, Melchior und Balthasar.²⁴ Dr. SpheX nennt seine drei Söhne nach berühmten Aerzten Van Swieten, Boerhave und Galenus, die Maler im Komet nennen sich entweder nach ihren Meistern (Denner, Potter etc.) oder nach ihren Lieblingssujets (z. B. Ochs, Laus, Bettler, Sauger), und was dergleichen Scherze mehr sind.²⁵

Andre Romanschreiber gaben ihren Personen nun zwar volle Namen, aber sie wählten aus Absicht oder Vorsicht möglichst wenig auffallende und charakteristische, besonders für adlige Figuren, wie etwa Waldheim, Sternheim, Hohenthal, Hohenberg, Blumenthal, Felseneck u. dgl. Auch solchen faden, nichtssagenden Allerweltsnamen begegnet man nicht nur in Romanen des höheren Stils, sondern ebenso in bürgerlich-humoristischen Werken, die sonst auf individuelle Farbgebung ausgehen.²⁶ Der popularste humoristische Romanschreiber vor Jean Paul, Johann Gottwert Müller (Itzehoe), wusste den Titelhelden seines bekanntesten Werkes nicht charakteristischer zu taufen als Siegfried von Lindenberg, ein Name, der eher für den Helden eines Ritterromans gepasst hatte als für einen komischen pommerschen Landjunker, die Heldin heisst nicht

²² S. W. II, Abt., III, 329 ff.

²³ S. W. III, 40. Der Einfall ist wahrscheinlich durch das von Jean Paul exzerpierte Tagebuch eines Weltmannes von dem Grafen von Lamberg (deutsch von F. L. Wagner, 1775) angeregt, wo II, 21 von einem indischen Nabob erzählt wird, dass er seine Kinder Prinz von Wallis, Herzog von Gloucester, von Cumberland etc. nenne. ²⁴ S. W. IV, 34.

²⁵ S. W. VIII, 130, xv, 345, 359, 374. Auch benannten Personen gibt Jean Paul der Abwechslung halber gern noch Spitznamen; so wird Fenk wegen seiner Zopfform der Iltis-Doktor genannt, Matthieu im Hesperus wegen seines Vornamens der Evangelist, Stiefel im Siebenkäs der Pelzstiefel, Wehmeier im Titan der Schachtelmagister. Sich selbst bezeichnet Jean Paul als das Einbein, den Monsieur etc. Sogar Orte bekommen Beinamen, z. B. Pestitz heisst wiederholt die Lindenstadt.

²⁶ Etwas anderes ist es, wenn Fielding seinem Helden den banalen Namen Tom Jones gab, er wollte ihn damit als Normaltypus hinstellen.

minder banal Elise von Wellenthal. Unter den vielen Hunderten von Namen in Jean Pauls Romanen wird man so nichtssagenden nirgends begegnen. Selbst Falkenberg in der Unsichtbaren Loge ist doch nicht ganz so blass, wenn Jean Paul später wohl auch einen ungewöhnlicheren gewählt hatte.

Schlimmer noch als solche nichtssagenden Namen waren die zuvielsagenden, die den Charakter direkt bezeichnen, wie etwa Ohnewitz, Habenichts, Schlauberger, Spurnas, Raufbold, Langfinger, Wagehals, Leichtfuss, Windhund, Schuftig, Saugling, Niedlich, Frohlich, Redlich, Frech, Grob etc. Dahin gehört auch die Benennung von Handwerkern nach ihrem Gerat, z B Schuster Pech oder Pfrieme, Schneider Zwirn, Schulmeister Ruthe, Kaufmann Pfeffer, Apotheker Pille u. dgl. Solche "redenden" Namen, die man sich heute höchstens noch in volkstümlichen Possen gefallen lässt, waren doch damals auch in ernsthaften Romanen noch gang und gabe, selbst bessere Schriftsteller haben sie nicht immer vermieden, man denke nur an Schillers Schuftele, Wurm und Kalb, an Jacobis Biderthal (im Woldemar), an Goethes Mittler (in den Wahlverwandtschaften), an Kleists Licht (im Zerbrochenen Krug). Der oben genannte Muller (Itzehoe), der gelegentlich einmal richtig bemerkte, dass die deutsche Sprache im Gegensatz zur englischen zu ihrer Ehre nicht sehr zu bedeutenden Namen taue,²⁷ verwandte demungeachtet in seinen Herren von Waldheim Namen wie Schleichmann, Krumm, Langfinger. Jean Paul hatte gegen solche redenden Namen schon im wirklichen Leben eine Abneigung, er schreibt einmal: "Ich war . . . von jeher allen Geschlechtsnamen, die etwas bedeuten, feind, z.B. Hofmann, Edelmann, Zimmermann, Seiler, Richter, wie schon hingegen ist einer von gar keiner Bedeutung, z.B. Goethe, Herder, Leibniz, Jacobi, Kant!"²⁸ Sicher hat diese seine Abneigung gegen den eigenen Familiennamen mit dazu beigetragen, dass er seine Werke unter einem Decknamen erscheinen liess. "Hiess' ich Vater oder Kind oder Gutmuths, längst hatt' ich diese Namen abgelegt," sagt er in seinem sogenannten Vitabuch.²⁹ In seinen Romanen hat er derartige Namen möglichst vermieden. Bei ihrer grossen Verbreitung (denn schliesslich haben ja alle Eigennamen wenigstens ursprünglich eine bestimmte Bedeutung gehabt, worauf Jean Paul in der oben angeführten Stelle der Vorschule selber hinweist) konnte er zwar nicht umhin, hin und wieder einmal auch einen solchen redenden Namen zu verwenden; es geschieht dann aber mit ganz vereinzelt Ausnahmen immer so, dass zwischen der Bedeutung

²⁷ In der zweifellos von ihm herrührenden interessanten Besprechung der Bodeschen Uebersetzung von Fieldings Tom Jones in der Allgemeinen Deutschen Bibliothek, Anhang zum 56. bis 86. Bande, v, 2613

²⁸ S W. VII, 276

²⁹ Wahrheit aus Jean Pauls Leben (1827), II, 99

und dem Charakter oder Stand des Tragers kein *direkter* Zusammenhang besteht. Wir kommen darauf später noch zurück.

Wenn Jean Paul in der Vorschule der Aesthetik Wieland, Goethe und Musaus als Muster guter deutscher Namengebung anführt, so kann man das doch nur mit grossen Einschränkungen gelten lassen. *Wieland* war ja schon durch seine Stoffwahl fast ganz auf fremde Namen angewiesen. Er hatte allerdings zweifellos ein feines Ohr für den Klang der Namen, und wo ihm seine Vorlagen die Freiheit der Wahl liessen, hat er mit charakteristisch klingenden Namen gute Wirkungen erzielt. Sehr glücklich hat er z. B. in den Abderiten lautmalende griechische Namen verwandt, wie Thlaps, Pyrops, Lelex, Damonax, Smilax, Gulleru, Salabanda, Pithokus, Nannion.³⁰ Im Neuen Amadis sprechen die viersilbigen, tanzelnden französischen Namen Dindonette, Blaffardine, Chatouilleuse, Colifichon etc. das leichtfertige Wesen ihrer Trägerinnen gut aus, während die mexikanischen Namen Koxkox, Kikequetzel etc. mehr putzig als charakteristisch klingen. Zu deutschen Namen hat Wieland kaum Gelegenheit gehabt, und die wenigen, die man in seinen Werken findet, sind keineswegs besonders glücklich gewählt, z. B. Bonifaz Schleicher.

Auch *Goethes* Werke liefern nur eine verhältnismässig sehr geringe Ausbeute an deutschen Familien- und Ortsnamen. Er gibt—ausser in seiner Frühzeit—meist nur Vornamen und Standesbezeichnungen, selbst in einer Dichtung, die so getreu und individuell deutsches Kleinstadtleben malt wie Hermann und Dorothea.³¹ Nur Nebenorte werden zuweilen bei Namen genannt, z. B. im Werther Wahlheim, in Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahren Hochdorf (II, 3). Die wenigen deutschen Familiennamen sind nicht schlecht, aber auch—im Gegensatz zu den Vornamen—nicht gerade besonders charakteristisch gewählt, merkwürdigerweise sind sie fast alle zweisilbig und auf -er endigend: Werther, Meister, Werner, Mittler, Wagner, Brander, Solter, Sommer, Pumper, Forster. Frau Spritzbierlein (im Ur-Faust), Frau Marthe Schwerdtlein und der Hanswurst Kilian Brustfleck sind vereinzelte glückliche Ausnahmen.

Am ehesten trifft Jean Pauls Lob noch für *Musaus* zu. Man begegnet in seinen Werken manchen guten deutschen Namen, wie etwa Wacker-mann Uhlfinger, Eberhard Bronkhorst, Egger Genebald, Peter Bloch, Wilibald Lampert, Neunhorn, Druschling, Urlau, auch habschen Orts-

³⁰ Ueber den eigenartigen Reiz der griechischen Mädchennamen auf -on macht Mörike in einem Brief an Hermann Kurz eine hübsche Bemerkung, die H. Maync in dem oben angeführten Aufsatz zitiert. Vgl. Chariton im Titan.

³¹ Dass das nicht etwa nur am Versmass und Stil liegt, sieht man an Vossens Luise, wo der Ort (Grunau) und der Nachname der Heldin (Blum) genannt werden. Auch im Werther erfährt man die Familiennamen von Lotte, Albert, Wilhelm nicht, so wie nicht den Vornamen des Helden.

namen, wie Burgholzheim, Geroldsheim. Aber es kam Musäus dabei im allgemeinen doch mehr auf die altdeutsche Färbung als auf die individuelle Charakteristik an

Kurz, einen eigentlichen Vorläufer Jean Pauls in der scharf charakterisierenden Namengebung wüsste ich nicht zu nennen. Man trifft wohl hie und da auf einzelne wohlgelungene Namen; aber das bleibt immer etwas mehr oder weniger Zufälliges. Erst Jean Paul hat sich bewusst und systematisch auf die Findung charakteristischer Namen verlegt.

IV. Diese Besonderheit Jean Pauls hängt natürlich eng mit dem humoristischen Stil seiner Werke zusammen. Er hatte es fruhe schon erkannt und hat es später in der Vorschule der Aesthetik (§35) ausführlich dargelegt, dass der Humor, weil er auf dem Kontrast der Sinnenwelt zur Idee beruht, alles bis ins kleinste hinab möglichst individualisieren muss. Wenn seine Werke in mancher Hinsicht den späteren Realismus des 19. Jahrhunderts vorbereiten und antizipieren, so liegt das nicht daran, dass er einen besonders ausgeprägten Sinn für das Wirkliche gehabt hätte (darin war ihm z.B. ein Goethe entschieden überlegen), sondern an seinem bewussten Streben nach humoristischer Individualisierung aller Personen und Zustände.

Als Hilfsmittel zu solcher Individualisierung dienten ihm grosse Sammlungen, die er sich von fruh auf systematisch angelegt hatte, Verzeichnisse von Berufsarten, Handwerken, Titeln, von Münzen, Massen und Gewichten, von Spezialitäten einzelner Lander und Stadte etc. Das Heilige Römische Reich Deutscher Nation bot ja auf allen diesen Gebieten eine selbst von Jean Paul nicht auszuschöpfende Mannigfaltigkeit an individuellen Eigentümlichkeiten und Absonderlichkeiten. In einem derartigen Sammelheft,³² das wahrscheinlich im Jahre 1789 begonnen worden ist, also in der Zeit, wo Jean Paul von der satirischen Schriftstellerei allmählich zu erzählender und darstellender Dichtung überging, findet sich nun auch eine sehr umfangreiche Liste von Orts- und Personennamen. Sie beginnt mit einem Verzeichnis geographischer Namen, wobei zunächst auch noch kurze Angaben über die Lage, Zugehörigkeit etc. beigelegt sind. Der Anfang sei hier wiedergegeben:

STÄDTE

Land Hadeln, Otterndorf darin—Fürstenthum Ratzeburg, St(adt) R(atzeburg), gehorig dem Herzog von Mecklenburg-Strelitz—Reichsstadt Nordhausen—Aebtissin von Quedlinburg—Ziegenhain in Niederhessen—Hammelnburg³³ im Hochstift Fulda—Waghausel im Hochstift Speyer, ein Bischof—Schuh-

³² Faszikel 10 des in der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek befindlichen Nachlasses.

³³ Diesen Namen hat später Karl Heinrich von Lang zu seinen satirischen Hammelburger Reisen (1817 ff.) verwendet.

flick im Fürstenthum Heitersheim—Herrschaft und Dorf Schadeck—Fürstenthum Veldenz, pfälzisch—Herrschaft Schwabeck im Schwabischen—gefürstete Abtei Korvey, Abt, St. Hoxter³⁴—Grafschaft Holzapfel, d(em) Fürst(en) von Anhalt-Bernburg-Hoym (gehorig)—Abtei Ochsenhausen in Schwaben—die graflichen Linien Zeil-Zeil, Scheer-Scheer, Wolfegg-Wolfegg im Schwabischen—Pfullendorf in Schwaben, Reichsstadt, Buchau, Bopfingen—Ingelfingen am Kocher im Frankischen, Reichsstadt Windsheim und Schweinfurt—die freien Leute auf der Leutkircher Heide in Schwaben haben 39 unmittelbare Reichsdorfer—unmittelbares Reichsdorf Gochsheim in Franken—Vaduz, ein Flecken und Bergschloss im Fürstenthum Liechtenstein—Im Fürstenthum Jauer in Niederschlesien Schreibershau, Querbach, Dorf Krummhübel—St Mazdorf am Popperfluss in Ungarn—See Wuz und der See Kuhpanz bei Liebenwalde in der Mittelmark, worin bei Egsdorf der grosse, mittlere und der kleine Leber-See sind—Dorf Trebatsch im Bees- und Storkowschen Kreis—Dorf Zurl bei Innsbruck—Husten, Flecken im Herzogthum Engern an der Ruhr—Seissenstein, Dorf zwischen Regensburg und Wien, Spitz, Marktflecken (ebenda) usw.

Viele von diesen Namen hat Jean Paul in seinen Werken gelegentlich verwertet, mehrere z.B. schon in der Ende 1789 entstandenen Bayerischen Kreuzerkomödie,³⁵ Kuhpanz und Schuhflick in kleineren Satiren der nächsten Jahre,³⁶ andere am Schluss des Hesperus,³⁷ Schadeck im Quintus Fixlein, Vaduz im Siebenkas.³⁸ Man erkennt dabei deutlich, dass er "redende" Namen (wie Hammelburg, Schuhflick, Ochsenhausen, Schweinfurt) zwar nicht ganz ausschliesst, aber doch mit der Zeit immer starker solche bevorzugt, die mehr durch Klang als durch Bedeutung ins Ohr fallen (wie Hadeln, Bopfingen, Vaduz etc.). Später hat er sich dann meist nur noch die blossen Ortsnamen ohne nähere Angaben notiert. Auch hat er versucht, zwischen "guten" und "schlimmen" Namen zu unterscheiden, die ersteren dienten ihm zur Bezeichnung idyllischer Freudenstätten, wie etwa Lilienbad in der Unsichtbaren Loge, Maienthal im Hesperus, Lilar und Blumenbuhl im Titan, Elterlein in den Flegeljahren, Heiligengut im Leben Fibels, die andern wurden für satirisch gezeichnete Residenz- und Kleinstädte verwandt, wie Scheerau, Flachsenfingen, Kuhschnappel, Flätz. Doch ist die Scheidung in der Liste nicht konsequent durchgeführt.

Von Ortsnamen ging Jean Paul dann sehr bald zu Personennamen

³⁴ Vgl. Wilhelm Raabes Erzählung Hoxter und Corvey (1879)

³⁵ S W II Abt., III, 108 (Krummhübel), 111 (Scheer-Scheer, Veldenz, Querbach), 119 (Bopfingen, Leutkircher Heide), 195 (Waghausel, St. Mazdorf). Merkwürdigerweise hat Jean Paul hier den Namen seines künftigen Verlegers Matzdorff antizipiert, wie Thomas Mann in den Buddenbrooks den Namen seines späteren Schwiegervaters Pringsheim.

³⁶ S W II Abt., III, 256 und 335

³⁷ S W IV, 322 (Hadeln, Ziegenhain, Schwabeck, Holzapfel, Schweinfurt, Scheer-Scheer).

³⁸ Ebenda auch Jauer und Husten, S.W. VI, 263

über, wobei von vornherein die "klingenden" Namen die "redenden" stark überwiegen. Das sehr umfangreiche Verzeichnis beginnt so:

Markwerd, Siebenkas, Robisch, Emmerling, Schneizel, Strosner, Falbel, Wenzeslaus, Polykarpus, Blasius, Fridolinus, Heribert, Detlaus, Florian, Stanislaus, Servatius, Karpasius, Thrasibulus, Hartwig, Hoppedizel, Sessen, Gideon, Erdmann, Serapion, Hopassi, Wunibald, Sylvester, Mezner, Gunzler, Kraus, Panzer, Wiedmann, Aufhammer, Schmiedel, Pissel, Saalbaum, Saalpasser, Haberstumpf, Bever, Sappas, Polmann, Jahreis, Freudel, Zindel, Schickfuss, Oelschlagel, Stabius, Stief, Stiefel, Oefel, Oehrmann, Fruhaussen, Kheber, Gobel, Krabler, Kuhlpepper, Zebedaus, Paul, Fenz, Schlohks, Lorenz, Tenzel, Sensel, Koppel, Hus, Schodel, Strobel, Hechtel, Barthel, Benjamin, Schupfel, Zaus, Saus, Scherr, Hoppel, Klosel, Stenz, Lebrecht, Setzmann, Pfinzing, Erkel, Fehnel, Wurzner, Saalbader, Eintarm, Nothnagel, Pet, Pikof, Keppel, Fraser, Kolb, Mausner, Merz, Lederer, Staus, Feinler etc.

Mehrere Namen in diesem Verzeichnis sind durchgestrichen zum Zeichen, dass sie in Jean Pauls Werken Verwendung gefunden haben, so Siebenkas, Robisch (Unsichtbare Loge, 7. Sektor), Falbel, Stiefel (Siebenkas), Oefel (Loge), Oehrmann (Vorrede zu den Blumenstücken), Kuhlpepper (Hesperus), Zaus und Saus (Appendix der Biographischen Bestigungen), Lederer (Jubelseniör). Aber auch von den nicht gestrichenen kommen manche in den Werken vor, z.B. Blasius, Stenz, Stanislaus (Siebenkas), Florian (Falbel), Hoppedizel, Setzmann (Loge), Aufhammer, Krabler, Strobel, Eintarm, Zebedaus (Fixlein), Freudel, Ranz (Freudels Klaglibell), Schickfuss (Jubelseniör), Mezner, Kraus, Schodel (Kreuzerkomödie).

Während hier im Anfang, wie man sieht, Vor- und Nachnamen noch bunt durcheinander stehen, hat Jean Paul später die "Taufnamen" gesondert verzeichnet und nach männlichen und weiblichen getrennt. Wie bei den Ortsnamen führte er dann auch eine Unterscheidung von "guten" und "schlechten" (oder "schlimmen") Namen ein, und zwar sowohl bei den Vor- wie bei den Nachnamen. Dabei hatte er aber wohl nicht nur den moralischen Charakter im Sinne, sondern daneben auch den sozialen Rang, so dass es sich also auch um eine Scheidung von Hoch und Niedrig, von Ernst und Komik handelt, oder wie es Jean Paul in der Vorschule der Aesthetik (§72) ausdrückt, von italienischer und niederländischer Schule. Bezeichnend ist dabei, dass unter den "guten" Namen die ausländischen stark überwiegen; zum Beweis sei nur der Anfang wiedergegeben:

GUTE NAMEN

Machy, Selis, Lorgna, Duchaufour, Ancillon, Almeria, le Baut, Davila, Deneria, Skarpa, Swoboda, Trouillas, Rome de l'Isle, Montoukla, Ciafani, Casati, Hugo,

Saladin, Ledevil, Burja, Fiorillo, Giulia, Agnola, Ida, Cleophea, Casilde etc ³⁹

Dagegen halte man nun den Anfang der Gegenliste:

SCHLIMME

Streichert, Meuseler, Astmann, Stechmann, Banspach, Beez, Franzen, Fokeln, Pfizmann, Paulig, Prahmer, Retticher, Sapel, Scheibler, Scheidenrecht, Schickeltanz, Schipsen, Schillingen, Sessa, Siebenhaar, Sozmann, Statmuller, Steger, Stesser, Faudel, Marzahn, Kreller, Haberland, Mury, Sauerampf, Pitsch, Stelz, Balzer, Schnedermann, Fizau, Friesner, Hassauer, Heck, Polzfuss, Schierstedt, Bindrin, Hey, Pittelko, Flachs, Pippo, Coppo (Jakob), Zenkel, Stenzinger, Egelkraut, Giegold, Fichsel etc ⁴⁰

Auch bei den Taufnamen uberwiegen in der "guten" Liste die fremdlandischen stark, wie die folgende Probe zeigen moge:

WEIBLICHE GUTE NAMEN

Floriana, Konradine, Edmunda, Livia, Raphaela, Eusebie, Maurizia, Hermione, Franzelina, Lotharie, Walpurga, Ludomilla, Blitilde, Georga, Johanetta, Adolpha, Ignazia, Domenika, Nepomuzena, Madelaine, Rita, Alida, Jakobaa, Reynira, Florentina, Adriana, Gobertina, Petronella, Josina, Rosaklara, Ferdinandine, Benigna, Guillemette, Dea, Hieronyma, Adelaide, Nadine, Amine, Junia etc ⁴¹

Spater hat sich Jean Paul dann auch viele "gute" altdeutsche Vornamen aufgezeichnet, worauf ich noch zu sprechen komme. Haufig hat er den deutschen Namen neben den auslandischen gesetzt, z.B.:

Thierry, Dietrich—Everard, Eberhard⁴²—Gilles, Egydius⁴³—Jaqueline, Jakobine⁴⁴—Thiennette, Stephanne⁴⁵—Etienne, Stephan—Alison, Liesichen⁴⁶—Gautier, Walther—Blaise, Blasius⁴⁷—Sebaud, Sebald⁴⁸—Voit, Veit⁴⁹ etc

Schliesslich hat er sich dann auch noch ein nach Landern geordnetes Verzeichnis fremder Personennamen angelegt, das franzosische, englische,

³⁹ Davon sind Le Baut, Giulia und Agnola im Hesperus verwendet. Flamin sollte anfangs Hugo heissen.

⁴⁰ Davon sind verwendet: Streichert, Astmann, Stechmann, Pfizmann im Quintus Fixlein (S. W. v, 63, 124, 163), Meuseler im Hesperus (III, 280), Flachs in den Flegeljahren, Pippo im Titan (VIII, 13), Egelkraut und Giegold im Siebenkas (VI, 23 und 271).

⁴¹ Raphaela heisst eine der Tochter Neupeters in den Flegeljahren (X, 154), Hermine die Gattin Jean Pauls in den Palmgenesen und in der Konjektural-Biographie, Gobertine das Fraulein von Sackenbach im Jubelsenor, Benigna eine Frau in Jean Pauls Briefen (VII, 385), Guillemette die Mutter Lianens im Titan (VIII, 342), Dea (Abkürzung von Alithea) die Pflgetochter im Jubelsenor (V, 394), Nadine die Schwester im Kampaner Thal.

⁴² Verwendet für den "Venner" im Siebenkas (VI, 72). ⁴³ S. W. v, 66 (Fixlein).

⁴⁴ S. W. XII, 215 (Levana) und X, 293 (Flegeljahre). ⁴⁵ S. W. v, 64 (Fixlein).

⁴⁶ Liesichen war für Lenette vorgesehen, s. S. W. VI, Einl. S. XXIV.

⁴⁷ S. W. VI, 43 (Siebenkas). ⁴⁸ S. W. VII, 196 (Palmgenesen).

⁴⁹ S. W. VII, 300 (Jean Pauls Briefe).

italienische, spanische, portugiesische, schweizerische, holländische, dänische, schwedische, polnische, russische und jüdische Namen enthält.⁵⁰

Im ganzen enthält das Heft schätzungsweise 2000 Orts- und Personennamen, von denen natürlich nur ein Bruchteil, einige Hundert, in Jean Pauls Werken Verwendung gefunden hat. Wurde man die Liste einmal vollständig veröffentlichen, so wäre das eine bequeme Fundgrube für heutige Schriftsteller, die nach charakteristischen Namen für ihre Gestalten suchen. Jeder würde da wohl etwas für seine Zwecke Geeignetes finden. Es ist amüsant zu beobachten, wie die Liste manche Namen antizipiert, die von späteren Dichtern verwendet worden sind, wie z.B. Kreisler von E. Th. A. Hoffmann, Gempferlein von der Ebner-Eschenbach, Cleophea, Fiebig, Meuseler von Raabe, Schicketanz, Siebenhaar, Pittelko, Marzahn, Krippenstapel, Rex von Fontane, Semmelmann und Baumhamel (in der niederdeutschen Form Bohmhamel) von Heinrich Seidel, Wunnibald von Ricarda Huch, Spinell⁽¹⁾ von Thomas Mann. Es zeigt sich darin deutlich, einen wie guten Spürsinn Jean Paul für Namen hatte, die durch charakteristischen Klang zu dichterischer Verwendung prädestiniert erscheinen.

V. Woher hat Jean Paul nun alle diese Namen genommen? Es ist des öfteren behauptet worden, er habe sie gossenteils frei erfunden. Gustav Parthey erzählt in seinen schönen Jugenderinnerungen⁵¹ eine lustige Anekdote, die auf dieser Annahme beruht. Danach soll Jean Paul zwar nicht in seinen früheren Werken, z. B. dem *Hesperus*, wohl aber in den späteren sich etwas darauf zugute getan haben, dass alle darin vorkommenden Personennamen sonst nicht existierten. So habe er auch den Namen Katzenberger für "sonst unfindbar" gehalten. Der mit ihm befreundete Medizinalrat Dr. Langermann habe aber gewusst, dass in Prag ein geschätzter praktischer Arzt dieses Namens lebte, dessen Doktordissertation sogar von irgend einer menschlichen Abnormität handelte, also von dem Lieblingsgegenstand des Jean Paulschen Dr. Katzenberger. Langermann habe sich diese Dissertation zu verschaffen gewusst und sie dem Dichter zugehen lassen mit einem fingierten, sehr gereizten Schreiben des Verfassers, worin dieser sich über den offenkundigen Missbrauch seines Namens bitter beschwerte. Jean Paul sei darüber sehr betreten gewesen, bis ihm schliesslich mitgeteilt wurde, dass es sich um einen blossen Scherz handelte. Er habe sich seitdem aber nie wieder vermessen, seine erdachten Namen für *Unica* zu halten.—An

⁵⁰ In seinen Werken hat es Jean Paul mit der Nationalität der Namen nicht immer genau genommen, der Lord im *Hesperus* führt den unenglischen Namen *Horion*, die Spanierin *Linda* den portugiesischen Namen *Romeiro*, die Polin *Zablocki* den altdutschen Vornamen *Wina*.

⁵¹ Hsgeb. von Ernst Friedel, Berlin 1907, II, 136

dieser Geschichte mag ein Körnchen Wahrheit sein; es gab wirklich in Prag einen Arzt Dr. Katzenberger, von dem auch Varnhagen in einem Brief vom 5. Juni 1810 an Jean Paul berichtet ⁵² Der eigentliche Witz der Anekdote kann jedoch nicht stimmen, denn Jean Paul wusste ganz genau, dass er seine Namen nicht *erfunden*, sondern *gefunden* hatte. Zwischen seinen fruheren und späteren Werken besteht in dieser Hinsicht kein Unterschied. Man braucht nur einmal in den Strassen von Hof oder Bayreuth spazieren zu gehen, so fällt einem alle Augenblicke auf einem Tur- oder Ladenschild ein aus Jean Pauls Werken vertrauter Name in die Augen Und nimmt man sich umfangreiche Namenverzeichnisse, wie etwa das Adressbuch von Gross-Berlin, vor, so wird man darin mit wenigen Ausnahmen alle jene absonderlichen Namen wie Katzenberger, Siebenkas, Egelkraut, Fibel, Falbel, Wutz, Suptitz, Schabacker, Mehlhorn, Kokeritz, Zablocki, Fahland, Harprecht, Wehmeier etc. vertreten finden. Die Namen Hafenreffer, Fraischdorfer, Froulay, Roquairol (samtlich aus dem Titan), die Parthey für erfunden halt, lassen sich alle nachweisen. Hafenreffer ist eine Tübinger Gelehrtenfamilie, Froulay ein altfranzösisches Adelsgeschlecht, dessen z.B. in Rousseaus Confessions gedacht wird, Roquairol hiess der Angehörige einer französischen Rauberbande des 18. Jahrhunderts.⁵³ Im Titan erzählt Jean Paul einmal, er pflege in Kriegszeiten abends in die Soldatenlager zu gehen und sich die beim Appell aufgerufenen charakteristisch klingenden Namen in seiner Schreibtafel zu notieren ⁵⁴ Mag das nun ein Scherz sein oder nicht, sicher ist, dass er jede sich ihm bietende Gelegenheit benutzt hat, seine Namensammlung zu vermehren. Dass diese streckenweise alphabetische Ordnung aufweist, zeigt, dass er zum Teil aus vorhandenen Namenverzeichnissen geschöpft hat. Für die Taufnamen hat er nachweislich den Kalender zurate gezogen, für französische und englische Vornamen auch die Zusammenstellungen in Wörterbüchern oder Grammatiken. Altdeutsche Namen, für die er in seinen späteren Werken grosse Vorliebe bekundet—man denke an Klothar in den Flegeljahren, Theoda und Theudobach in Katzenbergers Badereise, Siegwart und Drotta im Leben Fibels, Liuta in dem Traum einer Wahnsinnigen (1808), Thorismund in der Erzählung Die Elternliebe gegen Kinder (1810), Torold und Torilda in dem Aufsatz Ein deutscher Jungling in der Nacht des 18. Oktobers 1814—, hat er grosstenteils einem im Jahre 1800 erschienenen Buch entnommen, dessen Verfasser selbst einen eigenartigen Namen aufweist: Tilemann Dothias Wiarda, Ueber deutsche Vornamen und Geschlechtnamen. Jean Paul hat über dies Werk im August 1804 in der Zeitung für

⁵² Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben von Jean Paul Friedrich Richter, hsgb. von Ernst Forster (München, 1863), III, 223 f

⁵³ Vgl. S W. VIII, Einl. S. xxxiv

⁵⁴ S W. VIII, 57.

die elegante Welt einen eignen Aufsatz veröffentlicht, worin er den Eltern ans Herz legt, ihre Kinder auf die darin angeführten altdeutschen Namen taufen zu lassen,⁵⁵ gleichzeitig aber den dichterischen Gebrauch derselben sich selber vorbehalt und jeden Autor, der ihm einen davon wegstibitzen sollte, im voraus für einen Plagiator erklärt.⁵⁶ Auch aus Fischarts Werken und aus den *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* hat er sich einzelne Namen notiert, ohne sie jedoch zu verwenden.⁵⁷ Er hat auch kein Bedenken getragen, Namen von mehr oder weniger bekannten Persönlichkeiten, wenn sie ihm klanglich geeignet erschienen, zu verwenden, und weist dann wohl selber gelegentlich auf die Urbilder hin, z B bei dem Arzt Kuhlpepper im *Hesperus* auf den englischen Mediziner Culpeper, bei Siebenkas auf den Altdorfer Professor Siebenkees, bei Schoppe auf den Humanisten Scioppius, bei Spener auf den berühmten Pietisten, bei Strykius im Katzenberger auf den Hallenser Juristen.⁵⁸ Die Ortsnamen hat er zum weitaus größten Teil aus geographischen Werken genommen, hauptsächlich aus solchen von Busching und von Fabri,⁵⁹ und auch hier macht er häufig selber auf die "Namensvettern" aufmerksam, meist mit dem stereotypen Scherz, sein Ort dürfe nicht verwechselt werden mit dem gleichnamigen da und da gelegenen.⁶⁰

Wenn es sonach auch keinem Zweifel unterliegen kann, dass Jean Paul sowohl seine Personen- wie seine Ortsnamen—höchstens mit ganz vereinzelten Ausnahmen—der Wirklichkeit entnommen hat, so ist doch zuzugeben, dass er sich zuweilen geringfügige Abänderungen der vorgefundenen Namen gestattet hat. Es geht das schon daraus hervor, dass

⁵⁵ So erhielt auch seine eigene, im November 1804 geborene Tochter den Namen Odile. Sein jüdischer Freund Emanuel nahm später auf seinen Rat den Familiennamen Osmund an. ⁵⁶ S W XIII, 138 f.

⁵⁷ Sonst hat er aus fremden Dichtwerken kaum je Namen entnommen, doch mag erwähnt sein, dass der im Kampaner Thal vorkommende Name Karlson sich auch in Gellerts Geschichte der schwedischen Gräfin von G findet und der ebenda vorkommende Name Nadine in einer Verserzählung von Wieland. Den Namen Natalie im Siebenkas hatte Jean Paul gewählt, bevor er Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre las.

⁵⁸ S W. III, 41, VII, 326, VIII, 22, 189, IX, 47, 397, 412, XIII, 177, XIV, 225. Wenn er dabei zuweilen scherzhaft die Möglichkeit einer Verwandtschaft andeutet, so erinnert das an eine Stelle in der Reise nach Braunschweig von Knigge (1792), wo der Verfasser in einer Fussnote erklärt, er wisse nicht, ob das in seiner Geschichte vorkommende Fraulein von Brumbel zu derselben Familie gehöre wie der damals vielgenannte Berliner Theologe gleichen Namens. Jean Paul hatte übrigens den Minister im *Hesperus* statt Schleunes anfangs Brombel nennen wollen, s W III, Einl S XVIII.

⁵⁹ Von Fabri kommt hauptsächlich die funfbandige Geographie für alle Stände (1786–1808) in Betracht.

⁶⁰ Vgl. S W III, 137 (Kussewitz), VI, 58 (Kuschnappel), X, 36, 39, 61 (Elterlein), 299 (Joditz), XIII, 175 (Potzneusiedl), XIV, 224 (Ziebingen, Diebsfehrla), XV, 10, 12 (Margarethaussen), 267 (Krahwinkel).

sich in seiner Namensliste mehrfach der Vermerk findet. "Unverändert abgeschrieben," während es ein andermal darin heisst: "Ich schreibe *hier* alle Namen gleich falsch." Vielfach wird es sich dabei wohl nur um orthographische Abweichungen gehandelt haben, wie etwa Siebenkas für Siebenkees, Halss für Hals, Hering für Haring, manchmal aber auch um kleine lautliche Modifikationen. So findet sich der Name von Jean Pauls weimarer Zimmervermieterin Kuhnoldt in den Flegeljahren in der Form Kuhnold, Leibgeber ist wahrscheinlich aus Leitgeb (mhd. lītgebe = Schenkwirt) volksetymologisch abgewandelt, Saalpater (in der Vorrede zum zweiten Band des Komet) aus Saalbader. Zuweilen hat Jean Paul auch wohl selbständig eine Endung angehängt, z B. Knornschild zu Knarnschilder, Falter zu Falterle erweitert.⁶¹ Wesentlich freier als mit Personennamen ist er mit Ortsnamen umgesprungen. Hier hat er nicht nur einzelne Buchstaben geändert, wie etwa Sackingen in Zackingen,⁶² sondern vor allem die stereotypen Vor- und Nachsilben entweder vertauscht oder weggelassen oder hinzugefügt. In seiner Namenliste hat er sich eine ganze Anzahl solcher "Ingredienzien" notiert, z B. Ober-, Unter-, Mittel-, Alt-, Frei-, Kirch-, -berg, -thal, -rode, -hofen, -fingen, -weiler, -hagen, -stetten. So hat er etwa Spitz in Mittelspitz erweitert, Landpreis in Neulandpreis, Lausa in Grosslausau, umgekehrt Kleinpestitz (bei Dresden) zu Pestitz, Luneburg zu St. Lune verkürzt, Altenfluss in Hohenfluss abgewandelt.⁶³ Flachsenfingen ist vielleicht nach dem bei Ansbach gelegenen Flachslanden gebildet, Zehnacker nach dem meiningenschen Dreissigacker.⁶⁴ Auch bei den Ortsnamen ist jedoch die grosse Mehrzahl unverändert der Wirklichkeit entnommen; so Kuhnchnappel,⁶⁵ Hukelum,⁶⁶ Vaduz, Schadeck, Waldkappel, Schwaningen, Hasslau, Elterlein, Pira, Maulbronn, Schraplau und viele andere. Zu Landernamen hat Jean Paul meist Ortsnamen verwendet, z B. Scheerau, Kauzen, Hohengeis, Haarhaar (im Titan) ist wohl aus dem Ortsnamen Haar nach Analogie von Scheer-Scheer gebildet. Gern macht er dabei den stereotypen Witz, er müsse sich wundern, dass die Geographen von diesen Landern noch keine Notiz genommen hätten.⁶⁷ Zuweilen hat er

⁶¹ S W. VI, 49, VIII, 79.

⁶² S W. XIII, 79

⁶³ S W. VII, 455, v, 392, XIV, 261, III, 19, VIII, 8 f

⁶⁴ S W. VIII, 286. Ähnlich hat bekanntlich G. Hauptmann in den Webern den überlieferten Namen des Fabrikanten Zwanziger in Dreissiger abgeändert.

⁶⁵ Wenn Jean Paul S W. VI, 58 in einer Fussnote angibt, der Name sei nach Potschappel (bei Dresden) gebildet, so war das entweder ein Scherz, oder er hatte vergessen, dass es einen Ort namens Kuhnchnappel in Sachsen gibt.

⁶⁶ Nach Büsching war Hukelum der alte Name des Klosteramts Hockelheim an der Leine.

⁶⁷ Vgl. z B. S W. II, 83, v, 149, 433, xv, 266 f. Ein ähnlicher Scherz kommt auch in Musaus' Physiognomischen Reisen zu Anfang des 4. Heftes vor.

auch einen Ortsnamen als Personennamen verwendet, z B Wutz, Lis-
more, Sackenbach, oder umgekehrt einen Familiennamen als geogra-
phischen, z B Scheer-Scheer⁶⁸ Vom namensgeschichtlichen Standpunkt
ist dagegen ebensowenig einzuwenden wie gegen die Verwendung von
Vornamen als Familiennamen, wie etwa Ottomar, Blasius (Blaise),
Cesara, Klothar Bedenklicher erscheint es dagegen, Nachnamen wie
Roquairol oder Kraus⁶⁹ als Vornamen zu gebrauchen

VI. Wenn wir nunmehr darangehen, die Eigenart der Jean Paulschen
Namen etwas genauer zu untersuchen, so wollen wir dabei nicht seine
Namenliste zugrunde legen, sondern uns an die in seinen Werken vor-
kommenden Namen halten Die in der Liste bereitgestellten Namen sind
zwar gewiss auch schon für die Besonderheit seines Gefühls und Ge-
schmacks für Namen bezeichnend, aber erst die Auswahl, die er aus ihnen
getroffen hat, ist doch entscheidend. Die Zahl der in Betracht kommen-
den Namen ist immer noch so gross, dass sich alle wesentlichen Kenn-
zeichen unschwer an ihnen aufzeigen lassen

Sieht man sich nun zunächst, um einen Ueberblick über diese Fülle
zu gewinnen, nach einem Einteilungsprinzip um, so wird man die Jean
Paulsche Unterscheidung von guten und schlechten Namen nicht als
geeignet anerkennen können. Sie ist zu allgemein und zu vieldeutig,
auch hat er sie selber weder in seiner Liste noch in seinen Werken streng
durchgeführt. Es lassen sich ja auch die vielen Gestalten, die er geschaf-
fen hat, nicht einfach in gute und böse einteilen, so wenig wie in ernste
und komische oder in hohe und niedrige; überall musste man wenigstens
noch eine Mittelklasse aufstellen, so wie er ja auch in der Vorschule bei
der Einteilung der Romane (§ 72) neben der italienischen und der
niederländischen Schule noch eine deutsche unterscheidet, die in der
Mitte zwischen jenen beiden steht. Aber auch mit einem solchen Drei-
klassensystem wurde man nicht weit kommen. Als praktischer erweist
sich ein scheinbar ausserliches, in Wirklichkeit aber doch sehr wesent-
liches Prinzip, das Jean Paul in der oben angeführten Stelle der Vorschule
über die Namengebung auch bereits angedeutet und das man z B. auch
bei Raabes Namen mit Erfolg angewandt hat, nämlich die *Silbenzahl*
Wie wichtig diese ist, dafür findet sich in Theodor Fontanes Studien zu
seinem geplanten Roman Allerlei Glück ein charakteristisches Zeugnis
Der Dichter war sich da noch nicht darüber im klaren, wie er eine seiner

⁶⁸ S W v, 280, 398, II. Abt., III, 111 Wutz kommt zwar auch als Personennamen vor;
Jean Paul nahm ihn aber, wie aus dem oben mitgeteilten Verzeichnis geographischer
Namen hervorgeht, von dem Wutzsee bei Liebenwalde Esenbeck (Jubelseniör) und Sup-
titz (Komet) kommen sowohl als Orts- wie als Familiennamen vor Dahore (Hesperus) ist
möglicherweise nach dem indischen Ort Lahore gebildet. ⁶⁹ S W. II. Abt., III, 165.

Gestalten nennen wollte, nur das stand ihm fest, dass es ein dreisilbiger berlinischer Name mit dem Akzent auf der ersten Silbe sein müsse ⁷⁰ So lässt sich auch bei Jean Paul beobachten, dass er, wenn er den ursprünglich für eine Figur in Aussicht genommenen Namen später abänderte, dabei oft (nicht immer) Silbenzahl und Akzent beibehielt, z. B. hiess Esenbeck im Jubelsenioren anfangs Feuerlein, Wehmeier und Falterle im Titan sollten erst Greineisen und Kofferle heissen — Neben der Silbenzahl ist dann bei Jean Paul auch noch der *Endung* der Namen besondere Beachtung zu schenken, auf deren Bedeutung er ja auch selber an der angeführten Stelle seiner Vorschule schon hingewiesen hat

Beginnen wir also mit den einsilbigen Namen, die Jean Paul, wie er angibt und seine Praxis im allgemeinen bestätigt, unbedeutenden Personen zu geben pflegte ⁷¹ Ich gebe zunächst eine Zusammenstellung, die übrigens keinen Anspruch auf absolute Vollständigkeit macht, geordnet (aus einem gleich zu erörternden Grunde) nach den Endbuchstaben: ⁷²

Personennamen. Kob, Kolb, Lind, Knef, ⁷³ Lerch, Starch, Fisch, Mensch, Fenk, Peuk, Flol, Graul, Knoll, Spohl, Knor, Spohr, Maus, Saus, Zaus, Schwers, Halss, Stoss, Stuss, Niess, Schiess, Flachs, Hut, Fecht, Hecht, Haft, Prast, Pabst, Fax, Phax, Tax, Max, Fex, Flex, Spheh, Vey, Glanz, Ranz, Malz, Pelz, Stenz, Kenz, Kunz, Matz, Wutz ⁷⁴

Ortsnamen. Hopf, Lauch, Huhl, Heim, Rom, Grems, Flatz, Spitz, Schwenz, Schwortz

Was an dieser Liste auffällt, sind zunächst die häufigen Reime, die zeigen, dass Jean Paul für gewisse Buchstabenfolgen eine besondere Vorliebe hatte, sodann die Häufigkeit des S-Lauts am Schluss, besonders nach vorhergehendem Konsonanten (daher auch das häufige x und z). Jean Paul stellt in der Vorschule (§ 28) einmal die sonderbare Behauptung auf, der Buchstabe S sei lächerlich; er weist auf Wörter wie versessen,

⁷⁰ Vgl. Julius Petersen, Fontanes erster Berliner Gesellschaftsroman (Berlin, 1929), S. 27

⁷¹ Eine Ausnahme macht der ehrwürdige Jubelsenioren Schwers, in dessen Namen aber die Länge des Vokals die Einsilbigkeit sozusagen aufhebt — In J. J. Engels Roman Lorenz Stark (1801) haben alle Personen einsilbige Namen Stark, Herbst, Born, Horn, Specht, Schlicht, Burg, Blum, Lyk, Wrak. Jahn hat diese Namen besonders gerühmt; sie wirken aber doch etwas eintönig und wenig charakteristisch

⁷² Es wurde für den Verfasser wie für den Leser zu ermüdend sein, wenn für jeden der im folgenden angeführten Namen die Stelle seines Vorkommens angeführt wurde. Es kommt in unserem Zusammenhang ja auch meist nicht so viel darauf an, wo der Name sich findet, als wie er lautet. ⁷³ Umkehrung von Fenk, s. S. W. IV, 321

⁷⁴ Jean Paul schrieb diesen Namen ursprünglich, seiner damaligen, die Doppelkonsonanten im Auslaut vereinfachenden Orthographie entsprechend, Wutz, später aber Wutz; wahrscheinlich wollte er ihn kurz ausgesprochen haben. Möglicherweise hatte er später auch Knorr statt Knor geschrieben, doch scheint mir hier die Analogie zu Spohr für die gedehnte Aussprache zu zeugen.

besessen hin.⁷⁵ Es bleibe dahingestellt, ob das allgemein zutrifft; vielleicht konnte man eher von dem Buchstaben P sagen, dass er einen komischen (oft auch unanständigen) Beigeschmack habe. Richtig ist aber jedenfalls, dass das S am Schluss der Wörter, besonders nach einem oder mehreren Konsonanten und wenn die Silbe den Akzent trägt (also stets in einsilbigen Wörtern), eine stark lautmalerische Kraft und meist eine mehr oder minder komische Wirkung hat.⁷⁶ Es sei nur erinnert an die Koseformen der männlichen deutschen Vornamen, wie Heinz, Hinz, Kunz, Fritz, Gotz, ferner an jene pseudolateinischen Namen, wie sie besonders in der Epigrammliteratur von alters her gebräuchlich waren, Stax, Thrax, Vax, Trix, Trux, Stips etc., vor allem aber an schallnachahmende Wörter wie bums, plumps, schwupps, pardauz, Klapps, Klecks u.dgl. Wieland hat in den oben angeführten griechischen Namen seiner Abderiten diesen komischen Klangeffekt geschickt benutzt, ebenso Kortum in dem Namen seines Helden Jobs, vor allem aber Wilhelm Busch, nicht nur in seinen berühmten Schallwörtern, wie rums, perdums, kiewieks, knatteradoms, klingelingelings, und in Namen, wie Schnorz, Schnipps, Gripps, Fipps, Bax, sondern vor allem im Reim, wo die starke Betonung die Wirkung besonders deutlich macht:

Und an Helenens Nase stracks
Klebt das erhitzte Siegelwachs.

Für manchen hat ein Mädchen Reiz,
Doch bleibt die Liebe seinerseits

Entrustet aber wird der Spitz
Infolge eines Seitentritts

Legt's in die Mulde, flach von Holz,
Durchknetet es und druckt und rollt's.

Und dann durchs Tor voll frohen Drangs
Im Rosakleid mit drei Volangs.

Diese Wirkung hat sich also auch Jean Paul vielfach zunutze gemacht, besonders in einsilbigen Namen, aber auch in mehrsilbigen begegnet man ihr häufig, sowohl in der Tonsilbe, z.B. Fixlein, Kelzheim, Vaduz, Kauzen, Pamsen, Trebsen, Fechser, Florzhubel, Flachsenfingen, Kat-

⁷⁵ Vgl. auch den wunderlichen Namen Sessessar (S W I, 556) und den oben angeführten "schlommen" Namen Sessa

⁷⁶ Als besonders widrig-komische Wörter führt Jean Paul gelegentlich die Bezeichnung "Schlauz" für Nachtigall in Krain und den Gottes-Namen Quautz auf der Insel Noatka an, s. S W X, 170, XIII, 195. Vielleicht hängt auch seine bekannte Abneigung gegen das S in zusammengesetzten Wörtern, z.B. Geburtstag, und besonders gegen die Silbe -ungs, z.B. in Erziehungslehre, mit dieser Empfindung zusammen

zenberger, Schmelzle, als auch in der unbetonten Silbendecke, z.B. Mulanz, Kuhpanz, Renovanz, Veldenz, Phylax, Perefixe und in vielen Namen auf -itz.⁷⁷

Bei den zwei- und mehrsilbigen Namen erkennt man sofort, dass Jean Paul für gewisse Endsilben eine Vorliebe hatte. Am häufigsten erscheint die süddeutsche Diminutivsilbe, und zwar sowohl in der vollen Form -lein, wie namentlich in der verkürzten -le und -el.^{77a}

Personennamen Fixlein, Herrlein, Kronlein, Stocklein, Fedderlein.—Bopple, Fautle, Oechsle, Schmelzle, Worble, Falterle —Borstel, Falbel, Fagel, Fibel, Franzel, Freudel, Gobel, Gogel, Kabel, Mendel, Oefel, Peuschel, Purzel, Reuel, Schnabel, Schodel, Stiefel, Strobel, Traupel, Wurfel, Zeddel, Zeusel, Gelbkoppel, Passvogel, Schnorhamel, Vierneissel, Hoppedizel.

Ortsnamen Hoflein, Elterlein —Florzhubel, Holzapfel, Krehwinkel, Krummhubel, Kuhschnappel, Neusattel, Saubügel, Waghausel, Waldkappel, Potzneusiedl

Auch von Vornamen, besonders von weiblichen, braucht Jean Paul gern Kose- oder Kurzformen auf -el, z.B. Justel (Justine), Appel (Apolonia), Regel (Regina), Raphel (Raphael), Sabel (Sabine), Söphel (Sophie), Vronel (Veronika), Nickel (Nikolaus), Attel (Attila)⁷⁸ Zuweilen erscheint die Diminutivsilbe auch im Innern des Namens, z.B. in Matzleinsdorf, Harmlesberg, Meuseler, Hafteldorn, Hukelum, Vieselbach, Pimpelstadt, und mit angehangener lateinischer Endung: Falzelius, Stapelhaselius.—Es ist ja nun ohne weiteres ersichtlich, dass diese Verkleinerungssilbe dem Namen einen gemüthlichen, harmlosen, unheldischen Anstrich verleiht.⁷⁹ Daher gehören fast alle "Helden" von Jean Pauls Idyllen und Humoresken in diese Gruppe. Fixlein, Kronlein, Schmelzle, Falbel, Freudel, Fibel, Vierneissel. Auch der Held der Flegeljahre sollte ursprünglich Tanzel, der des Komet Hoppel heissen. Es sind wohl auch manche unsympathische Gesellen darunter, wie Oefel, Zeusel, Hoppedizel,⁸⁰ aber kein ernsthafter Boscovich. Auffallend ist,

⁷⁷ In der Liste der "schlechten" Namen notiert sich Jean Paul einmal "Namen mit s, z.B. Heinrichs, Lachs"

^{77a} Dass die Endsilbe -el in den folgenden Namen nicht immer die Verkleinerungssilbe ist, darf hier ausser acht gelassen werden, da es für Jean Pauls Sprachgefühl keinen Unterschied ausmachte ⁷⁸ So in Immermanns Munchhausen Agesel für Agesilaus.

⁷⁹ Für einen Räuber ist daher der Name Schufferle auch aus diesem Grunde nicht glücklich gewählt. Von Goethes Namen gehören Spritzbierlein, Schwerdtlein und Bendel (im Ur-Meister) hieher. Besonders häufig sind Namen auf -el bei Wilhelm Busch: Botel, Fibel, Hiebel, Gnatzel, Klecksel, Krokkel, Kummel, Lampel, Pretzel, Schmurzel, Stunkel etc. Buschs längerer Aufenthalt in Süddeutschland hat ja auch sonst in seiner Sprache manche Spuren hinterlassen

⁸⁰ Der Name Hoppedizel kommt in Hof vor. Jean Paul hat ihn zuerst in einer Satire von 1789 verwertet (S.W. II Abt. III, 94), dann in der Unsichtbaren Loge

dass die (ursprünglich) mitteldeutsche Diminutivendung -chen, die Jean Paul sonst mindestens so häufig anwendet wie die suddeutsche, in seinen Namen gar nicht vorkommt, ausser vereinzelt in Koseformen, z.B. Bulchen (Pulcheria), Bergelchen (Teutoberga), Nickelchen (Nikolaus) und einmal in der niederdeutschen Form: Mannike⁸¹ Die Endung -i hat er zwar des oftern verwendet, aber anscheinend nicht als verkleinernd, sondern als fremdlandisch empfunden (wie es ja auch meist ist); daher findet sie sich, ausser bei der Schweizerin Zwicki, dem Ungarn Warlimini, dem Italiener Paradisi und dem Polen Zablocki, nur bei Vornehmen: Augusti (der ursprünglich Friderizi heissen sollte), Luigi, Wilhelmi

Fast ebenso häufig wie die Diminutivsilbe verwendet Jean Paul die von ihm nicht ganz zutreffend als "Iterativ-Silbe" bezeichnete Endung -er. Während aber in der vorigen Gruppe die zweisilbigen Namen stark überwiegen, sind in dieser die Dreisilber am zahlreichsten vertreten, und auch die von Wilhelm Raabe so bevorzugten Viersilber fehlen nicht.⁸² Ortsnamen auf -er sind naturgemäss seltener:

Personennamen: Fechser, Flegler, Halter, Jenner, Karner, Krabler, Meiler, Mezner, Metzger, Peisser, Richter, Roper, Schnazler, Schuster, Spener, Strossner, Treiber, Wachser, Aufhammer, Fraischdorfer, Gehrischer, Hahrbauer, Kleinschwager, Knänschilder, Kuhlpepper, Lederer, Leibgeber, Merbitzer, Meuseler, Neupeter, Prielmayer, Saalpater, Schabacker, Schalaster, Scharweber, Schomaker, Steinberger, Stenzinger, Tanzberger, Torsaker, Vogtlander, Wehmeier, Hafenreffer, Katzenberger, Pfeifenberger, Schleifenheimer

Ortsnamen: Scheitweiler, Vierreuter, Zehnacker.

Jean Paul sagt in der Vorschule, er habe solche Namen auf -er "schlimmen oder scheinbar wichtigen" Personen gegeben, und in der Tat sind es mit wenigen Ausnahmen (z B. Spener) unsympathische, ungemütliche, unerfreuliche oder kummerliche Gesellen⁸³ Vielleicht war dies ein Grund mit, dass der prächtige Humorist Leibgeber später in Schoppe und Graul umgetauft wurde⁸⁴ Dass nun aber der harmlosen Silbe -er wirklich eine so abstossende Wirkung innewohnen sollte, wird sich kaum erweisen lassen. Wir haben oben schon darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass z B. Goethe gerade Namen auf -er liebt und sie auch sympathischen

⁸¹ S W xiii, 166.

⁸² Vgl Raabes Wassertreter, Wolkenjäger, Reihenschläger, Feuchtenbeiner etc. In einer ungedruckt gebliebenen Satire seines Freundes Christian Otto gefiel Jean Paul besonders der Name Herbelsamer

⁸³ Das gilt auch von den Namen auf -ert und -ern Raupert, Eckert, Hasert, Streichert, Ebern, Meyern.

⁸⁴ Vgl S W viii, 421 " . Graul—dieser Name ist viel besser als dein letzter, Leibgeber—"

Personen zuteilt. Es liegt hier anscheinend ein ganz individuelles Sprachgefühl Jean Pauls zugrunde, bei dem möglicherweise die Abneigung gegen seinen eignen Familiennamen im Spiele war, die ihn ja auch (neben anderm) zur Wahl eines Pseudonyms bestimmt hat.

Eine kleinere, aber auch beträchtliche Gruppe bilden die zwei- oder dreisilbigen Namen auf -mann:

Astmann, Erdmann, Eymann, Fassmann, Fuhrmann, Hansmann, Hartmann, Oehrmann, Pfitzmann, Setzmann, Stechmann, Zeitmann, Habermann, Haltermann, Semmelmann, Weyermann.

Hier wird sich ein gemeinsamer Wesenszug kaum feststellen lassen; es sind sympathische und unsympathische, ernste und komische, hohe und niedere Charaktere darunter. Auffallend ist nur die grosse Zahl der Geistlichen: Astmann, Eymann, Hartmann, Setzmann, Zeitmann.

Weniger in Personen- als in Ortsnamen kommt die Endung -itz vor, die Jean Paul aus seiner engeren Heimat vertraut war:

Personennamen. Kokeritz, Suptitz, Wehrfritz (Vgl. auch Hopedizel)

Ortsnamen: Fugnitz, Joditz, Pestitz, Sabitz, Zabitz, Kussewitz, Mittelspitz

Besonders liebt er aber Ortsnamen auf -a und -au, wobei wohl seine Freude an vollen Endvokalen im Spiele war ⁸⁵

Pira, Diebsfehra, Rosana (Fluss), Rosiza, Bienenroda, Hohen-, Mittel-, Niederfehra, Kirschenfelda, Niederschona

Forbau, Grosslausau, Hasslau, Liebenau, Scheerau, Schraplau, Strahlau.

Schliesslich ist noch eine kleine Gruppe von Ortsnamen auf -ingen oder -ungen anzuführen:

Bopfingen, Schwaningen, Zackingen, Ziebingen, Flachsenfingen —Altfladungen.

Von dem altbeliebten Mittel, einem deutschen Personennamen durch Anhängung der lateinischen Endung -us oder -ius komische Wichtigkeit zu verleihen, ⁸⁶ hat Jean Paul fast nur in seinen frühen Satiren Gebrauch gemacht, wo man Namen wie Falzelius, Foppolius, Pompasius, Stapelhaselius begegnet. Damals bediente er selber sich ja auch des Pseudonyms Hasus. Später kommen solche Bildungen nur noch ganz vereinzelt vor: Lausus, Strykius, Musurus.

Aus dem Bisherigen dürfte die Bedeutung der Endsilben bei den Namen Jean Pauls zur Genüge erhellen. Natürlich sind aber daneben auch noch andere Momente für die Klangwirkung massgebend, insbe-

⁸⁵ Vgl. S W XI, 308, XIII, 138 f, XVI, 169 f

⁸⁶ So z B in Nicolais Sebaldu Nothanker. Suurfautenius, Pypsnovenius, Puddewustius; in Raabes Gansen von Butzow Klufautius

sondere die Vokale der betonten Silben. Man musste, um das im einzelnen nachzuweisen, eigentlich jeden Namen für sich vornehmen. Ich muss mich hier mit wenigen allgemeinen Hinweisen begnügen. Unangenehme Personen haben häufig ein langes Ó in der Tonsilbe, z. B. Oefel, Oehrmann, Oelhafen, Flol, Knor, Kokeritz, Roper,⁸⁷ Schodel, Spohr. Auch langes Á und E haben meist einen ublen Beiklang, vgl. Blaise, Flatz, Schape, Schnazler, Krehwinkel, Lederer, Egelkraut, Esenbeck, Hedasch, Queerbach, Scheerau, und zuweilen (nicht immer) Eu und Ei (die Jean Paul in seiner frankischen Aussprache wohl kaum unterschied), vgl. Schleunes, Zeusel, Peuk, Reuel, Peuschel, Meuseler, Neupeter, Meyern, Meiler, Seirich, Scheinfuss, Fraischdorfer, Heiderscheid, Scheitweiler, Schleifenheimer, Pfeifenberger. Andererseits trägt langes I einen entschieden freundlichen Charakter, z. B. in Siebenkas, Fibel, Stiefel, Dian,⁸⁸ Liane (die ursprünglich Lidie heißen sollte), Lilar, Lilienbad, Liebenau, Idoine, Bienenroda. Langes A und O bezeichnen edle, erhabene Gestalten, z. B. Albano, Cesara, Liane, Beata, Horion, Dahore, Lismore, Ottomar. Was die Konsonanten betrifft, so scheint Jean Paul, wie gegen das auslautende -er, auch gegen das anlautende R seines eigenen Namens eine Abneigung gehabt zu haben; wenigstens gibt er es gern Bosewichtern, z. B. Robisch, Roper, Reuel, Raupert, Renovanz und besonders Roquairol, wo das zweite R und das doppelte O die schlimme Wirkung noch verstärken.

Personen der oberen Stände haben bei Jean Paul—wie übrigens in vielen damaligen Romanen und Schauspielen—häufig fremdlandische Namen, auch wenn sie sonst nicht als Ausländer charakterisiert werden, z. B. Blaise im Siebenkas. Die Träger französischer Namen sind durchweg schlimme oder doch leichtfertige Charaktere: die Residentin von Bouse, Le Baut, Blaise, Bouverot, Froulay, Roquairol, Perefixe, Fautle etc.⁸⁹ Dem intriganten Hofjunker von Schleunes im Hesperus und dem ublen Herrn von Meyern im Siebenkas werden wenigstens französische Vornamen aufgehängt, Matthieu und Everard.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Den Namen des geizigen Kommerzienagenten Roper in der Unsichtbaren Loge, der von weitem an den seines Urbilds, des Kammerrats von Oerthel, anklängt, hat Jean Paul wahrscheinlich aus Bahrds Geschichte und Tagebuch meines Gefangnisses (1790) entnommen, wo ein ubler Denunziant so heisst (S. 41 ff.)

⁸⁸ Dieser Name des Griechen im Titan soll nach Jean Pauls Angabe in den Vorarbeiten auf der ersten Silbe betont werden. In der obigen Namenliste findet sich die Form Thiano. Die Gunderode schrieb bekanntlich unter dem Pseudonym Thian.

⁸⁹ In dem oben erwähnten Aufsatz über altddeutsche Taufnamen führt Jean Paul eine Anzahl besonders hasslicher französischer Namen an: Pépé, Huleu, Bexou, Baif, Ouffie, Grez. (S. W. XIII, 138.)

⁹⁰ Zu dem Namen Meyern ist die Bemerkung in einem Aphorismenheft Jean Pauls (Fasz. 11b des Nachlasses, Heft 11, No. 396) zu vergleichen: "Für mich sind Namen missfällig,

VII Wir haben bisher hauptsächlich von den *Nachnamen* gehandelt. Da diese unendlich zahlreicher sind als die Vornamen, so geben sie natürlich reichere Möglichkeiten differenzierender Charakteristik an die Hand. Sie haben dafür aber den Nachteil an sich, dass oft charakterlich ganz verschiedene Mitglieder einer Familie ein und denselben Namen führen müssen. So passt z. B. der Name Froulay zwar gut für den hartherzigen Minister, aber gar nicht für dessen engelsanfte Tochter Liane, umgekehrt der Name Fibel wohl für den harmlosen Sohn, aber nicht für den soldatisch-rauen Vater. Die grundverschiedenen Zwillingbrüder Walt und Vult müssen den gleichen Familiennamen Harnisch tragen. In solchen Fällen gewinnt der *Vorname* besondere Bedeutung, er muss die individuelle Charakteristik verstärken oder ersetzen. Der Nachname wird dann wenig oder gar nicht genannt. So gibt Jean Paul z. B. im Titan ausdrücklich an, dass er den Namen Cesara nur für den Sohn (Albano), aber nicht für den (angeblichen) Vater (Gaspard) gebrauchen werde,⁹¹ und führt diesen Vorsatz auch streng durch. Bei weiblichen Personen erfahren wir zuweilen den Nachnamen überhaupt nicht, z. B. bei Thiennette im Fixlein⁹² und bei Natalie im Siebenkas.⁹³

Jean Paul macht sich in der Vorschule über die damals herrschende Sitte etwas lustig, den Romanheldinnen möglichst wohlklingende, fremdartige Namen beizulegen, eine Mode, der bekanntlich auch Goethe sich nicht entzogen hat (vgl. seine Philine, Aurelie, Natalie, Makarie, Hilarie usw.), die aber auch Jean Paul selbst kräftig mitgemacht hat. Ja er hat an Vielfalt und Ungewöhnlichkeit der weiblichen Vornamen wohl alle seine Mitbewerber übertrumpft, wie die folgende, nicht auf Vollständigkeit ausgehende, bunte Zusammenstellung zeigen mag, zu der alle Sprachen beigesteuert haben, oft ohne Rücksicht auf die Nationalität der Trägerinnen:

Agnes, Betta, Bona, Cara, Dea, Drotta, Eva, Flora, Giulia, Jane, Julie, Justa, Laura, Lea, Linda, Luna, Luzie, Sucky, Wina, Regina, Selina, Severina, Gubernina, Albine, Adeline, Ernestine, Goldine, Hermine, Idoine, Jakobine, Jaqueline,⁹⁴

die das Ursprüngliche mit einem Buchstaben ändern, z. B. Nettelblatt, Schallern, Meiern, Hillebrandt, Michahelles." Dass der Verfasser des von ihm sehr geschätzten Romans *Dyana-Sore Meiern* hiess, war Jean Paul zur Zeit der Abfassung des *Siebenkas* wohl noch nicht bekannt. ⁹¹ S.W. VIII, 10

⁹² Fixlein nennt sie einmal das gnädige Fraulein von Thiennette (S.W. v, 119), aber natürlich ist Thiennette (=Stephanie) ihr Vorname

⁹³ Sie ist die Nichte des Heimlichers von Blaise, aber diesen "schlimmen" Namen mochte ihr Jean Paul nicht geben, er lässt es daher offen, wie sie mit Nachnamen heisst

⁹⁴ Nach dieser Gestalt der Levana wurden die Kindergärtnerinnen der Frobelschen Erziehungsanstalt Keilhau "Schakelmen" genannt, wie Georg Ebers in der Geschichte seines Lebens erzählt

Joachime, Nadine, Pauline, Philippine, Samueline, Wendeline,⁹⁵ Zephyrine, Georgette, Guillemette, Lenette, Libette, Ninette, Rabette, Rosinette, Thienette, Agnola, Agata, Agathe, Beata, Benigna, Candide,⁹⁶ Chariton, Elisa, Engeltrut, Gladuse, Helena, Klotilde,⁹⁷ Kordula, Liane, Liuta, Marietta, Mehalla,⁹⁸ Irene, Julienne, Natalie, Sidonie, Theoda, Torilda, Ursula, Alithea, Aquiliana, Apollonia, Eleonore, Engelberta, Eunomia, Isabella, Pulcheria, Raphaela, Rosamunda, Teutoberga, Theodosia, Veronika

Aber auch an ausgefallenen männlichen Vornamen ist kein Mangel:

Achatius, Albano, Alessandro, Alex(ander), Amandus, Attila, Christhelf, Echion, Egidius, Ehas, Emanuel, Eugenius, Everard, Firmian, Flamin, Florian, Frohauf, Gaspard, Giannozzo, Gotthelf, Gottheb, Gottreich, Gottwalt, Guido, Gustav, Henoch, Henrion, Hoseas, Hylo,⁹⁹ Ingenun, Ischariot, Januar (Jenner), Joachim, Jonathan, Josuah, Julius, Leolin, Lorenz, Luigi, Lukas, Maria, Nikolaus, Pollux, Quoddeusvult, Roquairol, Rosa, Sebastian, Sebaud, Siegwart, Stanislaus, Tiberius, Thomas, Tonld, Thorismund, Viktor, Zebedaus

Es kommen daneben, wenn auch nicht häufig, auch einfachere Namen vor, wie Luise, Marie, Sophie, Ernst, Hans, Heinrich, Jakob, Johann, Karl, Peter; aber Jean Paul sucht ihnen dann wenigstens oft durch eine ungewöhnliche Abkürzung etwas Besonderes zu geben, z.B. Gerg für Georg, Helf für Gotthelf, Walt für Gottwalt. Seine Namenfreudigkeit bekundet sich auch darin, dass er gern doppelte Vornamen gibt:

Viktor Sebastian Horion, Firmian Stanislaus Siebenkas, Hoseas Heinrich Leibgeber, Lenette Wendeline Egelkraut, Natalie Aquiliana, Everard Rosa von Meyern, Egidius Zebedaus Fixlen, Peter Gottwalt Harnisch, Johann Alexander Schomaker, Henoch Elias Marggraf, Johann Thomas Seemaus

Im Titan führen Roquairol, Julienne und Liane noch die geheimen Nebennamen Karl, Elisa und (kleine) Linda¹⁰⁰ Diese Mehrheit von Namen gab Jean Paul die Möglichkeit, je nach seinem "prosaischen

⁹⁵ Der "narrische" Name Wendeline kommt schon in einem frühen satirischen Fragment vor, s. S W II Abt., III, 61

⁹⁶ Jean Paul braucht den Namen weiblich, s. S W VIII, 492

⁹⁷ Dieser Name der Heldin des Hesperus (Jean Paul schreibt ihn unrichtig ohne h) kam durch ihn in Aufnahme, wie auch andere Namen dieses erfolgreichsten Jean Paulschen Romans, Viktor, Emanuel, Julius Fontane sagt von dem Namen Klothilde "Er hat etwas Festes, Solides, Zuverlässiges und geht nach dieser Seite hin fast noch über Emilie hinaus" (Cécile, Kap. 13) Jean Paul hat ihn wohl mehr als romantisch empfunden

⁹⁸ S W II Abt., III, 252 Jean Paul nahm den Namen vermutlich aus Gessners Tod Abels (1778) Er geht wohl auf den biblischen Namen Mahalath (1 Mos. 28, 9) zurück

⁹⁹ S W II Abt., III, 252. Nach dem 1803 erschienenen Barden-Almanach (S. IX) ist Hylo der Name einer westfälischen Hirtengottheit Jean Paul entnahm ihn aber wahrscheinlich aus K. Ph. Moritz' Anton Reiser, wo (II, 121) erzählt wird, dass den Helden der gesungene Vers "Hüll, o schöne Sonne" aufs höchste entzückt habe, weil er die beiden ersten Silben für einen geheimnisvollen orientalischen Ausdruck "Hylo" gehalten habe

¹⁰⁰ S W VIII, 192.

Silbenmass" abzuwechseln und zu differenzieren.¹⁰¹ So entspricht z. B. bei dem Helden des Hesperus der dreifache Name gewissermassen den drei Seelen, die in seiner Brust wohnen,¹⁰² Sebastian der humoristischen, Viktor der sentimental, Horion der philosophischen. Jean Pauls fingierte Gattin erhält in der Konjektural-Biographie zu ihrem "romantischen" Namen Hermine noch den für den Alltag brauchbareren Zunamen Rosinette.¹⁰³ Sogar mit Nachnamen gestattet sich Jean Paul solchen Wechsel. Leibgeber, der ursprünglich Kees hiess, sich dann Sevenkees, Siebenkas nannte, bis er diesen Namen mit dem seines Freundes vertauschte, tritt im Titan als Schoppe wieder auf, im Gianozzo als Graul; nebenher heisst er auch noch Lowenskiöld, Mordian, Sakramentier, Huleu.¹⁰⁴ Dieser fortwährende Namenwechsel wird mit des Mannes unstetem Wesen und Reiseleben begründet, auch mit dem Beispiel seines Namensvetters Scioppius, der nach Bayle viele Namen nebeneinander geführt haben soll.¹⁰⁵ Der eigentliche Grund war aber Jean Pauls Bedürfnis, "das Ohr durch Wechsel zu erquickern"¹⁰⁶ und—dürfen wir hinzusetzen—die Fülle seiner Namensammlung möglichst auszuschöpfen.

Die handschriftlichen Vorarbeiten zu Jean Pauls Romanen zeigen, dass er oft lange zwischen verschiedenen Namen geschwankt hat, manchmal noch bis in die Reinschrift hinein, ja in einigen Fällen tauchen die ursprünglichen, später verworfenen Namen sogar im gedruckten Text versehentlich noch auf.¹⁰⁷ Für manche Gestalten findet sich in den Vorarbeiten wohl ein Dutzend Namen neben- und nacheinander, z. B. für den Helden des Titan: Adelhard, Fulgens, Klaudius Romanus, Justus Viktorin, Hubert, Maximilian, Romanus Albanus, Hannibal Alban von Wehrfritz, August, Lothar u. a. Für die Entstehungsgeschichte des betreffenden Charakters oder Werkes sind diese Schwankungen oft sehr wichtig und aufschlussreich. Wenn etwa der Wohnort des Schulmeisterleins Wutz nacheinander Sausenhofen, Bittelbronn, Erlenbach und schliesslich Auenthal genannt wird, so erkennt man deutlich, dass zunächst das satirische Element noch starker betont war und erst allmählich durch das idyllische zurückgedrängt wurde. Oder wenn der Held der Flegeljahre, Gottwalt Peter Harnisch, anfangs Tanzel, dann

¹⁰¹ S W III, 21

¹⁰² S W III, 114

¹⁰³ S W VII, 462 Jean Paul weist bei dieser Gelegenheit darauf hin, dass seine Mutter Rosina hiess (S 465)—Von Frank Wedekind wird erzählt, dass er seine Tochter Anna Pamela taufen liess, damit sie, je nachdem, ob sie eine gute Hausfrau oder eine Kunstlerin wurde, den einen oder den andern Namen verwenden könne

¹⁰⁴ S W IX, 331, 413, 431

¹⁰⁵ S W VI, 356, IX, 412 f

¹⁰⁶ S W VI, 70

¹⁰⁷ So einmal im 32. Kapitel des Hesperus der Name Fraskati für die Insel St. Johannis, in No. 23 der Flegeljahre zweimal der Name Hudo für den Grafen Klothar.

Blitz heissen sollte, so zeigt sich darin, dass er erst mehr als komische Figur gedacht war. Zuweilen geht wohl auch ein Name, der Jean Paul besonders gefiel, von einer Gestalt auf eine andere über, z B im Siebenkas der Name Lenette von der Geliebten des Helden (der späteren Natalie) auf dessen Ehefrau, im Titan der Name Wehrfritz von dem Lieferanten des Materials (dem späteren Hafenreffer) auf den Pflegevater des Helden. Die Wahl des endgültigen Namens kann im allgemeinen als Zeichen dafür angesehen werden, dass die betreffende Gestalt in der Phantasie des Dichters festen Umriss gewonnen hatte, dass, wie er sich selber ausdrückte, der "Fokus" des Charakters gefunden war. Besonders deutlich lässt sich das bei der Gestalt Roquairols verfolgen.¹⁰⁸

VIII. Wir haben oben schon darauf hingewiesen, dass Jean Paul Namen, die eine bestimmte Bedeutung haben, im allgemeinen vermied. Ganz ausschliessen konnte er sie bei ihrer grossen Verbreitung nicht gut, aber sehr selten verwendet er sie so, dass sie eindeutig auf den Charakter oder Stand des Trägers hindeuten. Ich wusste da nur den sanften Zeidler Lind im Hesperus¹⁰⁹ und den Stosser (d.i. Apothekerlehrling) Stoss im Komet zu nennen, allenfalls noch den Pflegesohn Fechsler im Falbel und die arme, kranke Frau Bitterlich in den Flegeljahren.¹¹⁰ Bei dem Schulrat Stiefel dagegen, dem Schulmeister Halss, dem Korrespondenten Fisch, dem Schultheissen Harnisch, dem Fruhprediger Flachs, dem Apotheker Hecht, dem Arzt Dr. Hut, dem Stadtturmer Heering, dem Magister Pelz, dem Buchdrucker Fuhrmann, dem Schuldirektor Wurfel, dem Gastwirt Pabst etc. lässt sich ein Zusammenhang nicht oder doch nur sehr kunstlich aufzeigen. Alle diese Namen sind nicht wegen, sondern trotz ihrer eigentlichen Bedeutung um ihres charakteristischen Klangs willen gewählt worden, zuweilen wohl auch, weil sie im Zusammenhang der Erzählung eine besondere Funktion ausuben, wie etwa Fuchslein, der mit Fixlein verwechselt wird, der Drechsler Metzger, der für einen Metzger gehalten wird,¹¹¹ Fibel, dessen Abc-Buch nach seinem Verfasser benannt wird, wie man ein Bild von Raffael einen Raffael nennt, oder Marggraf, dessen Name zu allerhand Verwechslungen Anlass gibt, die mit dazu beitragen, in seinem Trager den Glauben an fürstliche Abkunft zu bestärken. In seiner Namenliste nimmt sich Jean Paul gelegentlich vor, Tier- und Blumen-

¹⁰⁸ S W. VIII, Einl S xxxiv f

¹⁰⁹ Seltsam ist, dass die keineswegs sanfte "Titanide" den Namen Linda erhielt, von dem Raimund im Barometermacher sagt, dass er "so lind wie eine sammt'ne Schlafhaube" anmüte. Ihr ursprünglicher Name Almada war passender.

¹¹⁰ S W v, 219, x, 361

¹¹¹ S W VII, 276

namen als Personennamen zu verwenden, und notiert sich zu diesem Behuf eine Anzahl Vogelnamen, wie Seidenschwanz, Elster, Brachvogel. Er hat davon aber so gut wie gar keinen Gebrauch gemacht.¹¹² Oft hat er den eigentlichen Sinn eines Namens durch eine angehangte Endung absichtlich verwischt, z B in Lederer, Freudel, Reuel, Schmelzle, Oechsle, Falterle, Fixlein.¹¹³

Wenn nun aber Jean Pauls Namen auch selten direkt "redende" sind, so sind sie doch natürlich oft so gewählt, dass sie gewisse Assoziationen wecken, die in der Richtung des betreffenden Charakters liegen. Er fuhr ja selber in der Vorschule als Beispiel an, dass er einen "kahlen, fahlen" Menschen Fahland genannt habe.¹¹⁴ Mit Wutz wird in Süddeutschland ein Schwein bezeichnet; und so mag man sich denn das vergnügte Schulmeisterlein Wutz als ein quietschvergnügt in seinem Tumpel platscherndes Ferkel vorstellen. Bei der koketten Residentin von Bouse denkt man unwillkürlich an die Rolle ihres Busens, bei dem Kammerherrn Fiou¹¹⁵ an einen Filou, bei Scheerau an Scherereien, bei dem Bussprediger Reuel an Reue, bei dem armen Bergmann Zaus daran, dass er vom Leben arg zerzaust worden ist, bei dem Tanzlehrer Falterle an einen Schmetterlingsfalter, bei dem leichtlebigen Elsasser Flitte an Flitter oder Flittchen. Der grobe Schulmeister Flegler, Fibels Feind und Rezensent, gemahnt an einen Flegel in doppeltem Sinne. Wehrfritz deutet auf Mut und Energie, Schmelzle auf das Gegenteil, Wehmeier (ursprünglich Greimeisen) auf Klaglichkeit, Glanz auf Eitelkeit, Knor und Knoll auf Rauheimigkeit. Ortsnamen wie Auenthal, Lilienbad, Maienthal, Blumenbühl, Lilar, Elterlein, Heim, Liebenau¹¹⁶ sollen natürlich hebliche, idyllische, Ruhestatt und Heilgengut fromme Vorstellungen erwecken. Solche Beispiele liessen sich noch vermehren. Im grossen und ganzen hat aber Jean Paul doch allzu direkte Anspielungen eher vermieden als gesucht, und es wäre verfehlt, etwa in Namen wie Siebenkas, Leibgeber, Oelhafen, Scheinfuss, Graukern, Mehlhorn, Seebass, Seemaus, Kehrstephan, Passvogel, Kuhschnappel, Kussewitz u dgl. bestimmte Hindeutungen auf den Charakter der betreffenden

¹¹² Vgl. Egelkraut, Schalaster S W. vi, 23, 300. Später hat bekanntlich Freytag mit Vorliebe Vogelnamen verwendet. Fink, Specht, Pix (Picus), Hahn etc.

¹¹³ In J. G. Müllers Siegfried von Lindenberg kommt ein Allerweltsgeziehe namens Fix vor. — Dass Fixlein eine Permutation von infelix ist, worauf mich Prof. Graf in Quedlinburg aufmerksam macht, ist gewiss nur Zufall. Hätte Jean Paul dergleichen im Sinne gehabt, so hätte er vermutlich, dem Charakter des Mannes entsprechend, eher Fixle als Permutation von felix gewählt.

¹¹⁴ Die eigentliche Bedeutung von Fahland (Teufel) scheint er nicht gekannt zu haben; sonst hätte er den Namen wohl nicht gewählt. ¹¹⁵ S W. II Abt., II, 252.

¹¹⁶ Vgl. S W. xv, 279. "Nichts hör' ich so gern als Städte und Dörfer mit dem Liebenamen kopuliert."

Person oder Ortschaft sehen zu wollen. Das Ausschlaggebende war für Jean Paul immer der Klang des Namens; die inhaltliche Assoziation trat höchstens sekundär hinzu. So hat er z.B. den Namen Albano gewiss mehr wegen des edlen Wohlklangs als, wie man behauptet hat, wegen seiner Bedeutung (albo = weiss, rein) gewählt.¹¹⁷

Bei komischen Figuren steht der Name zuweilen in absichtlichem Gegensatz zu dem Wesen des Tragers, so wie ja Jean Paul, nach dem Vorbild des gutmütigen Offiziers Onkel Toby, auch Stand und Charakter gern kontrastieren lässt, z.B. bei dem vertraumten Notar Walt und bei dem hasenfussigen Feldprediger Schmelzle. In seiner Namenliste führt er einmal als Paradigma an: "Fuchs, für einen Dummen." So heisst der von Pech verfolgte Amtsvogt Freudel, der weichmütige Walt mit Nachnamen Harnisch.¹¹⁸ Besonders liebt er kontrastierende Vornamen: der feige Schmelzle führt den kriegerischen Vornamen Atilla (in den Vorarbeiten erst Alexander, dann Tiberius und Geiserich), der nichts weniger als lebenswürdige Katzenberger heisst Amandus, der hypochondrische Zuchthausprediger Suptitz Frohauf. Dabei wirkt auch noch die Komik des Gegensatzes zwischen einem hochtonenden Vornamen und einem prosaischen Nachnamen mit, wie sie schon Shakespeare verwendet hat (vgl. Pompejus Bump in Mass für Mass), so z.B. Florian Fälbel, Ischariot Gogel, Raphaela Neupeter, Teutoberga Schmelzle u.a.

Jean Paul hat sich sicherlich auf die sorgfältige Wahl seiner Namen etwas zugute getan; aber er hat es glücklicherweise vermieden, den Leser noch mit der Nase auf das Charakteristische der Namen zu stossen, wie das andere Dichter, z.B. Raabe und Fontane, leider zu tun pflegen. Auch Wortspiele mit Namen kommen verhältnismässig selten bei ihm vor, wie ihm ja überhaupt der reine Wortwitz weniger lag als etwa den Romantikern. Was hatte ein Brentano mit Namen wie Siebenkas, Leibgeber, Kuhschnappel etc. für Unfug getrieben! Jean Paul erklärt in der Vorschule (§ 52) Wortspiele mit Namen für minderwertig; gilt das schon für Witze mit wirklichen Namen, so noch viel mehr, wenn es sich um erfundene handelt, also "das Erstaunen über den Zufall" wegfällt, in dem Jean Paul mit Recht einen wesentlichen Reiz des Wortspiels erblickt. Erst in seinen späteren Werken—etwa von den Flegeljahren an—hat er sich zuweilen kleine Witzeleien mit Namen gestattet, z.B. mit Hut, Katzenberger, Strykius, Fuhrmann, Maus, Schnabel, Pabst.¹¹⁹ Es ist aber zu beachten, dass diese Witze meist nicht vom Erzähler, sondern von einer der mitspielenden Personen gemacht werden,

¹¹⁷ Der Name kommt vor dem Titan schon in der Unsichtbaren Loge vor, S. W. II, 334.

¹¹⁸ Ähnlich wirkt bei Raabes Hungerpastor der Name Unwirrsch.

¹¹⁹ S. W. x, 252, XIII, 100, 177, 278, 499, XIV, 289, xv, 342.

dass also der Dichter die Verantwortung dafür gewissermassen ablehnt¹²⁰ Charakteristisch für ihn sind Namenscherze anderer Art. Wenn er irgendwo las, dass es Menschen namens Mensch gibt, Dorfer namens Dorf, in Frankreich einen Flecken namens Rom und eine Familie d'O, dass ein Bischof von Karthago Quoddeusvult hiess, oder dass die Angehörigen einer frommen Sekte Anfangszeilen von Kirchenliedern als Vornamen führen, so liess er sich dergleichen Kuriositäten nicht entgehen.¹²¹ Echt Jean Paulische Scherze sind es, wenn jemand seinen alltäglichen Namen Schuster durch ein blosses Strichelchen in den interessanter klingenden Namen Sehuster verwandelt, oder wenn der Jude Judas bei der Taufe den Namen des christlichen Apostels Judas (Ischariot) "annimmt," also äusserlich so wie innerlich unverändert bleibt.¹²² Erwähnt sei schliesslich noch, dass Namentausch und Namenverwechslungen in Jean Pauls Werken oft eine wichtige Rolle spielen.¹²³

IX Die ungewöhnliche Namengebung Jean Pauls ist natürlich auch seinen Zeitgenossen schon aufgefallen, hat aber im allgemeinen mehr Anstoss erregt als Beifall gefunden. Der ihm sonst so wohlgesinnte alte Gleim hält sich in einem an Klamer Schmidt gerichteten Gelegenheitsverschen vom 1. Mai 1796 über die "vertrakten" Namen Kuhschnappel, Schnazler, Graukern auf.¹²⁴ Der ursprünglich für den Kantor im Jubelsenioren in Aussicht genommene Name Queerpfeif wurde von Jean Pauls Freund Otto beanstandet und daraufhin in Scheinfuss abgeändert.¹²⁵ Auch mit dem Namen Leibgeber war Otto nicht einverstanden, was wohl mit dazu beitrug, dass Jean Paul ihn später in Schoppe umtaufte. Seiner Freundin Charlotte von Kalb missfiel mit Recht der Name Haarhaar für das Fürstentum, in dem der Titan spielen sollte, Jean Paul hat ihn daher auf das feindliche Nachbarland übertragen und für Albanos Fürstentum den edleren Namen Hohenfliess gewählt. In einem Aufsatz im Journal des Luxus und der Moden vom Juli 1801 heisst es: So sehr ich auch dem Halbgotte Jean Paul . . . ergeben bin, so bin ich mit seiner Namenswahl doch sehr unzufrieden. Denn seiner Helden Namen sind wie eine Folge von unaufgelosten Quintengängen, bei denen das Ohr einen Stich nach dem andern bekommt, und vollends auf den Charakteren, wo sie zu sitzen kommen,

¹²⁰ In der Vorschule (§52) weist Jean Paul darauf hin, dass Shakespeare seine Wortspiele meist Narren und Bedienten in den Mund lege

¹²¹ Vgl. S.W. III, 149, VIII, 245, 436, X, 31, XIV, 225, XV, 10

¹²² S.W. X, 328, XIII, 355

¹²³ S. die Zusammenstellung bei Hanns Dannenberg, Wiederkehrende Motive bei Jean Paul (1913), S. 90 ff

¹²⁴ Die beiden letzteren Namen kommen in der den Biographischen Belustigungen angehangenen Sallatkirchweih von Obersees vor

¹²⁵ Jean Pauls Briefwechsel mit seinem Freunde Christian Otto (Berlin, 1829), II, 14

gleicht die Benennung nicht selten einer Maskerade, wo die sieben Weisen Griechenlands, der eine mit einer Harlekinsjacke, der andere wie ein Postillon, der dritte mit einem Pferdeschweif und einer sogar mit der Hulse des grauen Bibelredners¹²⁶ erschienen

Derartige Vorwürfe waren gewiss nicht ganz unberechtigt. In seiner Freude an auffallenden oder "narrischen" Namen hat Jean Paul zuweilen auf den Charakter des Werkes, in dem er sie verwendete, nicht genügend Rücksicht genommen. Namen wie Kuhschnappel, Egelkraut, Oelhafen wird man sich in einem reinkomischen Werk gefallen lassen, aber nicht in einem doch grossenteils ernsthaften und realistischen Roman wie Siebenkas. In einer schlichten bürgerlichen Idylle wie dem Jubelsenior waren so gesuchte Namen wie Althea, Theodosia, Ingenuin sicher nicht am Platze. Von dem Vorwurf der Gesuchtheit, der sich ja überhaupt gegen Jean Pauls ganze Manier erheben lässt, wird man auch seine Namengebung nicht freisprechen können. Doch muss anerkannt werden, dass sich die schlimmsten Sunden in seinen früheren Werken finden, und dass er sich später mehr Zurückhaltung auferlegt hat. Gegen die Namen der sieben Erben in den Flegeljahren z. B., Glanz, Harprecht, Knoll, Neupeter, Passvogel, Flachs, Flitte, wird sich kaum noch etwas einwenden lassen. Natürlich darf man nicht den Massstab moderner realistischer Romane an seine Werke anlegen, sondern muss sich immer vor Augen halten, dass er, bei allem Realismus im einzelnen, doch schliesslich nur eine romantische Phantasiewelt aufbauen wollte. Berücksichtigt man ferner noch, dass wir es durchweg mit humoristischen Werken zu tun haben, so wird man zugestehen müssen, dass er im grossen und ganzen die Grenzen des Zulässigen kaum überschritten hat. Spätere ausgesprochene Realisten haben sich da manchmal weit mehr erlaubt, z. B. Freytag mit seinem Piepenbrink, Hebbel mit Kotzschнауzel, Fontane mit Sahnepott, Thomas Mann mit Kloterjahn, Lobgott Piepsam, Sesemi Weichbrodt, besonders Raabe mit Namen wie Schlotterbeck, Ulebeule, Feuchtenbeiner, Schlappupp, Krautworst, Klopffleisch, Knackstert etc. In der Hauptsache war Jean Paul mit seiner Namengebung sicher auf dem richtigen Wege und hat wesentlich dazu beigetragen, dass die Irrwege, die im 18. Jahrhundert auf diesem Gebiete noch gang und gabe waren, verlassen wurden. Die grossen Meister der Erzählungskunst im 19. Jahrhundert, z. B. Hoffmann, Gotthelf, Keller, Reuter, Raabe, Seidel, Fontane, Wilhelm Busch, sind da doch alle seine direkten oder indirekten Schüler gewesen.

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¹²⁶ Bileams Esel ist gemeint.

NORTHERN AFRICA IN ANDRÉ GIDE'S WRITINGS

FUNDAMENTAL characteristics of André Gide are his acute sense of the diversity of man and nature and his fervent desire to apprehend the infinitely varied manifestations of life which seem to him the essence of reality. Nowhere in his writings are these characteristics more readily perceived than in the works inspired by his contact with the land and peoples of Northern Africa. For Jean Hytier, however, author of an excellent analysis of Gide's art, the sincerity and force of the writer's sympathy with diversity explain a certain lack of provocative, picturesque qualities in his African exoticism, indeed, thinks this critic, "Gide a . . . renouvelé l'exotisme en l'éliminant, à force d'adhérer de tout son cœur, et sans faire la petite bouche, sans discriminations qui rétablissent l'étrangeté, avec précisément une volonté, ou plutôt un don, de ne pas rester étranger."¹

This remark, though suggestive, needs qualification. Significant as it is that Gide has no impulse to hold aloof, it must not be forgotten that for him the charm of other lands—of Northern Africa above all—lies in their strangeness and diversity and that he seeks these qualities with unflagging ardor. He is very explicit on this point in *Si le grain ne meurt*, where he writes: "l'étrange me sollicite, autant que me rebute le coutumier. Disons encore et plus précisément que je suis attiré par ce qui reste de soleil sur les peaux brunes; c'est pour moi que Virgile écrivait: *Quid tunc sz fuscus Amyntas?*"² And certainly it is by contrast with his own regions that Africa has had such an appeal for Gide, since after his return from his sixth journey to Algeria he wrote in *Le Renoncement au voyage*: "Dans l'automne de Normandie je rêve au printemps du désert. . . . La rafale du nord bat ma vitre. Il pleut depuis trois jours—Oh! que les caravanes étaient belles, quand, le soir, à Touggourt, le soleil se couchait dans le sel"³ Normandy and the desert, the cold rainy north and the caravans of the Sahara—these form the two poles, so to speak, of Gide's sensibility. The first corresponds to his puritan upbringing and to his need for order and discipline and restraint in life and art, while the second—with much more compelling attraction—corresponds to his tardily-aroused fervor for life in all its richness and profusion of sensations, to his unquenchable thirst for beauty, strength, and joy.

¹ Jean Hytier, *André Gide* (Alger: E. Charlot, 1938), pp. 39-40.

² André Gide, *Œuvres complètes*, édition augmentée de textes inédits établie par L. Martin-Chauffier (Paris: Nouvelle Revue Française, [1932-39]), x, 370-371. Except for the *Journal, 1889-1939*, all references to Gide's writings in this study are to this splendid edition, in fifteen large volumes, published under the author's own supervision.—The citation from Virgil is from the *Tenth Eclogue*.

³ *Œuvres*, iv, 340.

Even before his "discovery" of Africa, Gide had introduced certain exotic notes in his writings. The "thème du départ"—inherited from the Romanticists and the Symbolists—appears discreetly in *Les Cahiers d'André Walter* and *La Tentative amoureuse*. And in the symbolistic *Voyage d'Urien*, where landscapes expressing *états d'âme* are given the difficult task of replacing both external and inner action, we find completely imaginary descriptions of scenes ranging from the tropics to the polar seas. Finally Gide comes into intimate contact with the sun-drenched land of Northern Africa, on that momentous first journey which no reader of *Si le grain ne meurt* can forget, and he begins pouring into his writing all the riches of a new and tremendously appealing kind of exoticism.

This exoticism is not the banal and superficial local color and *clichés* of the Romanticists, nor is it the precise, accurate, plastic description of the painter Fromentin. It is rather the rapt musing of a poet whose sensibility is in close communion with the living reality of a strange new land—a poetic reality which is apprehended by Gide through his extraordinary quality of sympathy and which is then re-created artistically in the medium of imaginative prose. The peculiar quality of this exoticism and its significance in Gide's writings can best be defined by a somewhat detailed examination of *Si le grain ne meurt* (which belongs essentially to the period of the author's first contact with Africa, even though it was not released to the public until 1926), *Les Nourritures terrestres*, *L'Immoraliste*, and the four lyrical compositions which make up *Amyntas*. After the publication of this last work, in 1906, North African or Algerian exoticism ceased to play an important part in Gide's writings.⁴ Two dec-

⁴ For the sake of completeness it may be noted that *Paludes* (1895), Gide's first book after his "discovery" of Africa, includes a few pages suggesting the significance of that new experience, though in general it deals with the kind of stagnation to which Algeria for Gide was proving such a powerful antidote. Occasional traces of the writer's preoccupation with Africa are apparent in the *Lettres à Angèle*, the literary chronicles he published in *L'Hermite* at intervals during the years 1898–1900. In addition, the short "traité" *El Hadj* (1899) is notable for what Martin-Chauffier calls a sort of "exotisme réfléchi" or "exotisme renversé" (cf. *Notices*, in *Œuvres*, III, viii–ix). Among Gide's compositions between the publication of *Amyntas* (1906) and his two books on French Equatorial Africa (1927–28), *La Marche turque* (1914) recalls the earlier travel notes because Gide constantly contrasts the sordid actuality of Asiatic Turkey, where land and people seem equally unattractive to him, with the remembered enchantments of his beloved Algeria and the Arabs. The permanent mark that Africa had left upon Gide may even be discovered in certain of his fictions: thus Lafcadio in *Les Caves du Vatican* (1914) had made "un merveilleux voyage en Algérie" and the book that Édouard surprises little Georges Molinier stealing from the *bouquiniste* in *Les Faux-Monnayeurs* (1926) is an old Joanne guide to Algeria. Moreover, it may be added that Gide's *Journal, 1889–1939*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade edition (Paris: Nouvelle Revue Française, 1939), contains brief notes on several African trips, including one to Morocco in 1923, one to Algeria as recently as 1936, and a mission to French West Africa in 1938.

ades later, of course, with *Le Voyage au Congo* and *Le Retour du Tchad*, the author devotes himself to Africa again. But the intense lyrical exaltation which that continent had aroused in the youthful Gide cannot be called back by the sixty-year-old traveler. Then too, French Equatorial Africa and the black tribes appeal to him far less than the desert and the oases of Algeria and the Arab peoples. Besides showing a keen interest in natural science, through his notations on plants, insects, and animals, Gide now pays more attention to social problems, so that the two books become, in large measure, persuasive tracts against abuses in the colonial administration and against the exploiting of the natives by powerful *concessionnaires*. The author is still responsive to picturesque exotic elements, of course, and sometimes remarks that a certain scene is "très exotique" or—more often—"très peu exotique." When he must make the latter observation, a note of regret is always expressed or implied. Suggestions of another type of exoticism—primitivism—appear occasionally in sympathetic comments on the natives, but Gide is not a Rousseauist and has no illusions about the state of nature.⁵

All four of the works to be examined here are largely concerned with Algeria, which was for their author a land of enchantment above all others. Many French writers had gone there before Gide, of course—Tailliart takes 676 pages to sum up his painstaking investigation of *L'Algérie dans la littérature française*⁶—and the young man who set out in October 1893 for Northern Africa could have read descriptions of those regions by such well-known predecessors as Gautier, Marmier, Feydeau, Daudet, Flaubert, the Goncourt brothers, and Maupassant. He may already have known Fromentin's *Un été dans le Sahara* and *Une année dans le Sahel*, which remain perhaps the finest descriptive works that French literature owes to the inspiration of the land and peoples of Northern Africa. Even if he did not go directly to these men to document himself before beginning his journey, Gide could have found lengthy citations from their writings in the guide books.⁷

Scholars like Tailliart and Lebel, who are interested mainly in works giving precise and accurate information about the African scene and the psychology and *mœurs* of the natives, dismiss Gide's books as "touristic" diversions composed by a hasty traveler more interested in his Parisian public than in the real nature of the lands and peoples encountered far from the capital. They class his writings among the superficial external descriptions that merely portray strangeness or banal local color with

⁵ Cf. André Gide, *Journal, 1889-1939*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade edition (Paris: Nouvelle Revue Française, 1939), pp. 952-953.

⁶ Cf. Charles Tailliart, *L'Algérie dans la littérature française* (Paris: Champion, 1925).

⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 325.

little effort to understand the causes of the charm which the land exerts or to penetrate the native soul, or else they look down on them as lyrical or sentimental rhapsodies in which the author simply displays his own sensibility as it is affected by the scenes which he evokes or describes in subjective colors.⁸ But such summary judgments, based largely upon non-aesthetic criteria, are of little value in a serious attempt to define the quality of Gide's African exoticism and to understand its literary significance. To clear the way, it may be observed at once that our concern here is properly not with what Gide adds to our documentation on Africa but rather with what Africa contributes to Gide's achievement as a creative artist.

Si le grain ne meurt gives us the frankest expression of Gide's introduction to Africa during the memorable journey which was to release him from the inhibitions that had harassed the sentimental and spiritual life of his adolescent years and bring him the psychic escape that his earlier literary activity had not provided.⁹ His reaction to the land and people of Algeria was conditioned by the general moral problem which the conflict between his puritan training and his newly-aroused zest for life posed for him and by the more specific problem posed by the anomaly which Gide refers to as his "penchant naturel." What he sought in setting out was some new experience, some "toison d'or," which would harmoniously resolve the dualism within his body and mind.¹⁰

So certain was the young writer of finding an inner harmony in the south which constituted one of the poles of his sensibility that as he and his companions journeyed toward the unknown land it seemed to them that at every step "peuple et pays devant nous se mettaient en fête, et que la nature même, à notre approche, s'exaltait."¹¹ Gide spends the night on deck as the boat carries him from Marseille to Tunis and he is intoxicated by the emotions aroused within him as he whispers the mysterious word: Africa.¹² Everything is strange, exciting, and enchanting as he disembarks in Tunis—the sight of camels outlined against the sky, golden fish leaping in the water, the people looking like characters out of the *Arabian Nights*, bazars with their colorful displays, coffee served by an old shop-keeper, the Arab youth who offers himself as a guide.¹³ Once in the open country between Tunis and the mountains, Gide finds his joy without limits and he begins to come under the spell of "ce grand pays monotone, de son vide diapré, de son silence."¹⁴ Then his illness

⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 656–658, and especially Roland Lebel, *Histoire de la littérature coloniale en France* (Paris: Larose, 1931), pp. 79–80, 93, 129, 134–135.

⁹ Cf. S. A. Rhodes, "The Influence of Walt Whitman on André Gide," *Romanic Review*, xxxi (April 1940), 156–157.

¹⁰ *Œuvres*, x, 348.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, x, 352.

¹² *Ibid.*, x, 353.

¹³ *Ibid.*, x, 353–354.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, x, 355–356.

makes him press on toward the south, seeking more favorable surroundings. Biskra becomes the scene of his convalescence, and it is this lengthy convalescence amidst the wealth of sensations inseparable from the oasis and desert that enables Gide finally to throw off the shackles from his past and to savor all the delights of the "nourritures terrestres."

Most of the literary fruits of this first sojourn in Biskra are found in other writings, but *Si le grain ne meurt* includes pages on the Oulad Nail girls and their quarter,¹⁵ on the dancing of these girls in a little café,¹⁶ and on the fascination of the "musique mahométane,"¹⁷ as well as a splendid passage revealing the convalescent's feeling for the country at the approach of spring:

Cependant le printemps touchait l'oasis. Une distincte joie commence de palpiter sous les palmes. J'allais mieux. Certain matin, je risquai une promenade beaucoup plus longue, ce pays monotone était pour moi d'inépuisable attrait: ainsi que lui, je me sentais revivre, et même il me semblait que pour la première fois je vivais, sorti de la vallée de l'ombre de la mort, que je naissais à la vraie vie. Oui, j'entrais dans une existence nouvelle, tout d'accueil et d'abandon. Une légère brume azurée distançait les plans les plus proches, dépondérait, immatérialisait chaque objet. Moi-même, échappé de tout poids, j'avancais à pas lents, comme Renaud dans le jardin d'Armide, frissonnant tout entier d'un étonnement, d'un éblouissement indicibles. J'entendais, je voyais, je respirais, comme je n'avais jamais fait jusqu'alors, et tandis que sons, parfums, couleurs, profusément en moi s'épousaient, je sentais mon cœur désœuvré, sanglotant de reconnaissance, fondre en adoration pour un Apollon inconnu.¹⁸

Well at last and back in France, then in Switzerland, Gide longs for the Africa he had known: "la nostalgie de ce grand pays sans profil, du peuple en burnous blancs, nous avait poursuivi à travers l'Italie, Paul et moi, le souvenir des chants, des danses, des parfums, et, avec les enfants de là-bas, de ce commerce charmant où déjà tant de volupté se glissait captieusement sous l'idylle."¹⁹ In January (1895) Gide embarks again, with the intention of settling in Algiers—which he had not visited on the earlier trip—for an extended stay. But instead of the early spring which he had expected to find there, "un vent glacé rabattait des sommets de l'Atlas ou du fond du désert la fureur et le désespoir."²⁰ Blidah too seems at this season "morne et sans attrait,"²¹ and Gide regrets the charm of Biskra as he had known it the year before. In Algiers he meets Oscar Wilde and Lord Douglas, and the former takes him to a tiny, secluded native café where the young Frenchman savors again the "nourritures terrestres" that had begun to delight him during his convalescence. Soon he goes on to Biskra and finds unalloyed delight in the company of his

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, x, 369-370

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, x, 373

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, x, 373

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, x, 378-379.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, x, 392

²⁰ *Ibid.*, x, 393

²¹ *Ibid.*, x, 395.

Arab friends and in solitary excursions into the desert where sometimes he waits for dusk, "ivre d'immensité, d'étrangeté, de solitude, le cœur plus léger qu'un oiseau."²² Finally he must return to the north, in despair at the thought of abandoning so much joy and beauty and youth. Leave-taking is prolonged in the "Eden" of El Kantara and in Algiers boat after boat is allowed to sail without him because, as he writes, "à l'idée de quitter ce pays mon cœur se déchirait"²³

Si le grain ne meurt has been considered first, in spite of its date, because it gives the most literal account of Gide's introduction to Africa and reveals the significance of that experience directly rather than in the form of an imaginative creation. Here in their simplest state we find the elements of Gide's African exoticism, with a few details of local color as the unoriginal part and the intense feeling of communion with the spiritual essence of the new land—evoked rather than described—as the original part. It is this feeling, perhaps, that Hytier is attempting to characterize in the remark cited above, but he goes too far in asserting that Gide's whole-hearted adherence to the new scenes destroys their exotic quality. On the contrary it is his apprehension of the exotic that gives such intensity to Gide's feeling, and his exaltation lasts only so long as the scenes retain this quality.

A much more lyrical and imaginative expression of Gide's first reaction to the African scene occurs in that impassioned hymn to the joys and beauties of the physical world which is *Les Nourritures terrestres*. With all his senses aroused to vibrate sympathetically at the slightest stimuli, Gide writing as a poet in rhythmic prose fills his pages with ecstatic memories of Tunis and of Algerian towns, oases, and the desert, as well as with memories from Normandy, the Midi, Italy, and Syracuse, or with longings for distant lands still unknown to him except in imagination. No precise descriptions, few plastic images are necessary—it is enough for the poet to evoke his emotion by the mention, in musical phrases, of the objects that had produced the original sensations.

Much of the book deals directly with the land that interests us here. We get a glimpse of Tunis—its limpid sky, the night, the gleaming water, and the "néfaste clarté de la lune au désert."²⁴ Memories of gardens that he has seen or imagined come into Gide's consciousness and he apostrophizes the gardens of Blidah as the most enchanting of all: "Ah! douce est l'herbe du Sahel, et tes fleurs d'oranger! et tes ombres! suaves les odeurs de tes jardins. Blidah! Blidah! petite rose!"²⁵ Poetic phrases evoke the gardens of Biskra in the rain, with the people thirsty for the cooling moisture. Each hour brings its subtle changes, and in a few harmonious

²² *Ibid.*, x, 425.²³ *Ibid.*, x, 431.²⁴ *Œuvres*, II, 100²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 104.

and rhythmic lines the poet suggests morning, evening, and night in Biskra, with the sounds and contrasting silences that give to the oasis and desert their peculiar quality. Especial attention is devoted to the marvelous effects of sunlight in this clear, dry region, and Gide is remarkably successful in an undertaking which Taillart²⁶ considers forbiddingly difficult: "Tu n'imagines pas, Nathanael, ce que peut devenir enfin cet abreuvement de lumière, et la sensuelle extase que donne cette persistante chaleur. . ."²⁷

Sometimes the poet is carried away by the myriad seductions of the oases and he is able to communicate his experience so compellingly that the reader too comes under their spell:

Oasis! Elles flottaient sur le désert comme des îles, de loin, la verdure des palmiers promettaient la source où leurs racines s'abreuvaient, parfois elle était abondante et les lauriers-roses s'y penchaient—Ce jour-là, vers dix heures lorsque nous y arrivâmes, je refusai d'abord d'aller plus loin, le charme des fleurs de ces jardins était tel que je ne voulais plus les quitter.—Oasis! (Ahmet me dit la suivante est beaucoup plus belle)

Oasis La suivante était beaucoup plus belle, plus pleine de fleurs et de bruissements. Des arbres plus grands se penchaient sur de plus abondantes eaux. C'était midi. Nous nous baignâmes—Puis il nous fallut aussi la quitter.

Oasis De la suivante que dirai-je? Elle était encore plus belle et nous y attendîmes le soir.²⁸

These lush charms can be surfeiting, however, and Gide concludes: "Le lendemain je n'aimai plus que le désert."²⁹ Nor was this just a momentary reaction, for Gide again and again expresses his love for the desert, which attracts him above all else in this land of endless fascination. In *Si le grain ne meurt* he speaks of "cet étrange amour de l'inhumain, de l'aride, qui, si longtemps, me fit préférer à l'oasis le désert."³⁰ In *Les Nourritures terrestres* he contemplates the caravans arriving or departing and longs to accompany them on their journeys: "O fatigues splendides, immenses, dans l'incommensurable désert."³¹ And he apostrophizes the desert in these impassioned terms:

Que de fois, ah! levé dès l'aube et vers l'Orient empoupré, plus plein de rayons qu'une gloire—que de fois, à la limite de l'oasis, où les derniers palmiers s'étiolaient, la vie ne triomphant plus du désert—comme penché vers cette source de lumière, déjà trop éclatante et insoutenable aux regards, ai-je tendu vers toi mes désirs, vaste plaine de lumière tout inondée—de torride chaleur . . .

Après terre, terre sans bonté, sans douceur; terre de passion, de ferveur; terre aimée des prophètes—ah! douloureux désert, désert de gloire, je t'ai passionnément aimé.³²

²⁶ Cf. Taillart, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 198.

³⁰ *Œuvres*, x, 83.

²⁷ *Œuvres*, II, 191–192.

³¹ *Œuvres*, II, 201.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 197–198.

³² *Ibid.*, II, 201–202.

Gide cannot speak enough of the desert, so varied in its appeal despite its seeming monotony. He evokes the "désert d'alfa," the "désert de pierre," the "désert d'argile," and finally—most fascinating of all—the "désert de sable," with its shifting dunes, wind, heat, and absence of life: "Je t'aurai passionnément aimé, désert de sable. Ah! que ta plus petite poussière redise en son seul lieu une totalité de l'univers!"³³

The total effect of Africa upon Gide is suggested in a passage of the last book of *Les Nourritures terrestres*, in which the poet is back in Paris on a June night, dreaming of the land that he had left. Here in rhythmic phrases that convey the subtlest overtones of the poet's emotion, we find that complete absorption in the Algerian scene which gives Gide's exoticism its profound originality and aesthetic significance:

Athman, je songe à toi, Biskra, je songe à tes palmiers,—Touggourt, à tes sables . . . —Le vent aride du désert agite-t-il encore là-bas, oasis, vos palmes bruisantes? De chaleur grenades éclatées, laissez-vous choir vos grains acerbes?

And the poet concludes:

O désir! que de nuits je n'ai pu dormir, tant je me penchais sur un rêve qui me remplaçait le sommeil! Oh! s'il est des brumes, au soir, des sons de flûte sous les palmes, de blancs vêtements dans les profondeurs des sentiers, de l'ombre douce auprès de l'ardente lumière . . . j'irai!³⁴

Si le grain ne meurt is frankly and directly autobiographical and *Les Nourritures terrestres* is the lyrical and imaginative history of a phase in Gide's inner life. *L'Immoraliste*, however, despite the author's abundant use of his own memories—memories of sensations of the land and people of Algeria above all³⁵—is an objective work of art in which imagination and invention play a major part. It is of special significance to the present study, since it is the only example of Gide's use of exoticism as an integral element in a piece of creative fiction.

The effect of Africa upon the hero of *L'Immoraliste* is incalculable, just as was its effect upon Gide himself. Moreover the whole structure of the fiction depends upon the African scene, which—though it is scarcely described at all in plastic terms but only evoked in all its ardent plenitude of sensations—does far more than serve as a picturesque background for the moral drama. The *récit* cannot even be conceived of apart from the dangerously fascinating oases and desert, for they are as essential to the work as Paris is to Balzac's *Comédie humaine*. Even when the scene shifts from Algeria to Normandy or Switzerland or Italy, the African land never ceases to exert its compelling attraction for Michel and hence to shape the form in which the fiction has its being.

³³ *Ibid.*, II, 203–204

³⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 216–217

³⁵ Cf. L. Martin-Chauffier's *Notices*, in *Œuvres*, IV, viii

In the preface Gide presents *L'Immoraliste* as "un fruit plein de cendre amère" that is like the "coloquintes du désert qui croissent aux endroits calcinés et ne présentent à la soif qu'une plus atroce brûlure, mais sur le sable d'or ne sont pas sans beauté"³⁶ At the beginning and end of Michel's narrative we are given a suggestive evocation—not a precise description—of the house at Sidi and of the *ambiance* in which the three friends must listen to their stricken comrade. Discreet notations on the extraordinary clarity of the sky, the exhilarating quality of the air, the house and little garden, are sufficient to make the reader apprehend imaginatively the kind of spell which the land has woven over Michel.

In the story itself we learn of Michel's indifference toward Africa at the time he and Marceline embark for their wedding journey, of the way the powerful new sensations begin to arouse his body and spirit, and then of his illness and slow convalescence at Biskra. Here the magic of the oasis and desert begins to work its spell and to assume the importance in Michel's life and in his dramatic relationship with Marceline that it is never to lose. This magic does not have to be described but is simply suggested by the terms of Michel's own narrative. We find, nevertheless, evocations of the charm of the public gardens in Biskra, of the oasis, the flocks and shepherds and the insinuating tones of the flute playing in the shade of the palms, and—a disturbing note—of the Arab youths whom Michel gets to know during the months of his convalescence. Finally, as Michel has become strong and as the heat is growing too intense in Biskra, he must think regretfully of departure: "Rien ne nous retenait à Biskra—que ce charme qui devait m'y rapeler ensuite"³⁷

The contrast of Algeria and Normandy which results from the juxtaposition of Parts I and II of *L'Immoraliste* has a symbolic value corresponding to the two poles of Gide's own sensibility but significant apart from that and purely in the context of the fiction, since the two lands affect Michel and Marceline in directly contrary ways. Thus it comes about that after the couple have spent some time at their estate in Normandy, Michel feels compelled to take Marceline away with him to some other land. He believes this necessary to save their love, but the real reason is that he is drawn irresistibly back to the south, back to the oases and desert of Algeria where he, like Gide, had learned to feed upon the "nouritures terrestres." Now it is Marceline who becomes ill and, symbolically, she becomes weaker and weaker as Michel draws her ever southward, while Michel becomes stronger and feels a fierce joy. To her the south is death, to him life, but only after the pathetic outcome does Michel become conscious of this: "Par quelle aberration, quel aveuglement ob-

³⁶ *Œuvres*, IV, 5.³⁷ *Ibid*, IV, 51.

stiné, quelle volontaire folie, me persuadai-je, et surtout tâchai-je de lui persuader qu'il lui fallait plus de lumière encore et de chaleur, invoquai-je le souvenir de ma convalescence à Biskra . . . Mais étais-je maître de choisir mon vouloir? de décider de mon désir?"³⁸ Despite the gravity of Marceline's condition, Michel cannot help finding this second journey as enticing as the first, and Gide permits him to express his exaltation in lyrical phrases:

Le souvenir et le désir du Sud m'obsédait . . . Il fait chaud Il fait beau Tout est splendide Ah! je voudrais qu'en chaque phrase, ici, toute une moisson de volupté se distille . . . Tunis . . . Lumière plus abondante que forte L'ombre en est encore emple L'air lui-même semble un fluide lumineux où tout baigne, où l'on plonge, où l'on nage Cette terre de volupté satisfait mais n'apaise pas le désir, et toute exaltation l'exalte.³⁹

In the conflict between Michel's boundless egoism enhanced by the fierceness of the desert and intoxicating charm of the oasis, and the gentleness and weakness of Marceline, the tragic *dénouement* of *L'Immoraliste* is inevitable. To the very last, Michel cannot tear himself away from the "nourritures terrestres" to give heed to his love for Marceline, so that she dies a pathetic victim of her husband's excessive concern with himself and of the savagely beautiful land which was as fatal for her as it was dangerously enticing for Michel. Not even her death avails to break the spell by which Africa holds Michel enthralled, so that he must implore his friends at the end: "Arrachez-moi d'ici à présent . . . Rien ne décourage autant la pensée que cette persistance de l'azur. Ici toute recherche est impossible, tant la volupté suit de près le désir. Entouré de splendeur et de mort, je sens le bonheur trop présent et l'abandon à lui trop uniforme. . . ." ⁴⁰

And so we see that from beginning to end, it is Africa that shapes the lives of the protagonists in *L'Immoraliste* and determines the structure in which the fiction has its being. In masterly fashion Gide creates the poetic reality of an exotic land, not by the use of banal descriptive details of local color but by the imaginative projection of the essential qualities of that land as he himself had apprehended them. Exoticism in this *récit* becomes something much more profound and subtle than Romantic exoticism; yet even in his ardent sympathy Gide never loses that sense of the diversity of nature and of man without which exoticism does not exist. More important, he communicates this sense to the reader by the power of his vision and the perfection of his art, so that restrained as is the use of details of local color in *L'Immoraliste*, this work deserves to rank among the masterpieces of exotic fiction. Such a judgment may be para-

³⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 156.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 159-160.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 169-170.

doxical on a work that contains so few descriptive passages, but it is justified by the importance which Africa has in the fiction and by Gide's success in embodying this exotic element inextricably in the structure and texture of his creation.

With *Amyntas*, a volume of four travel sketches, we are once again in the realm of lyricism and spiritual autobiography. Gide himself ranks the work among his finest writings, but he believes that most readers misunderstand it and fail to appreciate its true quality because they seek in its pages "des descriptions, du pittoresque, des renseignements sur les pays et sur les mœurs," whereas "On n'y trouve à peu près rien que je n'eusse aussi bien pu écrire ailleurs, en France, n'importe où."⁴¹ This passage should be studied by those who take Gide to task for the lack of picturesque descriptions or precise documentation in his writings inspired by Africa, for it suggests that his aim lay elsewhere. But the statement that *Amyntas* contains nothing which could not have been written any place at all needs qualification, for as René Lalou quite appropriately observes. "C'est le livre de l'Algérie, de ses villes, de ses oasis, de ses routes, —le livre, avant tout, d'une terre avec ses odeurs, ses musiques et la saveur de ses fruits."⁴² Or to be still more precise, it is the book of Gide's sensibility in contact with this exotic land.

Mopsus, written at El Kantara and first published in May 1899 in *L'Hermitage*, serves as a sort of Virgilian prologue to the volume. It is a prose poem made up of irregular strophes, and its lyrical phrases sing with the ecstasy of all the poet's senses, with his peace and tranquility in the land of bright sunlight, shadows, music, and palms, of clay-hut villages, cattle, and shepherds, of cafés and dancing, fruits and flowers, of unchanging and beautifully simple ways of living, of the uncomplicated enjoyment of the sensual delights so freely offered, of "le vide nuancé du désert."⁴³ The whole theme of the composition is implicit in these words of Mopsus to Ménalque: "Ici, plus voluptueuse et plus inutile est la vie, et moins difficile la mort."⁴⁴

After the hauntingly beautiful music of *Mopsus*, we have the varied and colorful *Feuilles de route*, a poetic account of Gide's journey through Italy and Northern Africa in 1895-96, shortly after his marriage. Even in Italy, especially as he is drawn deeper into the south, Gide cannot forget the real goal of his trip and he feels: "Obsessions d'Orient, du désert, de son ardeur et de son vide, de l'ombre des jardins de palmes, des vêtements blancs et larges—obsessions où les sens s'affolent, les nerfs s'exaspèrent, et qui m'ont, au début de chaque nuit, fait croire le sommeil im-

⁴¹ *Journal*, 1889-1939, p. 324

⁴² René Lalou, review of *Amyntas*, in *Nouvelle Revue Française*, xxvi (May 1926), p. 616.

⁴³ *Œuvres*, III, 11.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 11.

possible."⁴⁵ Reaching Tunis at last, Gide recalls his joy on previous visits and regrets the changes which are beginning to substitute the ugliness of cheap modern "improvements" for the charm of the ancient native scene. Much that delights him still remains, however, and he evokes the colorful "souks," or markets, the tiny cafés with their customers, and the "caracous," which are the obscene native Punch-and-Judy shows

In the oasis town of El Kantara the poet is so charmed by the myriad sensations which come over him that he exclaims: "J'ai senti que j'aimais ce pays plus qu'aucun autre peut-être, mieux que partout ailleurs on y peut contempler"⁴⁶ And at Biskra, the scene of his convalescence, Gide feels new comprehension of the "langue différente" which the land speaks⁴⁷—comprehension which has not destroyed the exotic quality of the desert, however, since it is the infinite variety of the desert's seeming monotony which he expresses most tellingly:

J'aime infiniment le désert. La première année, je le craignais un peu à cause de son vent et de son sable, puis dans l'absence de tout but on ne savait plus s'arrêter et je me fatiguais très vite. Je préférais les chemins ombreux sous les palmes, les jardins de Ouardi, les villages. Mais l'an passé je fis d'énormes promenades. Je n'avais d'autre but que de ne plus voir l'oasis. Je marchais, je marchais jusqu'à me sentir enfin immensément seul dans la plaine. Alors je commençais de regarder. Les sables avaient des veloutements dans l'ombre au versant de leurs monticules où des traces d'insectes restaient, des coloquintes se fanaient, des cicindèles couraient; il y avait des bruissements merveilleux dans chaque souffle, et, à cause du grand silence, le bruit le plus fin s'entendait. Parfois un aigle s'essorait du côté de la grande dune. Cette monotonie étendue me paraissait de jour en jour d'une variété plus précieuse.⁴⁸

Touggourt too means the desert for Gide, and strange music "qui ne se tait pas quand on la quitte" which haunts his memory as the desert itself.⁴⁹ Back in Biskra, Gide comes under the spell of Negro music—the exotic music of drums and rhythmic instruments without melody. His musical feeling and technical knowledge, as well as the musical qualities of his prose, enable the writer to evoke unforgettably these exciting rhythms and the primitive Negro rites to which he gains admittance. The Arabs' music and songs too fascinate the poet, so that he gets his young companion Athman to translate some of the words. Visual images stir his imagination no less, for on seeing Arabs resting with their caravans and then setting forth into the desert he feels the emotion that has filled the heart of countless romantics: "notre âme s'emplissait d'exaltation et de douleur, à ne connaître le but de leur interminable errance."⁵⁰

Four years after the journey described in *Feuilles de route*, Gide is

⁴⁵ *Œuvres*, II, 14.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 34.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 35.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 36.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 42.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 44.

again drawn to his beloved Algeria, and the significant experience of this trip finds artistic form in *De Biskra à Touggourt*. These pages, written for Gide's personal *Journal* but taken out for publication in *L'Hermitage* in 1904, ultimately constitute the third part of the *Amyntas* tetralogy. Here again the subject is Gide's sensibility in contact with the diverse sensations of the oasis and desert. The strange fascination that lies in the "mortel dénuement"⁵¹ and the monotony of the desert⁵² is treated again with Gide's evocative art, so that the reader comes under its spell. Despite his growing understanding of the Algerian scene, the artist is powerless to describe or state its qualities in precise terms, Gide believes, but these qualities exalt his spirit and offer him lessons of inestimable value to his art.⁵³

In the preface to *Le Renoncement au voyage*, Gide explains the composition of this final section of *Amyntas*.⁵⁴ "Obsédé par le désir de ce pays, qui, chaque année, s'exaltait en moi vers l'automne, et souhaitant enfin guérir—je projetai, *pro remedio animæ meæ*, d'écrire un livre sur l'Afrique." But his memories of the land lack the precision and immediacy that made their value, so that Gide returns for a "last" visit, "sous prétexte de préciser chaque particularité de saveur." He planned to treat the most serious economic, ethnographical, and geographical questions. Once he is back on African soil, however, he cannot fix his attention on such matters. As a result, the notes and impressions which he brings back to Normandy are once more lyrical expressions of his fervent love for the Algerian scene in all its fascinating profusion and diversity of sensations. He publishes these notes—which he compares to "ces sécrétions résineuses, qui ne consentent à livrer leur parfum qu'échauffées par la main qui les tient"—⁵⁵ with scarcely the change of a word, according to his own statement⁵⁶ (but Martin-Chauffier declares that the notes were completely re-written).⁵⁷ The title expresses the desire to break the spell of the enticing land which, after ten years, seemed to be binding the author to his past and limiting his power to realize the myriad untried possibilities of his nature. Thus it comes about that the publication of *Le Renoncement au voyage* in 1906, in the volume *Amyntas*, marks the conclusion of the period in which African exoticism is a principal element in Gide's writings.

The work forms a fitting end to this phase of the author's activity, for in it are evoked once again all the sensations which form the unique appeal of Northern Africa, all the poet's fervor and enthusiasm, all the sentiments aroused within his heart as he travels through the towns and

⁵¹ *Œuvres*, III, 279⁵² *Ibid*, III, 282⁵³ *Ibid*, III, 283-284.⁵⁴ *Œuvres*, IV, 241.⁵⁵ *Ibid*, IV, 339⁵⁶ *Ibid*, IV, 242. Cf. *Journal*, 1889-1939, p. 145.⁵⁷ Cf. *Notes*, in *Œuvres*, IV, x.

oases and desert. The expression consists of lyrical apostrophes and impressionistic notations in simple but musical phrases, along with occasional longer descriptions and rare excited cries. "S'il pend encore à la branche une grenade, j'en ai soif!"⁵⁸

Throughout *Le Renoncement au voyage* there is a mingling or juxtaposition of emotions, for on one page Gide is completely under the spell of the exotic sensations which seem as new and exciting as on his first journey, while on the next page we may find a note of disenchantment. "Non, c'est chose inutile. On peut revoir vingt fois le même lieu—jamais plus avec nouveauté. . . l'étonnement ravissant n'y est plus."⁵⁹ Disturbing as these admissions are, with their reiteration of the sadness of one who has learned that "rien ne vaut le premier contact,"⁶⁰ they are counterbalanced by Gide's persistent delight in the innumerable sensations of the Algerian scene. Moreover, the literary expression of these sensations differs but little in intensity from the writings devoted to the poet's first contact with Africa.

More often than in previous writings, Gide here gives us notations on the life of the natives, though there is no attempt to make the work "documentary" in character. In such notations, moreover, the interest lies in the exotic qualities of the native life. Such qualities are closely linked to the land too, as when the tragic fatalism of the Arabs' religion is compared to "la désolation du désert."⁶¹

It is still the sensations of the land itself that attract Gide most—the scent of exotic flowers, the pungent smoke of kief, palm trees waving gently at evening, the infinitely varied effects of sunlight and shadow, the mysterious "chotts" with their mirages, the closed gardens which arouse an intense curiosity about what lies inside, the contrasts of the oases, the equivocal charm and almost hypnotic atmosphere of the native cafés, the streets of pleasure in Biskra with their strange mingling of all types and classes of people, and even the simple scene of a cow drinking water under the watchful eye of a child, which takes on unique interest in "le dénuement parfait d'alentour."⁶² Sometimes Gide expresses that profound mingling of his consciousness with the sensations of nature which recalls pages of Rousseau's *Confessions* or *Rêveries*, or he evokes in poetic prose notable alike for its artistry and its plenitude of emotional overtones the delight of an unforgettable night in Biskra:

Et quand j'en aurai dit le parfum, la blancheur, que retiendrai-je de cette nuit que j'aurais souhaité prolonger jusqu'à l'aube?—Une lune échancrée luisait au haut du ciel . . . Et, dans cette nocturne atmosphère, un peuple harmonieux circulait . . .⁶³

⁵⁸ *Œuvres*, iv, 250

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, iv, 277.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, iv, 302

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, iv, 325.

⁶² *Ibid.*, iv, 268

⁶³ *Ibid.*, iv, 317–319

Once again Gide sings of the desert, for he never tires of trying to express the appeal which lies not in any conventional picturesque beauty but rather in the curious blending of monotony and subtle variety and in the fascinating horror of its desolation. He invokes the "Apollon saharien . . . aux cheveux dorés, aux membres noirs, aux yeux de porcelaine,"⁶⁴ and explains that sensations are keener and the senses more responsive in these regions because "Le vide distendu du désert enseigne l'amour du détail."⁶⁵ An especially happy comparison links his love for the desert with his love for the Arab flute, whose music sings so often in his pages:

Petite flûte à quatre trous, par quoi l'ennui du désert se raconte, je te compare à ce pays, et reste à t'écouter t'ébruiter sans arrêt dans le soir Ah! de combien peu d'éléments est fait ici notre bruit et notre silence! le moindre changement y paraît —Eau, ciel, terre et palmiers. j'admire, instrument léger, quelle diversité subtile je goûte en ta monotonie, suivant qu'insiste en en précipitant le cours, ou que l'endort sous son souffle charmant l'enfant musicien aux doigts souples⁶⁶

And Gide adds a word characterizing the artistic goal of his own writings on Africa: "Je voudrais que, de page en page, évoquant quatre tons mouvants, les phrases que j'écris ici soient pour toi ce qu'était pour moi cette flûte, ce que fut pour moi le désert—de diverse monotonie."⁶⁷

Again and again in *Le Renoncement au voyage* Gide expresses the feeling that he is experiencing the delights of Algeria for the last time, that he must break the spell which keeps drawing him back. But something within his heart and his senses tells him that he cannot escape the fascination which the land holds for him, try as he will. Thus when the time for departure approaches he suddenly feels helpless against the spell that had drawn him thither: "Parfois et brusquement, telle miette de volupté réveille un arrière-goût si secret que pour m'arracher d'ici je me sens aussitôt sans courage."⁶⁸

Finally, of course, he does tear himself away, but six months later, enjoying the warm August sunshine in Normandy, he finds that something is lacking for his "cœur exigeant, cœur inlassable," and he cries: "Par ces chaudes journées je songe à l'essor des nomades. . . ."⁶⁹ Again on the last page of the book, in the passage cited in part in the second paragraph of this essay, we find Gide powerless to renounce the exotic African land that had held him enthralled so long. Thus the south, which had been struggling against the north for domination of Gide's nature, would seem to have won final victory. Perhaps the victory was a Pyrrhic one, however, since if Africa continued to draw Gide back for many

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, iv, 320⁶⁵ *Ibid*, iv, 330⁶⁶ *Ibid*, iv, 322.⁶⁷ *Ibid*, iv, 322⁶⁸ *Ibid*, iv, 330⁶⁹ *Ibid*, iv 339.

journeys and even attracted him at last to the equatorial forest, it began to play only a slight rôle in his writings after the publication of *Amyntas*. Gide turned away from the lyrical contemplation of his own sensibility in contact with exotic nature toward the more positive moral, aesthetic, social, and political problems with which his writings since 1906—even *Le Voyage au Congo* and *Le Retour du Tchad*—have been chiefly concerned.

After this consideration of Gide's principal writings in which Northern Africa plays a leading rôle, it should be easier to grasp the peculiar nature, the originality, and the literary value of his exoticism. Gide goes far beyond his predecessors in this realm, though it is scarcely accurate to say, with Hytier, that the result is to "eliminate" exoticism altogether by his whole-hearted adherence to the new and the strange. He expresses, as earlier exotic writers had done, such things as the "thème du départ," the "nostalgie des pays chauds," and a passionate interest in the strange and diverse. But he penetrates the exotic spirit much more ardently, with much deeper sympathy and comprehension than the Romanticists or the Parnassians had done, and with much more regard for the object than had been shown by the Symbolists. The result is that his African exoticism is characteristically not conventional, fanciful, or banal local color; not impassive documentation on topography, psychology, and *mœurs*, and not mere emotional effusions of a subjective nature. At its highest level it is rather the rapt musing of a poet whose total faculties are in close communion with the living reality of a strange, infinitely appealing land and people.

Gide's experience of this reality is expressed in lyrical form in most of the writings we have considered, but in one of them it is embodied in the structure and texture of a work of creative fiction. One has only to think of the impoverishment of modern literature which would result from the destruction of these four volumes to realize how much Northern Africa has contributed to Gide's accomplishment. Actually, of course, the land has contributed much more than these writings, in a less direct way, for it is to his first contact with the plenitude and variety of sensations in Algeria and to the experience of his convalescence in the oasis and desert that Gide owes his "discovery" of nature and of himself. Thus in a larger sense all of Gide's works have been influenced by Africa, and so a full understanding of his African exoticism in all its implications is almost equivalent to a complete understanding of Gide the man and the writer in all his diversity and complexity, since this element corresponds to what is perhaps most basic in his nature and its literary expression reveals all of his admirable qualities as an artist.

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SAMUEL BUTLER'S RISE TO FAME

SAMUEL BUTLER, the author of *The Way of All Flesh*, consoled himself during his life for his poor success as a writer with the thought that some day he would come into his own.¹ In order to make certain that his books might be read, he annotated and explained his leading ideas carefully and cleared the way for his future readers.² The course of events has shown that he was quite right in expecting his work to interest later generations. He has actually received almost as much attention from critics, students of literature, and readers as the most famous of his contemporaries. At the present time his position among the important writers of Victorian England is assured. What caused this growth of his reputation? Starting at the time of Butler's death, this article will summarize the critical comment on his work up to the point of his greatest popularity in order to supply the material necessary to an explanation of his rise to fame.

I During Butler's life almost the only published notice he ever received was that of the professional reviewers who commented on most of his books as they came out and condemned nearly all of them. Only one book—*Erewhon*—had been successful, and he had had to pay for the publication of all his books except *Erewhon* and its sequel, *Erewhon Revisited*. These facts indicate sufficiently the extent of his lack of success. Apart from professional reviewers' notices there were a short account of his works and life in Harry Quilter's *What's What?*,³ in which Butler was included because he had contributed to Quilter's Magazine (the *Universal Review*) and an enthusiastic reference to his biological theories at the conclusion of an article by Marcus Hartog called "Fundamental Principles of Heredity."⁴ This reference is important because it is one of the first expressions of praise for Butler outside of a review, and because it fastens on the aspect of his work which played a leading part in his subsequent rise to fame—his biological philosophy. Hartog was the first to say that Butler's theory of inherited memory was "perhaps the most satisfactory explanation" yet offered of the functioning of heredity.

The obituaries which appeared at the time of Butler's death furnish a good picture of the opinion his contemporaries held of him. With this picture, if we have its chief features in mind, we can later compare the pic-

¹ *The Note-Books of Samuel Butler*, p. 6. All references to Butler's works in this paper are to the Shrewsbury Edition (London: Jonathan Cape, 1923-25).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 370 ff. ³ (London, 1902), pp. 308-311.

⁴ *Natural Science*, xi, nos. 68, 69 (October, November 1897), 233-239, 305-316.

tures drawn by subsequent generations. Some of the chief differences in estimation will, of course, be due to the fact that later critics had *The Note-Books* and *The Way of All Flesh* as well as Butler's other works before them, whereas the earlier writers did not know these important volumes,⁵ but this fact will not entirely account for the wide discrepancy between the earlier and the later estimates of his value.

The obituaries were neither unkind nor inconsiderate, but they were many degrees below enthusiastic warmth. *The London Times*⁶ gave special attention to Butler's weaknesses which had kept him, in spite of his intelligence and native gifts, from being really important: his quarrelsome spirit and his inability to specialize. It expressed the belief that he would be remembered chiefly as a satirist and as the author of *Erewhon* and voiced its disappointment over the inadequacy of the rest of his work. A few days after this article had appeared, Canon Joseph M'Cormick, who had known Butler during his college years at Cambridge and had followed the course of his life, wrote a letter to *The Times*⁷ giving a different account of Butler by describing his kindness and honesty and saying that he was a better man than the doctrines he professed. But this writer also found him something of an eccentric, too lonely and too self-willed. *The Athenaeum*'s⁸ obituary was written by Vernon Rendall,⁹ editor of the magazine, who had known Butler well during the last years of his life; it is more complete and sympathetic than *The Times*' account. Even here, though, is no hint that Butler possessed outstanding qualities. The emphasis, as in the letter to *The Times*, is on the beauty of his character rather than on the importance of his work. "We who knew him," Rendall concludes, "shall not see his like again, and shall not soon forget him." This is a good illustration of Butler's thesis that perfection of character—unconscious perfection—is the best kind of perfection,¹⁰ for it was perfection of this kind which was first noticed in him and kept the thread of interest going until the importance of his work grew clear. An article by another friend of Butler's, R. A. Streatfeild, in *The Monthly Review*,¹¹ added to the tradition of praise for Butler as a man by describing his daring and originality and emphasizing the kindness of his nature which made him so different from Swift, with whom he had sometimes been compared.

⁵ *The Way of All Flesh* was published in 1903 and *The Note-Books of Samuel Butler* appeared in various numbers of the *New Quarterly Review* from 1907 until 1910. It appeared in book form in 1912.

⁶ (June 20, 1902), 5, Col. 6.

⁷ (June 27, 1902), 10, Col. 1.

⁸ (June 28, 1902), 819-820.

⁹ See Henry Festing Jones, *Samuel Butler, Author of Erewhon* (London: Macmillan, 1920), I, xxv.

¹⁰ For this see *Life and Habit* and *The Note-Books of Samuel Butler*.

¹¹ VIII, no. 24 (1902), 137-147.

In 1902 even Butler's most enthusiastic admirers would not have dared to prophesy a fame for him of anything like the proportion which he later achieved.

II Those who think of *The Way of All Flesh* as having started Butler on the road to fame will be surprised to find that when it was published in 1903 almost none of the journals noticed its appearance. The only important magazine to comment on it at any length was *The Athenaeum*,¹² and this magazine, in spite of its editor's friendliness for Butler, was sharp in its criticism. The formlessness of the novel annoyed the reviewer and led him to treat it casually and with no enthusiasm. *The Way of All Flesh* is a good example of a book which won its way because readers liked it and because several important authors discovered its value, rather than through any praise from reviews. *The Times Literary Supplement* did not get around to reviewing it until 1919,¹³ long after it was widely known, and then the reviewer wrote that it had been too original and too much outside the usual categories of the novel to have been understood in 1903.

From 1903 on, however, the rising tide of Butler's popularity began to make itself visible, even if it did not come to full force until just before the war. Paul Meissner makes the generalization that the enthusiasm for Butler began when the reaction against Victorianism was in full swing,¹⁴ but that is not strictly correct. His earliest admirers did not praise his iconoclasm; rather, they felt that he was a discoverer of real and effective truths. Thus Arnold Bennett, when he began to read *The Way of All Flesh* in 1904, thought that it contained "a vast amount of naked truth" in spite of its weak construction and tendency to moralize. He also admired the effectiveness of the satire and the occasional "sudden sharp effect of pathos."¹⁵ In 1913 he noted that the novel was probably even better than he thought it to be and that there was "very little wrong with the book, even technically."¹⁶

Butler's friends played a distinct part in bringing him before the public eye. But it is a mistake to look upon their work as advertisement or as the conscious creating of a fad.¹⁷ Competent critics like Arnold Bennett, Desmond MacCarthy, Clutton-Brock, and all the rest would not have been won by such tactics. R. A. Streatfeild, Butler's literary executor, had a little volume privately printed in which he gathered together the obituary notices that had appeared,¹⁸ and Henry Festing Jones con-

¹² (May 30, 1903), 683 ¹³ (June 26, 1919), 347

¹⁴ *Samuel Butler der Jungere* (Leipzig, 1913), p. 174

¹⁵ *The Journals of Arnold Bennett* (London, 1933), I, 192-193

¹⁶ *Idem*, II, 76

¹⁷ This is the view taken by Malcolm Muggeridge, *Study of Samuel Butler, the Earnest Atheist* (London, 1936)

¹⁸ *Samuel Butler Records and Memorials* (Cambridge, 1903).

tributed a sketch of Butler's life to *The Eagle*,¹⁹ the magazine of Butler's college at Cambridge. Then Streatfeild followed the publication of *The Way of All Flesh* by issuing a volume of Butler's essays called *Essays on Life, Art and Science*.²⁰ This book, like the novel, was almost completely neglected. It was briefly but rather enthusiastically reviewed by only one of the leading reviews.²¹

An article by Desmond MacCarthy in *The Independent Review*²² is the first long discussion of Butler which considers his work as a whole and suggests that everything he did illustrated an important philosophy of life. It is a pioneer in the sort of estimate of him that became increasingly popular as the years went on and has won general acceptance from many competent critics in the last two decades. "Butler," MacCarthy said, "was a frank and consistent hedonist." He emphasized Butler's pragmatic attitude toward truth, and described his heroic waging of war against all artificiality and pretense in any of the fields in which he worked. He insisted that Butler was much more than a clever humorist and satirist. His work, he said, possessed important philosophic, literary, and critical value.

Another important factor in the early growth of Butler's fame, more important indeed than any article or review, was the use George Bernard Shaw made of his leading ideas in *Man and Superman*, published in 1904. Shaw, like the editor of *The Athenaeum*, had known and admired Butler during the last years of his life. He had been much impressed by Butler's criticism of Darwinism, and many of Butler's ideas on the subject of evolution became his own.²³ In *Man and Superman* he made no mention of Butler, but later, when critics began to speculate concerning the origin of Shaw's ideas and to trace them to various foreign sources, he stated his indebtedness quite clearly. This was in the preface to *Major Barbara* in 1907, and this enthusiastic reference to Butler, calling him "in his own department the greatest English writer of the latter half of the XIX century,"²⁴ has rightly been credited with doing more than any other single thing to increase Butler's popularity.

In 1907 Streatfeild began to publish extracts from Butler's Note-Books in *The New Quarterly Review* and to reissue some of his books. Then, in 1908, Marcus Hartog (the biologist who had praised Butler's

¹⁹ (December 1902). ²⁰ (London, 1904).

²¹ *The Athenaeum* (July 9, 1904), 46-47.

²² "The Author of Erewhon," III (September 1904), 527-538.

²³ For Shaw's own statement about this see "Mr. Gilbert Cannan on Samuel Butler," *The New Statesman*, v (May 8, 1915), 109-110.

²⁴ "First Aid to Critics," *John Bull's Other Island and Major Barbara* (New York, 1926), p. 172.

work in 1897) and Festing Jones instituted the Erehon Dinners. The number of well-known men who attended to do Butler honor proves that his reputation had already risen far above its position at the time of his death. These dinners were held every year, rising from an initial attendance of about 32 to 160 in 1914. Some of the better-known critics and writers who addressed the meetings were George Bernard Shaw, Johnston Forbes Robertson, Augustine Birrell, Edmund Gosse, Gilbert Cannan, and Desmond MacCarthy.²⁵ The dinners extended, of course, right into the heyday of Butler's popularity in England, and the growth in their attendance is symptomatic of the growth of that popularity.

According to the publisher of Butler's books, one of the very important agents in turning larger numbers of readers to Butler at this time was a full-length discussion in *The Times Literary Supplement* in 1908.²⁶ The article was written by Clutton-Brock,²⁷ and it was full of praise for Butler's "incessantly alive and stimulating mind," for his positive and constructive ideas, and for his incorrigible honesty. Clutton-Brock admitted that Butler's books were lacking in the finest literary qualities, but he looked beyond their outer form and found great riches within. For him Butler's ability to surprise and puzzle his readers was a sign of his unusual originality.

III Even with the opinions expressed by the first enthusiastic readers of Butler before us, it is no easy matter to determine the precise reason for his popularity in England just before the war. Several critics have maintained that his hatred of the famous Victorians and his rebellion against his own age won an audience for him among a generation that itself rebelled against its parents. But the comments which we possess from those years do not show this to have been the case. Their evidence, on the contrary, is that Butler was admired because he satisfied the need which people felt for a less mechanistic and intellectually determined view of life than that of the Victorian era. Accepting a writer's constructive philosophy of life because of the truth it contains is not at all the same thing as admiring him for his iconoclasm.

Most of the discussions of Butler written during the second decade of the present century stress this philosophic aspect of his work. His suggestions regarding biology and the theory of evolution received widespread attention. A good many writers followed in the path which Mar-

²⁵ These facts about the Erehon dinners are taken from Henry Festing Jones, *op cit*, II, 418-429.

²⁶ A. C. Fifield, "Samuel Butler and Clutton-Brock," *The Times Literary Supplement* (January 17, 1924).

²⁷ "Samuel Butler," *The Times Literary Supplement*, Seventh Year, no. 352 (October 9, 1908).

cus Hartog had laid down. A French writer, in drawing a distinction between Lamarck and Darwin, pointed out that Lamarck's views were teleological and Darwin's mechanical and acknowledged his indebtedness to Butler's work for this distinction.²⁸ Emanuel Rádl included an account of Butler's theories in his *Geschichte der Biologischen Theorien*.²⁹ W. Bateson, in a volume of essays published in commemoration of the centenary of Darwin's birth,³⁰ called Butler "the most brilliant, and by far the most interesting of Darwin's opponents . . . whose works are at length emerging from oblivion."³¹ He said that the result of investigations since Darwin's time had been to give "irrefragable proof that much definiteness exists in living things apart from Selection,"³² i.e., that the principle of Natural Selection is not the comprehensive factor it was once thought to be, and this is just the view that Butler had argued for so vigorously. Marcus Hartog again expressed his belief that Butler's biological theories were important in an article explaining them and relating them to the theories of the early twentieth century.³³ He discussed the similarity between Butler's views and those of several more recent writers—Richard Semon, Eugenio Rignano, Frederick W. Hutton, and Hans Driesch. In another article³⁴ he continued the discussion and called Butler "perhaps the most versatile genius of the Victorian age."³⁵

A later study of these same matters, again showing how Butler's ideas fitted into an important phase of speculation in the first part of this century, can be found in E. S. Russell's historical account of the science of morphology called *Form and Function*, published in 1916.³⁶ Russell devoted an entire chapter to "Samuel Butler and the Memory Theories of Heredity" because he felt that the future development of biological thought might "follow some such lines as those which he tentatively laid down."³⁷ He compared Butler with some of the more recent biologists who have worked out theories like his and expressed his belief that, because of his thorough-going Lamarckianism and his panpsychic view of the world, Butler was nearer the truth than later scientists. He called him "one of the most fascinating figures of the 19th century" whose ideas about biological problems were "singularly illuminating."³⁸

²⁸ Felix Le Dantec, "Lamarck et Darwin, les Deux Tendances Biologiques," *Revue Scientifique* (February 6, 1909) ²⁹ (Leipzig, 1909), II, 449-452

³⁰ "Heredity and Variation in Modern Lights," *Darwin and Modern Science* (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 86-100 ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 88 ³² *Ibid.*, p. 100

³³ "The Biological Writings of Samuel Butler and their Relation to Contemporary and Subsequent Biological Thought," *Scientific Progress in the Twentieth Century*, v (1910), 15-37.

³⁴ "Samuel Butler and Recent Mnemic Biological Theories," *Scientia*, xv, no. 33 (1914), 38-52 ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38 ³⁶ London, 1916. ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 341

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

But after a period of speculation along lines which Butler had explored, biology moved away from him and reasserted its allegiance to a narrower scientific outlook. In 1923 Vernon Lee, in introducing Semon's *Mnemonic Psychology* to English readers, contrasted Butler's views unfavorably with the more scientific views of Semon. She wrote that.

Happening to be a naturalist instead of a fantastic novelist turned amateur evolutionist, Semon naturally never set up heredity as an unconscious racial memory, still less could he dream of the mythological developments which came natural to the author of *Erewhon* ³⁹

This criticism brings up an interesting point. It is possible that Semon and other biologists were wrong in discarding Butler's "mythological developments" and his "unconscious racial memory." Their work has not, in recent years, kept pace with modern psychology which—under a different influence and taking its suggestions from Kant, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche—has achieved remarkable results by using concepts very much like Butler's.

In a few cases, however, Butler's influence went further than it did in those just considered. In 1914, when Henri Bergson was visiting in England, A. D. Darbishire, a young biologist who had read *Life and Habit* with real enthusiasm,⁴⁰ introduced him to Butler's work. Recently Bergson insisted that he had not studied Butler's ideas carefully until late in his life, long after his own views had taken definite shape, and that he was aware of no influence of Butler on him because their views had very little in common,⁴¹ but it is at least possible that through his discussions with Darbishire he learned more from Butler than he realized. Darbishire himself adopted many ideas from Butler and gave clear expression to them in his posthumous book *An Introduction to Biology and other Papers*.⁴² Like Butler, he felt that biology must study the processes of the living organism and must study them where it knows them best—in man himself. In a recent Terry Lecture, Herbert Spencer Jennings, a leading biologist of our own day, made the same point,⁴³ as also does Alexis Carrel in *Man, the Unknown*,⁴⁴ it is becoming commoner among scientists, and this subtle change in outlook may have untraceable connections with Samuel Butler.

³⁹ Richard Semon, *Mnemonic Psychology, with an Introduction by Vernon Lee* (New York, 1923), p. 12.

⁴⁰ A. D. Darbishire, Review of *Life and Habit*, *The English Review*, VII (March 1911), 748-749.

⁴¹ Floris Delattre, "Samuel Butler et le Bergsonisme," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, XIII (1936), pp. 385-405.

⁴² New York, 1917.

⁴³ *The Universe and Life* (New Haven, 1933), pp. 1-17.

⁴⁴ New York, 1935.

Like Butler, Darbishire was a Lamarckian and a vitalist, also, like Butler, he was skeptical of ordinary science. In his later writings he adopted and applied Bergson's theory of intelligence and combined it in an interesting way with Butler's suggestion that living organisms were made in much the same fashion as we now make machines. But, like other biologists, Darbishire made no use of Butler's theory of unconscious memory, and thus even here Butler's influence in biology, although very important, remained fragmentary.

IV Butler's influence on a few biologists and on some aspects of biological thought does a good deal, perhaps more than anything else, to account for his rise to fame. But there were other important reasons for his growing reputation. Some critics had begun to feel that his work, taken as a whole, suggested a fresh and important philosophy of life which they could welcome. Robert F. Rattray wrote an article in *Mind*⁴⁵ in which he developed the philosophic implications of Butler's unconscious memory theory and sought to defend them. He was one of the first to discuss the relationship between Butler's biological theories and his other ideas. William Barry, writing in the *Dublin Review*,⁴⁶ maintained that Butler's philosophy was important and effective because of its basis in fact, Butler sought to explain the phenomena he observed instead of ignoring them as his contemporaries had done. This writer saw Butler primarily as a man who rose above a materialistic outlook in a materialistic age. He summarized his achievements by saying that he had shown the inadequacy of Darwinism and that he first directed attention to "the mysteries of habit, the depths of memory, the exact significance and bearing on action of 'the unconscious'."⁴⁷ By this time Butler had become so generally known that a thesis was written in German in an attempt to trace the outlines of his philosophy.⁴⁸ The writer of the thesis emphasized the strong optimism of Butler's *Lebensanschauung* which grew out of his having squarely faced a deep and pessimistic skepticism and come off the victor.

From 1910 on the number of discussions which took Butler seriously as a philosopher and studied and criticized his views grew year by year. Some of these studies praised him and some differed with him, but all found what he had to say both important and interesting. Jean Florence Blum wrote the first general discussion to appear in France.⁴⁹ He acclaimed Butler as a great humanist who had a wide knowledge of all the sciences and arts and compared him with Goethe, saying that his work

⁴⁵ "The Philosophy of Samuel Butler," *Mind*, N. S. xxiii (1914), 371-385.

⁴⁶ "Samuel Butler of Erewton," *Dublin Review*, clv (1914), 322-344.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 344.

⁴⁸ Gerold Pestalozzi, *Samuel Butler der Jüngere, Versuch einer Darstellung seiner Gedankenwelt* (Zurich, 1914). My discussion is based on the summary in Meissner, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

⁴⁹ "Samuel Butler," *Mercur de France*, lxxxvi (1910), 267-281.

made a more definite contribution to knowledge than anything of the German poet's W. H. Salter, in his *Essays on two Moderns*,⁵⁰ also emphasized Butler's philosophic universality. May Sinclair in her *A Defence of Idealism*⁵¹ devoted a long opening chapter to a criticism of Butler's "pan-psychism" in which, although contending that his philosophy placed a ruinous emphasis upon the value of unconsciousness and attacking his notion of the self, she nevertheless took his ideas very seriously.

These discussions and many more like them show that Butler was highly valued for his clear-sighted outlook. Beginning with his critique of Darwinism and going on to his attack on materialism and his consequent assertion of various spiritual values, his readers were finding more and more material in his works for a picture of life which agreed with what they themselves felt to be true. His very sincere and unpretentious idealism, his refusal to hide behind words and phrases, and his insistence on getting everything clearly and simply stated while at the same time doing more justice to the imaginative implications of the facts of reality than most scientists will do, all these things struck their fancy. Butler had become something of a hero.

The appearance of *The Note-Books of Samuel Butler* in book form in 1912 touched off a round of applause. *The London Times Literary Supplement*,⁵² which had ignored *The Way of All Flesh* in 1903, gave this book a front page review, sketching Butler's character in glowing terms of praise, calling him "a born writer" and explaining his ready wit and his way of twisting his ideas into peculiar shapes by comparing him with a medieval church builder who, because his faith in his work was complete, could adorn a beautiful cathedral with gargoyles without fear of harm. *The Athenaeum*⁵³ said that Butler had at last achieved the immortality for which he longed and blamed the reading public for having ignored him for so many years. *Current Opinion*⁵⁴ compared him as a moral teacher to the Platonic Socrates, and *The Edinburgh Review*⁵⁵ said that *The Note-Books* defied analysis because of their perfection. *The Bookman*⁵⁶ took the occasion to refer to Butler's other work, calling *The Way of All Flesh* "a masterly study of modern life" and listing *Erewhon* and *Life and Habit* as the other two books of Butler's that would not be forgotten. *The International Journal of Ethics*⁵⁷ praised Butler's style of writing, saying that "never since the eighteenth century was there such consummate ease and simplicity, such point, such nervous energy." Butler's ideas, this journal felt, made a real contribution to ethics and

⁵⁰ London, 1911 ⁵¹ London, 1917 ⁵² No. 569 (December 5, 1912)

⁵³ (November 23, 1912), p. 617. ⁵⁴ LIV (March 1913), pp. 222-223

⁵⁵ (January 1913), 192-196 ⁵⁶ XLIII (March 1913), 326-327.

⁵⁷ XLIII (July 1913), 497-499.

fitted the present age better than "the cruder enthusiasms of Ruskin or Carlyle" Butler was called the father of Pragmatism, and the review concluded by saying that "as a literary figure he represents all that is best and soundest in modern tendencies, and at the same time leads a revolt against our prevailing vices of flabbiness, pretentiousness, and hypocrisy"

V. There were, naturally enough, some dissenting voices among the chorus of praise which greeted *The Note-Books*⁵⁸ But compared with any reception that a book by Butler had had in the past, this was a triumph Another solid evidence of Butler's success is the fact that by 1912 most of the important English encyclopedias had included him among the men they discussed In 1906 *Chambers Cyclopaedia of English Literature* gave a brief sketch of his life, listed his works and said that he was noteworthy for his "prejudices" and his "anticonventional audacity" The eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* contained an article on him, as did the second supplement of the *Dictionary of National Biography*

Although it had not been much discussed, *The Way of All Flesh* had a marked influence on several English novelists during these years, and a good many books described situations like the one it described and used its technique⁵⁹ Butler was in part responsible for the vogue of the genealogical novel at the beginning of the century⁶⁰ Some critics began to feel that in spite of the philosophic interest of his work, he was most important as a literary artist Thus Orlo Williams, in his little book on the essay published in 1915, discussed him as an important English essayist and said that everything he did was motivated by the sort of love for life which the true essayist possesses⁶¹ The same writer spoke of *The Way of All Flesh* with enthusiasm in his *Modern English Writers*, declaring that it showed powers of psychological analysis of the highest order and that it "stands with the greatest English novels of the last century"⁶²

Two book-length critical studies of Butler appeared during the war, one by the novelist Gilbert Cannan⁶³ and the other by John Harris.⁶⁴ Cannan's book has sometimes been called the high-water mark of Butler worship and the culmination of the admiration for him which had been growing since his death. But, as George Bernard Shaw pointed out

⁵⁸ See, for instance, *The Dial*, LV (October 16, 1913), 293-295 and *The Contemporary Review*, CIII (June 1913), 892-894

⁵⁹ For a list of the novelists especially affected see Ernest A. Baker, *The History of the English Novel*, X, *Yesterday* (London, 1939), p. 247

⁶⁰ A. E. Zucker, "The Genealogical Novel, a New Genre," *PMLA*, XLIII (1928), 551-560.

⁶¹ *The Essay* (London, 1915), pp. 17-18

⁶² *Modern English Writers* (London, 1918), p. 321 In the "Preface to the First Edition" Williams says that the book was written before the war

⁶³ *Samuel Butler, a Critical Study* (London, 1915) ⁶⁴ *Samuel Butler* (London, 1916)

in his review of it,⁶⁵ in spite of its praise, it actually makes Butler seem smaller than he was because it ignores his clear-cut philosophic convictions and the part they played in his life and in his rise to fame. It is evidence of a change in the way some people felt about Butler, and one of the first clear signs of his being liked for what Paul Elmer More called his "impishness."⁶⁶ The study by John Harris is truer to the impression Butler had made on the majority of his critics since his death. It is thoughtful and objective and seeks to draw a picture which will take the various aspects of his work into account and fit them together into a pattern. A warm current of admiration can be felt flowing through the book, but there is little evidence of blind hero worship.

By this time Butler's importance was so generally recognized that *The Cambridge History of English Literature* discussed his work at length.⁶⁷ W. T. Young, who wrote the section on Butler, sided with those who admired him more for his minor good things than for any of his larger undertakings, expressing a preference for *Alps and Sanctuaries* and deciding that Butler was very good but of secondary importance. He had not "the highest gifts of poetry or emotion," but he was certainly much more than an "undiscriminating wit." He had "a constructive intention, not mockery, but the liberation of the spirit."⁶⁸

Butler was discussed in America a few years later than in England, but those who discussed him there reacted to his work in much the same way as his English critics had. In 1916 Clara Gruening Stillman, his later biographer, wrote an article on his literary and scientific work.⁶⁹ She called him "one of the most original and creative minds of his time" and analyzed his ideas with considerable penetration. Horace Bridges read a paper on Butler before the Chicago Literary Club praising him as a satirist and as a defender of the right of the layman to criticize the man of science.⁷⁰ An article appeared in *The North American Review* on Butler's idea of God.⁷¹ Other critics and reviewers praised Butler's novel, his sincerity and honesty, and his work in setting men free from the bondage of the past. Louis W. Flaccus, lecturing at the University of Pennsylvania in 1918, subjected Butler's ideas to a careful logical analysis and found them full of interest but not ultimately adequate as a defensible view of the world.⁷²

⁶⁵ See note 23 above. ⁶⁶ *Shelburne Essays, Eleventh Series* (Boston, 1921), pp. 167-191.

⁶⁷ (Cambridge, 1916), xiii, 499-505. ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 505.

⁶⁹ "The Literary and Scientific Work of Samuel Butler," *North American*, ccrv (August 1916), 270-281.

⁷⁰ "Samuel Butler, the Master Satirist," *As I was Saying* (Boston, 1923), 52-85.

⁷¹ Felix Grendon, "Samuel Butler's God," ccviii (August 1918), 277-286.

⁷² "Samuel Butler," *University of Pennsylvania Lectures 1918-1919* (Philadelphia, 1919), vi, 133-154.

By 1920 Butler had achieved a more extensive fame than anyone could have foreseen at the time of his death. Besides being known in England and America, his works had been discussed in France and Germany and soon most of his books were translated into the languages of those countries and some of them into other continental tongues as well. After 1920 his popularity fell off somewhat from its most enthusiastic peak. The later studies and discussions of his work served chiefly to paint in fuller and more careful detail the picture already present in generous outline. It was some time, however, before many blemishes were found, and only much later did critics begin to tear down what had been completed in order to put a less pleasing portrait in its place.

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ANALYSIS OF A SOUND GROUP: *sl* AND *tl* IN NORWEGIAN

1. THE LITERATURE AND THE PROBLEM

IT has long been known that the distinction between *sl* and *tl*, which existed in Old Norse, has been lost in the modern dialects of Norway. In his *Norsk Grammatik* of 1864 Ivar Aasen wrote:

these sounds generally become one, and are rarely distinguished with any precision. In southeastern Norway [søndenfjelds] *sl* only is heard, thus *esle* instead of *ella*, *lisle* for *lile*, *Fesling* for *Felling*. In western Norway [vestenfjelds] *tl* only is usually heard, thus *hall* for *hasl*, *kvil* for *kvisl*, *reilla* for *reidsla*. In northern Norway [nordenfjelds] they coalesce into a special sound, which resembles *ltl*, *ltj*, or *lsch*, but which cannot be otherwise designated with the usual letters.¹

The precision of phonetic formulation which Aasen lacked was supplied by Johan Storm in 1884. The sound loosely described by Aasen as *lll* etc., was determined as a voiceless *l*, usually palatalized, and written *hʎ*.² Storm also pointed out the presence of an area in southeastern Norway where *sl* and *tl* became *ʃl*, a development similar to that which produced German *schl-* in *schlagen*.³ Later dialect investigators have further added to our knowledge of this phenomenon, and historians of the language have thrown light on its origin.⁴

But no one has attempted to gather all the available information and present it in systematic form. We still lack all but the most rudimentary attempts at a mapping of the phenomena of Norwegian dialects. Any information on a specific sound or sound change must be dug out from a multitude of monographs dealing with specific dialects. In this study the writer wishes to supply the deficiency for the sound group in question. At the same time he wishes to analyze the development and distribution of the group, and to relate it as closely as possible to its lexical, morphological, phonetic, and phonological background. By drawing in all of these attendant circumstances, it may be possible to reach a fuller conception of the complexity of this linguistic phenomenon than was permitted by the "sound law" formulation of a previous generation.

That linguistic facts are never simple is one of the first discoveries of the maker of dialect maps. The only wholly accurate map would be one that showed the distribution of varieties of a single word, but thousands

¹ Pp. 30-31

² *Norvegia*, p. 119

³ *Ibid.*, p. 104

⁴ See especially the various monographs of Amund B. Larsen on Norwegian dialects, Hægstad, *Vestnorske Måalføre*, and Seip, *Norsk Språkhistorie*.

of such maps would be needed to give any sort of comprehensive picture of the dialects. In practice it is necessary to simplify by grouping words of similar development together, even though it is impossible to predict that any two words will follow the same pattern throughout a group of dialects. In Old Norse *sl* occurred both initially and medially, while *tl* occurred only medially. Hence at least two maps are necessary, one for *sl* in initial position, and one for *-sl-* and *-tl-* in medial position, though more would be desirable for certain exceptional words and word forms.⁵

2 SL IN PREVOCALIC POSITION

Initially the cluster *sl* existed in a considerable number of words from Germanic times. Its functional opposition to *st*, *sm*, *sn*, etc., and to *kl*, *pl*, *fl*, etc., as well as its conspicuous position in the word helped to keep it relatively stable. The *s* was liable to two changes: (1) assimilation with the *l* into a voiceless *l* (ʃ), (2) change to some variety of *ʃ*. The accompanying map (No. 1) will show the geographical distribution of these changes.⁶

⁵ In addition to the printed dialect monographs, the writer has used the unprinted material in the possession of Rektor dr. Didrik Arup Seip, consisting of theses written by students at the University of Oslo, and the notebooks of Johan Storm, preserved at Universitetsbiblioteket, Oslo. The writer is grateful to Rektor Seip for permission to use the former, and to Stipendiat Olaf Skulerud for assistance with the latter.

⁶ The information on the first two maps was drawn from the following sources: Ross, *Norske Bygdemaal*, passim; Larsen, *Oversigt*, Hægstad, *Vestnorske Maafløve*, Storm, *Norsk Lydskrift*, Aasen, *Norsk Ordbog*, Ross, *Norsk Ordbog*, Torp, *Nyn Elym Ordb* (Storm's notebooks are cited in the following simply as Storm with the numbers and pages following, see Skulerud in *Larsen Festskrift*); AKERSHUS Bærum Storm A VIII, Storm & Skulerud, *Festskr. Amund Larsen*, Nesodden Storm F XIII, Hakadal Storm A VIII, Ullensaker Kolsrud *Falk Festskr.* 442, Romerike Kolsrud *Romeriksmålet*, Ås Storm F XIII, Østre Aker, Sørkedal, Asker Storm & Skulerud, *Festskr. Amund Larsen*. AUST-AGDER Setisdalen Storm, *Ordlister*, 87, Fjære Mathias Moy, unprinted Hovedopgave 1937, Vegårshei Sigvald Holen, unprinted Hovedopgave. BERGEN Larsen & Stoltz, *Bergens Bymål* (1912), 90. BUSKERUD Drammen, Røyken, Lier, Hurum, Eiker Storm & Skulerud, *Amund Larsen Festskr.*, Flesberg Tov Flatin, *Flesberg-Målet* 1923, Gol Storm C VI, D XII, Hemsedal, Hol Storm B VI, C II, Nes Storm C VI, Norderhov Skulerud ANVA 1926, p. 35. Nore, Rollag, Uvdal Storm C II, D XI, Ringerike (Ådal) Skulerud *Festskr. Hjalmar Falk*, 402, Rollag Bjørset 1902, 7, Ål, Torpo Storm C II, B VI. HEDMARK Alvda Storm A VI, Solør Amund Larsen, VSS 1894 No. 4, pp. 102-103 & Storm F XIV & XV, Eidskogen Storm C V, Elverum Storm A VI, B V, and Johan Hogstad, *Elvromsmålets Grammatikk* (1906); Engerdalen og Drevsjø Storm A VI, Løten Storm A VIII, Storelvdal Storm A VI, Trysil Paul Gardåsen, Hovedopgave (unprinted) & Storm A VI, Tynnsset Storm *Ordlister*, Jørgen Reitan *Tynnssetmålet* (1926); Tyldal Storm C V, Vang Storm A VIII; Rendalen Storm A VI, B I, C I and *Ordlister*, Åmot Storm A VI, Åsnes Finnskog Norvegia II, 25. HORDALAND Hardanger Storm A IX, B IXa, Chr. Vidsteen, *Oplysninger* (1885), Røldal Storm C I; Voss Leiv Heggstad, *Vosse-målet* (1932), Storm A X, B IXa, Chr. Vidsteen *Oplysninger* (1884), 15, Sunnhordland Chr. Vidsteen, *Ordbog* (1900),

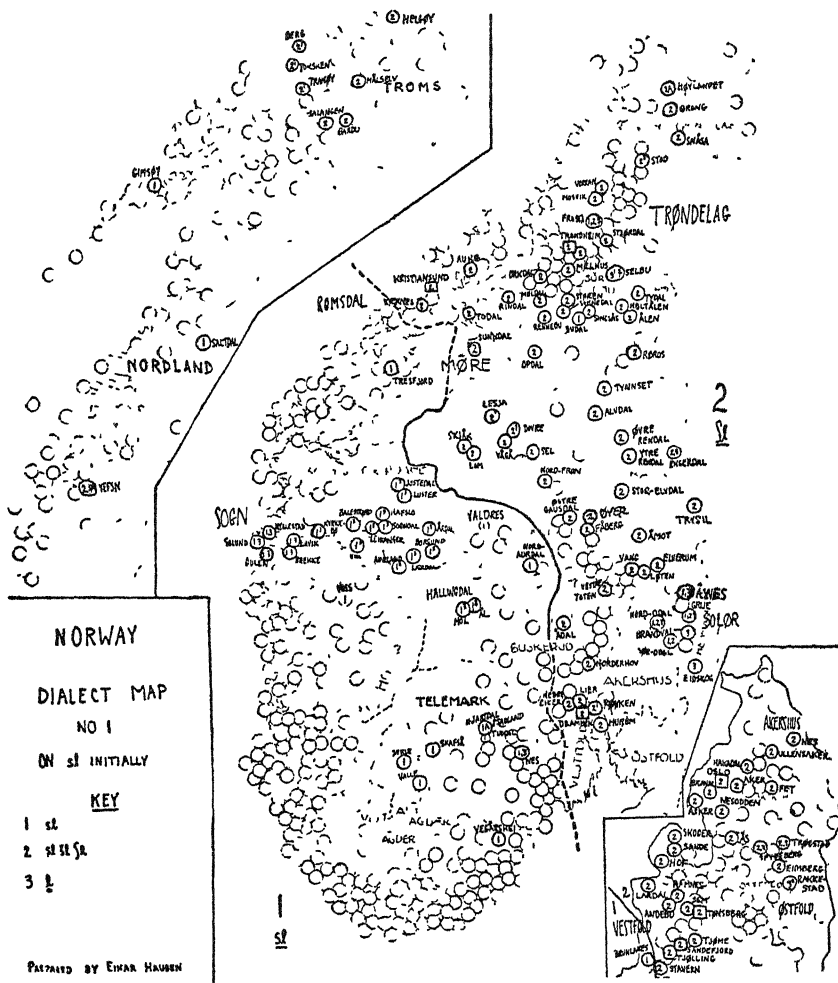
The cluster is retained unchanged in most of western Norway, along the southern coast, in the Midland valleys, and in certain communities of Nordland (Salten, Gimsøy)

Oplysninger (1882) Møre og Romsdal Aure Storm B VIII (by Am Larsen) also Ross NB 1908, 65, Kristiansund Ivar Hoel (*Maal og Minne* 1915), Kvernes Trygve Kjøl, Hovedoppgave (unprinted), 1931, Rindalen Eilert Mo, *Tonelagstilhøve* (1923), Todalen Eilert Moe, *Todalsmålet* (1922), 8, Sundalen Storm C VI, F XIX, Sande Storm C VI, Sunelven Storm C VI, Surendalen Storm C VI, Tresfjorden Hans Rypdal *Romsdalsmål* (1929), Volda & Ørsta Ivar Aasen, *Søndmørske Grammatik* (1851) NORD-TRØNDELAG Indre Namdalen (Grong) Storm C I, Høilandet Storm B VIII (by Amund B Larsen); Mosvikken Storm B VIII (by A B L), Stod Storm B VIII (by A B L), Verran Storm C I NORDLAND Gimsøy Hallfrid Christiansen, *Gimsøy-målet* (1933), Salten Einar B Skånland, *Saltamålet* (1933), Vefsn V Riksheim, *Ljodvokstren* (1921) OPLAND Fåberg Kolsrud, *Falk Festskr* 451 & Ingvald Doseh, Hovedoppgave (unprinted), 1937, Upper Gudbrandsdal (Lesje, Dovre, Lom, Skjåk, Vågå, Sel), Storm *Ordlister* & Karl Bjørset, *Syd-Lesje og Nord-Dovremaalets lyd- og formlære* (1900), Nord-Aurdal Storm A IV, Nord-Fron Storm B VII, Valdres Storm C I, Østre Slidre Ole O Hegge, *Utgreiding* (1925), Toten Kolsrud, *Festskr Falk*, 451, Øyer Bjørset 1910, 8-9 OSLO Amund Larsen, *Kristiania Bymål* (1907) ROGALAND Ryfylke Per Thorsen, *Ryfylke-målet* (1930) and *Målet i Nordaust-Ryfylke* (1929); Stavanger Berntsen & Larsen, *Stavanger Bymål* (1925), 203 SOGN OG FJORDANE Nordfjord Lars E Sjøreide, *Nordfjordmålet* (1930) and Storm A XII, C I, C VI, Sunnfjord (Førde Storm A XII, C VI, Jølster, Holsen Ross, *Norske Bygdemål* 1909, 7), Sogn George T Flom *The Dialect of Aurland* (1915), Amund Larsen, *Sognemålene* (1922 f) and Storm A XII, C VI SØR-TRØNDELAG Notes on several communities by Am B Larsen in Storm F XIX (Melhus, Tydalen, Stjøren, Orkdal, Budal, Meldalen, Kvikne, Opdal), Hemne P E Sivertsen, *Moalet i Hemne* (1906), Opdal notes by writer and Ola J Rise, *Opdalsmål* (1933), Orkdal Storm C VI, Rennebu Storm C V, Røros Jørgen Reitan, *Rørosmålet* (1932), Selbu Amund B Larsen, *Norvegia*, II, 243, Tydalen, Ålen, Holtålen, Singsås Storm B VIII, Soknedalen Storm B VIII, Strinda Arne Tilset, *Målet i Strinda* (1924), Trondheim Storm B VIII (ved A B L); Tydalen & Guldalen, Amund B Larsen, *Oplysninger om Dialekten i Selbo og Guldalen* (1881), 36, Ålen Jørgen Reitan, *Aalens maalføre* (1906), 40 TELEMARK upper Telemark Ross, *Norske Bygdemål*, Bø Storm C II, Gransherad Storm B IVa, Heddal Storm B IVa & CII, Sauland Storm C II; Hjørtedal Storm B IVa & *Norvegia* I, 92, Tuddal Storm C II & B IVa, Hovin Storm B IVa, Skafså Storm A XII, Mo Storm C II; Mjøsstrondi Storm A IX, Saude Storm B IVa; Neshera Storm C II & B IVa, Tinn Storm, *Ordlister* & Olaf Skulerud, *Tinnsmåalet* (1922), Vinje Storm C I, Morgedal Storm A IX TROMS Bardo & Målselv Jørgen Reitan, *Maal og Minne* 1928, Senja Ragnvald Iversen, *Senjen-maalet* (1913), 68, Helgøy Storm A VIII, Salangen Jakob Markussen, Hovedoppgave (unprinted) VESTFOLD Tjøme, Tjølling, Tanum, Sem, Andebu, Ramnes, Hedrum, Lardal, Hof, Sande, Skoger, Sandherad, all in Olaf Skulerud, *Festskr Amund Larsen* Tønsberg Trygve Knudsen, *Festskrift Amund Larsen*, 138 VEST-AGDER Lyngdal, Valle Am Larsen, *Indberetning* 1891, 236, Gyland P. Kydland, *Gylands-målet* (1940), 38; Åseral Seip, *Åsøplmålet* (1915), 41

Addenda Elverum Lindberg, *Opusc Phon.* IV, 19; Ål Romcke, *Norvegia* II, 142, Vest-Agder Hannaas (1925), Snåsa, Frosta, Stjørdalen Storm F XIX (by A B L), Asker, Fet, Hakadal, Nes, Ramnes, Trøgstad, Spydeberg Storm C III; Nordre Land, Vestre Toten, Øyer, Romedal, Løten Storm C IV, Førde, Breim, Hornindal, Riste, Sande Storm F XXV.

As will be seen from the above, the following have been inaccessible to me Kolsrud,

The change to unvoiced *l* is local and sporadic, being reported from Sogn, Hallingdal, Selbu, and Solør. In some of the eastern communities



Map 1 Old Norse *sl* initially Each circle represents one country community (herred), each square a town Names of communities are entered only when reliable information on this dialect phenomenon is available The boundaries drawn between dialect areas are dotted wherever their exact course is a matter of conjecture The upper left insert contains the upper part of the main map, while the lower right insert is an enlarged map of the three southeastern counties (fylker) Note that the information given for Saltdal (Nordland) should be changed to Salten, on the coast. In the Southwest area it has not been thought necessary to enter all instances of *sl*.

Endsvollsmaalet (1916), Birger Marteinussen, *Maalet i Bø i Vesteraalen* (1907), Karl Braset, *Sparbu-maalet* (1903), Peter Lunde, *Maalet i Søgne* (1913); Johan Hveding, *Tysfjord-maalet* (1921).

of Telemark (Bø, Gransherad, Hjartdal, Sauland, Nes) a loose variety of *s* is reported which may be transitional between regular *s* and *ʃ*. The unvoiced *l* is everywhere in retreat before the other forms.

The change to *ʃl* is characteristic of Lowland East Norwegian, the valleys of Gudbrandsdal and Østerdal, Nordmøre, Trøndelag, and southern Nordland. The material is too scanty to draw an exact boundary, thus it is uncertain whether part of Romsdal may not use *ʃl*, likewise parts of lower Buskerud and Telemark. Another difficulty is that a gradual phonetic transition is possible between *s* and *ʃ*, and that speech defects may lead to an impure *s* that can be heard as *ʃ*. Some of the less precise dialect students fail to distinguish between *sl* and *ʃl*, thus obscuring the situation.

Within the eastern area much vacillation is possible, as some dialects and some individuals seem to have maintained or reasserted the *sl*. The change to *ʃl* is a mechanical one, affecting all words containing this consonant cluster. No opposition is set up between *sl* and *ʃl* in any of the regular country dialects.

The development of initial *sl* was shared by medial *sl* after a consonant other than *t*. The reason appears to be that in such words the syllable division fell between the consonant and the *sl*, making the latter initial in its syllable. The evidence for this is that *sl* in this position usually remained *sl* or *ʃl* in regions where medial *sl* normally changed to *tl* or *ll* (see below). In some words the preceding consonant was lost, but whenever it was retained, the *sl* either remained or changed to *ʃl*. Examples of this development are found after *g*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, and *r*.⁷ Of these consonants *k* may be lost in *jeksel* 'molar' and *veksla* 'change,' *g* and *m* when they follow *r*, and *r* in all words except *førsle* and *høyrsla* (for which easily recognizable verb stems exist to keep them in line). The loss of *r* seems to be characteristic of Trøndelag, but the others appear to be more widespread.

In certain portions of the southwest it appears that medial *d* could have this effect of preserving the following *sl*, in spite of being lost after-

⁷ After *g* *bygsel* 'rent' byksl Ytre Rendal, *bægsel* 'hindrance' Nordfjord. After *k* *aksel* (ON *œxl*) 'shoulder' aksl Elverum, Øvre Rendal, oksl Aurland (and Sogn generally), øksl & økkel Leikanger, Lyster, aksel vs aksl Norderhov, aksel Røros; *beksl* 'bridle' (alternates with ON *bezl*, see footnote 21), *grøksla* 'warm bread' Helgeland, *jeksel* (ON *jæxl*) 'molar' jæksl Grue, jaksl Røros, jæksl Tydal, jeksel (def. jeksla) Ådal, jeksle Ytre Rendal (but jehle Øvre Rendal), jakedl Aurland, *veksla* 'change' Sogndal, veksle Fon, veksle & væsle Norderhov, Ådal, veksle Lesje-Dovre-Vågå (but væsle Trysil, va(r)sla Voss, ve(r)sla Hardanger, vesle Møsstrand); *dæksle* 'window hook' Aurland. After *m* *gøymsla* 'hiding' Ryfylke, Voss (note *geymhlu* in some older documents), *skræmsel* 'terror' skræmsl Elverum. After *n* *finsleg* 'fine' feinsle Aurland, *reinsleg* 'cleanly' rainsle Aurland, rensl Røros, Solør; *rensel* 'running' rænsl Elverum, rensl Røros, *uansleg* 'easy' Ryfylke, ovansl Røros; (but note the two names reported from Hjelmeland, Stentland, Tuntland, with regular *t* for *s* in this position) After *ng*: *fængsel* 'prison' fængsl Røros, Elverum;

wards At least a certain number of such words are reported from an area where *sl* normally becomes *il* ⁸ It is also possible, however, that analogy with corresponding verbs may have retained the original form of these words

In the position after consonant, the *s* and *l* may be separated by an obscure vowel (ə), and in this case the expected change of *s* to *f* sometimes fails to develop ⁹

In a small area in the east Norwegian mountains it is reported that *s* acquires the quality of *f* before other consonants as well, especially *n* and *t*.¹⁰

3 INITIAL /L IN MODERN SLANG

As the city of Oslo, Norway's capital, is located in the midst of a country district where the use of *fl* for *sl* is well-nigh universal, it is not surprising that the lower classes in that city should make regular use of it During the nineteenth century the upper classes, with their Dano-literary tradition of elegant speech, attempted to steer clear of this "corruption" of the written image But along with the breakdown of the old bureaucratic upper class, the rise of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and the growth of a slang-loving youth came the rapid introduction of many dialect forms into the speech of even educated inhabitants of the capital. One of these was the pronunciation of *fl* for *sl*, which has now become practically universal among speakers of Oslo Norwegian in their unguarded moments The pronunciation [ʰoʃlo] (with a very thin *f*) for 'Oslo' is very common, though it is frowned upon by the cultured ¹¹

hengsl 'lock' *hengsl* Røros, *stengsl* 'lock' Hallingdal, Røros, *stengsl* Solør After *r* *abyrgsla* (*g* usually lost) 'responsibility' *aabyrsle* Hallingdal, *aabyrsle* Sunnmøre, *aabrygsle* Nordhordland (but with loss of *r* *ålbøhl* Opdal), *byr(g)sla* 'supplies' Sunnmøre, *børsl(a)* Sogn, *førsle* 'transportation' Romsdal, Sunnmøre, *høysla* 'hearing' Nordfjord, *høssel* Røros, **ringertla* 'wagtail' *rinnhle* Øvre Rendal (with loss of *r*), *skørsl* (with loss of *r*) 'baptism' in compounds *skitlabadn* 'baptismal child' Sogn, *skjøllarvatn* 'e 'baptismal water' Nordfjord, *vermsl* (with regular loss of *m* and frequent loss of *r*) 'spring' *versl* Nordfjord, Sunnfjord, *verslehol* Sogn, *værsl* Senja, *veksl* Sunnmøre (but *vehl* Orkdal and Trøndelag generally, *vælt* Selbu), *ørsla* 'dizziness, confusion' Aurland, Ryfylke, Nordmøre, Romerike (but *hovetla* Sunnhordland)

⁸ *Arveidsla* 'reprimand' Sunnhordland, *breidsla* 'spreading' Sunnhordland, Karmt, Ryfylke (but *bretla* elsewhere), *øydsla* 'waste' (also *øyta*), *utreidsle* 'expense' Nordfjord But *reidsla* became only *rettla*.

⁹ E.g. *jeksel* (but *jeksla*) Ådal, *aksel* Trysil, *aksel* (but *aksla*) Røros

¹⁰ Tynnset, Tyldal, Soknedal, e.g. *hestn*, *presta*, *ost*, *stugu* etc In the one word *snjo* 'snow' the change is reported from Opdal (ʃnø), Sunndal (ʃno), Surendal (ʃnjø), Ytre Sogn and Jostedalen (ʃny) (writer's notes, Larsen *Øversigt* 57, *Sognemålene*)

¹¹ Cf. Professor Olaf Bloch in *Festskrift Hjalmar Falk* (Oslo, 1927), 3 "I fremlyd blir [s] foran [l] i dannet dagligtale praktisk talt gjennemgående supradentalt . . . Inde i ord er

In the course of the transition there was built up a feeling that *f* was a more vigorous and animated sound than *s*. Amund B. Larsen was the first to call attention to the existence in Oslo slang of a series of words in which *f* was used in this way before other consonants than *l*. He noted that the words *svær* 'big,' *svin* 'swine,' and sometimes *sne* 'snow' and *stygg* 'ugly' could be pronounced with *f* instead of *s*. "One literally takes a mouthful to express greater size"¹²

Prof. Olaf Broch has more recently taken this phenomenon up for detailed discussion, and pointed out that the two sounds alternate in a whole series of such words, "which partly by their own nature, partly within a given expression, have a strong emphasis psychologically, and accordingly, at least to begin with, accentually"¹³ Professor Broch is undoubtedly right in seeking the explanation of the phenomenon in the social situation described above, which associated itself with the sound opposition of *sl* to *fl*. This has permitted such slangy expressions as *schtelig* 'stylish' and *schnobb* 'snob' to alternate with the original *stilig* and *snobb*.

Professor Broch declared, however, that he could not understand why this use of *f* should be limited to the position before consonants (*sl*, *sm*, *sn*, *st*, *sv* occur in his examples), and not be found e.g. in *sur* 'sour.' The reason for this must be sought in the system of the language. The sounds of the language function in opposition to other sounds to distinguish words from each other. In Norwegian, *s* before vowels functions differently from *s* before consonants. Before vowels *s* is in opposition to *ʃ*, so that a change from one to the other would confuse many otherwise distinct words, e.g. *sur* 'sour': *Sjur* a proper name, *sele* 'suspender': *skjele* 'squint' etc. But no such confusion could arise before consonants, for here only *s* occurred, and the change to *f* was non-significant.

The same slang phenomenon is reported from two other city neighborhoods of the east, namely Tønsberg and Strinda (the latter near Trondheim). In Tønsberg it is described as "originally (upper class) Oslo-jargon, which also has reached lower class speech"¹⁴ In Strinda it is referred to as "jargon."¹⁵ The only other community from which it is reported is Ålen, where the one word *stygg* 'bad, ugly' becomes *ʃtygg* "when one really wishes to express repulsion or contempt for some person or thing."¹⁶

overgangen . . . ikke så gjennomført i mine kredse. Men tendensen synes nærmest å gå i retning av *ʃl* også her . . ."

¹² *Kristiana Bymål*, 74. Cf. Sigrid Undset, *Samlede Romaner og Fortællinger fra Nutiden* V, 7: *schwinaktig morsomme landturer*; Øverland, *Er vårt språk avskaffet?* (1940), 10. "Nå schka det bli vanskelig for dom fine å snakke rekti!"¹³ *Loc cit*

¹⁴ Trygve Knudsen, *Festskrift Amund Larsen*, 138. "Jargon" in Norway refers to clique or class slang.

¹⁵ Tilset, *Målet i Strinda*. 10

¹⁶ Reitan, *VSS* 1906, No. 4, p. 40.

In Ålen the possibility of city influence from the speech of nearby Røros is not excluded

A special interest attaches to this phenomenon because of the nature of the meaning opposition created between the two forms. The forms with *s* and those with *ʃ* are distinguished in sense primarily by their emotional overtones. A similar phenomenon has been pointed out by J. v. Laziczius for Hungarian, where lengthening of the vowel is used to make certain words more emphatic.¹⁷ He sets up a special term "emphatikum," to describe a phoneme variant of this kind, one which under given conditions can vary the affective value of a word without changing its intellectual content.

All that it amounts to is this: (1) certain sound oppositions are used to distinguish words, (2) the meaning difference correlated to the sound opposition may vary greatly in kind and degree. One pair of phonically distinguished words may differ in 'intellectual' content only, another in 'emotional' content only. But the great mass of words will differ a little in both, and there neither is nor can be a scale on which the amount of emotional and intellectual difference can be measured.

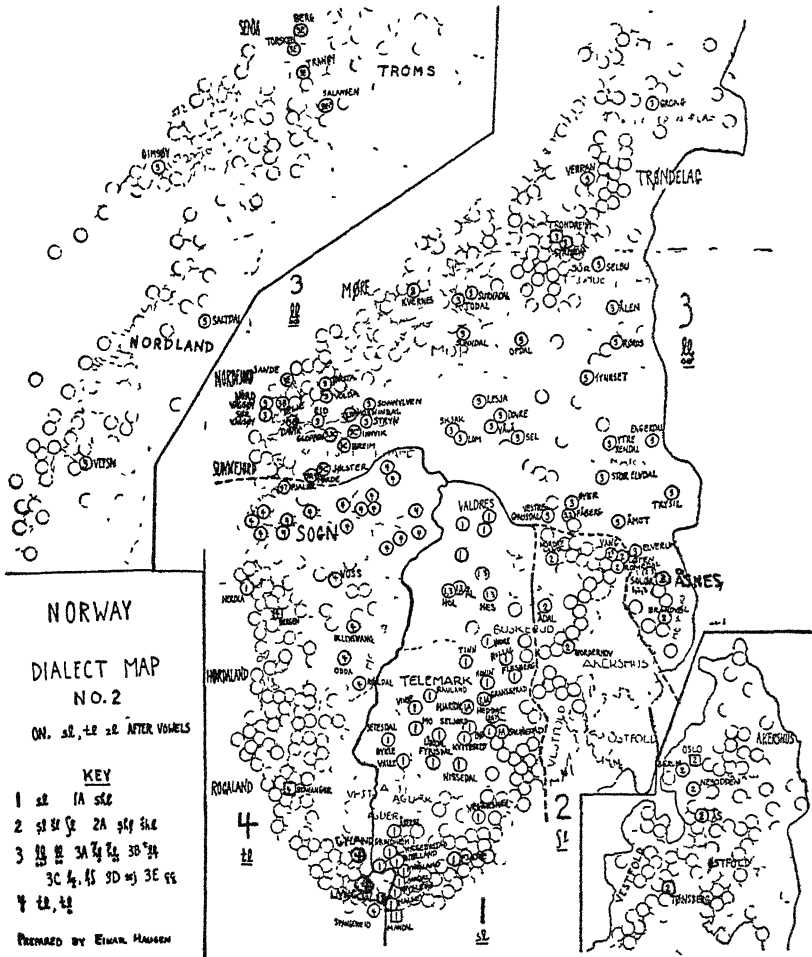
An example is the word *svin* 'swine' given above, which differs from *ʃvin* in its emotional connotation, and is a good instance of the emphatikum opposition of Laziczius. But a closer examination shows that the word "emotional connotation" (or Affektivitat, as L. puts it) involves a number of disparate and incommensurable elements. The simple *svin* applies primarily to the domestic animal; the emotional *ʃvin* primarily to human beings whose qualities seem to relate them to the domestic animal. Hence the actual thing referred to is different. More than that: the emotional form is rarely used in any serious accusation against said human beings, it fits best in a humorous, joshing situation. Hence the 'intellectual' distinction, which was supposed to be absent, as well as a genuinely situational difference, are really with us, even though disguised. Or take the word *svær* 'huge,' which becomes more intense if altered to *ʃvær*. Most of the people who use the intense form tend to lose the other form entirely. Like other intensives, it soon loses its effect through overuse. Here we are dealing with the germs of a new dialect, and another distinction has come in to cross the supposedly 'emotional' one.

4 *SL*, *TL*, AND *TSL* IN POSTVOCALIC POSITION

The treatment of *sl* after vowels has been much more complex. Instead of one significant change, there are here three major changes ob-

¹⁷ "Probleme der Phonologie," *Ungarische Jahrbucher* XV (1935), 193-208. Kindly called to my attention by W. F. Twaddell.

taining over well-defined dialect areas. In addition a number of words show individual exceptions from the 'sound law,' so that their forms demand special explanations. This complexity is due in part to the confusion of *sl* with *tl* and *tsl*, in part to its instability when it occurs at the point of word or syllable division, and in part to the nature of the words into which it enters.



Map 2. Old Norse *sl*, *tl*, *zl* after vowels.

Throughout Norway regular historical development has led to the confusion of *sl*, *tl*, and *tsl* in postvocalic position. The accompanying map (No. 2) shows the four leading results in the modern dialects:

- (1) *sl* the Midland valleys from Valdres south and the southern coast from the western border of Vestfold to Cape Lindesnes (the Naze)
- (2) *ʃl* the southeastern lowlands up to the edge of the mountainous and forested valleys.
- (3) *ll* the northern half of the country, including Solør, Østerdal, Gudbrandsdal in the east, all of Nordfjord, and a large part of Sunnfjord on the west
- (4) *tl* the valleys and fjords of the west, from Sunnfjord to the Naze (excepting the community of Hægebostad in Vest-Agder and Herdla in Hordaland)

The chief words exemplifying these changes with any regularity throughout the country are: *hasl* 'hazel', *vesl* 'small', *lill* 'little', *ella* 'intend', *netla* 'nettle', *beizl* 'bit, bridle', *veizla* 'party', a large number of derivatives formed by the suffix *-sl*, and all suffixes beginning with *l*, e.g., *-la*, *-li*, *-lig*, *-ling* etc. By far the greatest number of these words are secondary formations, resulting from suffixation, syncope, or compounding. The clusters do not seem to have occurred in this position in Germanic.

The four areas here defined will be referred to as areas 1, 2, 3, and 4. They correspond in general to standard Norwegian dialect areas, (1) the Midland dialects, (2) the Lowland East Norwegian, (3) northern Norway, and (4) western Norway. But the northern dialects have encroached strongly on the others, so that the isogloss runs well down into the central mountain region.

Areas 1 and 2 are really parts of the same area, having treated *sl* alike both before and after vowels. They are distinguished only by the transfer of *s* in area 2 from the *s*- to the *ʃ*-phoneme, a mechanical change. Area 4 is sharply marked off from the rest by associating the *s* before *l* with its *t*-phoneme. The most striking change, however, is that of area 3, in which the dialects have assimilated these clusters into an entirely new phoneme, and completely dissociated them from initial *sl*.

Within area 1 upper Hallingdal shows sporadic unvoiced *l* for medial *sl* and *tl*, as it did for initial *sl*. These unvoiced *l*'s are not palatalized as those in area 3 and so are not directly connected with the development there.

Within area 4, the occurrence of *sl* on the island of Herdla and a few others to the north remains unexplained. It was first explained by Amund Larsen as due to earlier cultivated forms from Bergen; later he regarded it as a coastal phenomenon connected with area 3 to the north. Until a field investigation is made, it is impossible to say why these forms should occur there.

Area 3 shows a remarkable series of transitional forms. In the west, Sunnfjord and Nordfjord and part of Sunnmøre have a confusing variety of phonetic approximations which are variously written by phoneticians.

They include compromise forms with a *t*-implosion (3b), forms with *l* plus a spirant [ç or ʃ] (3c), and forms without the *l*, just a spirant [ç or ʃ] (3d and 3e). In Fårde the rule is *tl* [tʃ], but the form *hʃfə* is reported, and the sound [ʃ] from its subdivision, Holsen. In the east, unvoiced *l* alternates in many border communities with *ʃl* and is retreating before the latter.¹⁸

In many communities of area 3 sporadic forms have developed with an intrusive *t* after the unvoiced *l*. This *t* occurs only in monosyllables, especially when these are part of a compound. The forms with *t* are nowhere carried through all words of this type, and the same words frequently occur without *t* in neighboring communities. It is thus at the present time impossible to determine either a lexical or a geographical extension of this change.¹⁹

The word *beizl* 'bridle' also shows an unexplained variation in form, which is not clarified by the available material. In a great many communities the word shows an intrusive *k*, as if it were descended from an ON **bexl* (or **beixl*)²⁰ Where this form is used, the *sl* is initial and its forms belong with those appearing regularly after the consonant *k* (see above p. 882). Where the form without *k* is used, the *tsl* is postvocalic and its forms are those shown on map 2. The only exceptions to this are the forms *bissel* or *bessel* (Tuddal, Trysil, Røros) which have probably been picked up from standard Norwegian. The information now available shows that the form with *k* is characteristic of a broad central strip of Norway from north to south, including the eastern lowlands, the lower parts of Telemark and Østerdalen, the valleys of Hallingdal and Gudbrandsdal, and the northwestern coast from Sunnfjord to Møre. Practically no information is available on Trøndelag and Nordland.²¹

¹⁸ In Vang, Hedmark *væslə*, but sometimes *vælt-per*; in Solør '*sl* seems to be entering from the cultivated language and from other communities', in Fåberg *ʃl* is *gaining*, esp. among the young, and in the south.

¹⁹ *gjætslegut* 'herdsboy' *jæhtgut* Åmot, Land, Toten, Biri, Vardal, *gjætslesvein* 'herdsboy' *jæhtsvein* Gudbrandsdal, Nordmøre, *gjætslemark* 'pasture' *jeltmark* Gimsøy, *hasl* 'hazel' *halt* Orkdal, Nordmøre, Helgeland, Kvernes, Surendal, Fåberg, *haslskog* 'hazel woods' *håltskog* Vefsn, *vesleguten* 'the little boy' *vehltgutn* Vågå, *Vesle-Per* 'little Per' *vælt-per* Vang (Hedmark), *ver(m)sl* 'spring' *vælt* Selbu, *ella* 'intend' *ælt* Namdalen, Fosen, Nordmøre, Helgeland, *elte* Senja; *døydsl* 'cadaver' *døyhlt* Fosen, *tail* (or *tasl*) 'useless work' *tahlt* Trondheim, *kvisl* 'forked branch' *kviht* Vågå, Sel, Lesje, Dovre (also *kviht*).

²⁰ Aasen associates it with an Icelandic *beygsl* 'something bent' or a hypothetical **bægsl* 'a hindrance.' The form with *k* is found in the Faroe Islands also. *båksl*, cf. Hægstad *VNM* II, 2, 117.

²¹ *Forms with k* in area 1—*bæks'l* Torpo, Ål, *bæiks'l* Hol (also *bæihl*), *beks'l* Morgedal (Telemark), in area 2—*bækse*l Bærum, *bækse*l Asker, *beks*l Norderhov, Ådal, in area 3—*bekse*l South Rendal, *bæks'l* Sunndal, *beks*l Riste, Sande (Sunnmøre), *beks*l Fåberg, Sel, Vågå, Lesja, Dovre, *baksol* Lom, Skjåk, *beiks*l Breim, *beksl* Gloppen, Hornindal, Fårde. *Forms without k* in area 1—*beisl* Vest Telemark, Tinn, *baisl* Valle, area 3—*behl* Ålen, northern part of Rendal, *beitla* Sunnmøre, *beillar* (plural) Nordfjord, area 4—*baii'l* Voss, *betl* Lavik, Aurland, *beitl* Rødal, Nordhordland, *baitsl* Årdal (?), *betl*, *beitl* Ryfylke.

The word *lilli* 'little' (weak form of ON *litill*) has in a few communities within area 3 lost the *l*-quality of the usual sound in that area and substituted a spirant, usually *ç*. In Hornindalen and Stadslandet this form is one of the transitional forms between *ll* and *tl*, but the other communities from which it is reported are quite isolated.²²

Along the southeastern coast some communities report *lille* 'little,' a form that is characteristic of Danish dialects (see below p. 904).²³ This form may be borrowed from standard Dano-Norwegian, but it is supported by *çille* 'tickle' from one of the communities (Fjære), and a statement by Seip that "examples of the transition to *ll* are found in some southeastern dialects, especially on the coast."²⁴ Unfortunately no monographs or other materials are available on the dialects of Vestfold, so that it is impossible to be sure where the line runs between the Danish practice and the Norwegian. If these forms are non-literary in origin, they will require an additional area in the southeastern corner of Norway, where *sl* and *tl* remain apart, with *tl* becoming *ll*.

5. SEMANTIC AND MORPHOLOGICAL INTERFERENCE WITH THE SOUND CHANGE

Beyond the special developments discussed in the previous section, there remains a body of apparent exceptions to the sound changes in question. Theoretically the cluster *sl* should have been eliminated in areas 3 and 4, and *tl* in areas 1, 2, and 3. But a number of words are reported from all of these areas which contain the very clusters eliminated. In the following we shall analyze these exceptions, and make some guesses at the factors that led to their existence. They offer abundant evidence that 'sound laws' do not operate altogether independently of the meanings of the words in which they occur.

a. Syncopated forms. In some words the *sl* and *tl* cluster arose as the result of syncope in certain morphological forms. Words ending in *-ill* or *-all* in the singular masculine nominative lost the intermediate vowels in most of the other forms, e.g. *litill* 'little' vs. *lillar* (plural). In such words three treatments were possible, according to the force of analogy among the various forms: (1) the original alternation between syncopated and unsyncopated forms might be maintained, (2) the word might be leveled with an unsyncopated form, or (3) with a syncopated form.

The first of these is very rare. Only two examples have been found: *kvætel* 'forked branch' vs. *kvihla* (plural) in Sunnfjord, Nordfjord, and Sunnmøre, and *fetil* 'shoulder strap' vs. *fasla* (plural) Tinn.

²² lissje Hornindalen, likkje Stadslandet, likkj Senja, likkje Ålen

²³ Fjære, Vegårshei, Bjelland (also *sl*), according to P. Kydland, *Gylandsmålet*, 38, *ll* is used in the coastal area south of Gyland.

²⁴ *Norsk språkhistorie*, 299.

The second is also rare, but a few examples are found in which the singular has imposed its consonant on the plural in defiance of the sound law.²⁵

The third is the usual thing, that the oblique, syncopated forms are dominant and the resulting *sl* or *tl* follows the regular sound law. In many cases a new singular has been created.²⁶

The word *vetrlidr* 'year-old animal' is different from the preceding in that it is nowhere assimilated, not even in Telemark.²⁷

Before the suffix *-legr* (*-ligr*) the regular sound change is general, but not invariable.²⁸ In the Midland region a *k* has been intruded between the *s* and the *l* in some of these words.²⁹ The irregular examples are partly the result of borrowing, partly of analogy, but the material is too small to warrant any definite conclusions.³⁰

b Influence of the morphological boundary. When a morphological boundary fell between the first and the second of the two consonants, assimilation frequently failed to take place. The secondary stress of the second morpheme and the analogy of the two parts with other words in the language tended to restrain the assimilation.

Compounds such as *husly* 'shelter,' *lyslett* 'light completed,' *mailaus*

²⁵ eitel 'gland' plural eitla Salta, gvitel 'coverlet' plural gvitla Numedal (similarly kvitel in Upper Telemark and Setisdal), skyttil 'shuttle' plural skyttlar Toten, Land, Gudbrandsdalen, Ringerike; setel 'note,' plural setla Sunnmøre, betel 'bridle' plural betla Sunnmøre (but eihla, kvihla).

²⁶ Area 1 aisl 'gland,' plural aisla Setisdal (aihle, eisle, plural eislar Hallingdal), fasle 'shoulder strap' Telemark, Setisdal, Vegårshei, hasle 'hazel' Setisdal, kasle 'kettle' Telemark, Setisdal, kahle Hallingdal, skusle 'shuttle' Telemark, Nore, kvihle Ål kvissol, plural kvislê Tuddal. Area 2 fassel 'shoulder strap' Ådal, 1 fasle Norderhov. Area 3. ehje 'gland' Ålen, fâhl 'shoulder strap' Opdal, fehle Ålen, skuhl 'shuttle' Salta. Area 4. fatle Bergen Gyland, meitle 'chisel' Hardanger (elsewhere mertel).

²⁷ vetle Romsdal, Innherred, Telemark, vættli Namdalen, vettile Opdal, vættlei Nordmøre, vetidl Aurland, vetli Setisdal, vettile Nord-Rollag, vættile Øyer.

²⁸ With regular sound change. *godsleg* 'kindly' gotlige Gyland, goothg Lista, ugotlige Ryfylke, *skutleg* 'mean, offensive' sjusle Tinn, sjihle Opdal, shihle Røros, Salta, skihln Stjørdalen, Fosn, skith Jæren, Ryfylke, *lettleg* 'lively' lessle Tinn; *skjolleleg* 'quick' skjösle Telemark, *stussleg* 'depressing, eerie' stussli Ådal, Norderhov, stuhle Opdal, Dovre, Lesja, stusle Valdres, Hallingdal, *ubutleg* 'untidy' obuhle Opdal, *umatsleg* 'unpalatable' omahle Ålen, -i Røros, -en Øvre Rendalen.

²⁹ *blidsleg* 'kindly' bliskleg Telemark, *finsleg* 'fine' finskleg Hallingdal; *godsleg* 'kindly' goskleg Telemark, *lettleg* 'lively' lesklege Setisdal (and lettlege), *reinsleg* 'cleanly' reinskleg Setisdal, Telemark, *visleg* 'wise' viskleg Telemark.

³⁰ *blidsleg* 'kindly' bleisle Aurland; *drilleleg* 'perverse' dretli Vegårshei; *etileg* 'edible' ætle Opdal, *godslig* 'kindly' goslige Ryfylke, goslege Sunnmøre, gousle Aurland, gosli Elverum; *grøteleg* 'grievous' grøtle Opdal, *koselig* 'cozy' kosli Solør (& Tønsberg), *passelig* 'suitable' passli Trysil passle Kvernes, passle Aurland, *stussleg* 'eerie' stussli Bardo, Elverum, Fåberg, stussle Aurland, Solund; *visleg* 'wise' vislege Sunnmøre.

'without food' are rarely assimilated.³¹ Only in one region did assimilation consistently take place in these words, namely the Midland valleys from Valdres to Setesdal and the neighboring Ringerike.³²

The suffix *-ling* seems to have had no effect on the sound cluster at the boundary, for the words containing it are nearly all regular in form. Some of the most important are *felling* 'foot on a hide,' *kelling* 'kitten,' and *bysling* 'heather,' all regular.³³ In the one word *mysling* 'pitiful person,' where assimilation does not take place, we may assume that this derivative of *mus* 'mouse' was formed after the sound change.³⁴

c. *New creations.* The word *mysling* just discussed may be an example of a type of formation which seems to have arisen even in fairly recent times. The suffix *-la* (which will be discussed specially in the next section) has been very productive in this regard, as is clear from the number of verbs with this suffix which occur with unexpected forms. Even if some of these may go back to the time before the sound change, they may have been reformed on the basis of other words existing in the dialect.

This seems the likeliest explanation of the considerable number of verbs with *sl* in area 4.³⁵

³¹ Examples **fallag* 'eating from one dish' Opdal; *husly* 'shelter' Aurland, *kvillett* 'blonde' Strinda, Trondheim, Ådal, *klæslaus* 'without clothes' Ådal, Norderhov, *lysllett* 'light complected' Norderhov, *mallag* 'eating together' Strinda, Trondheim, *mallaus* 'without food' Dovre, Lesja, Vågå, Sel, Øyer, Ådal, Elvrom, Salta, Norderhov, Vegårshei, Hardanger, Saltdalen, Møsstrand, Saude, Morgedal, Nord-Rollag, *rettlerda* 'direct' Lom, Skjåk, Dovre, Lesje, Vågå, Øyer, Elvrom, Saltdalen, Hardanger, Trondheim, Strinda; *skjotleik* 'speed' Froland, Tovdal, Åseral, Nedenes, *vilþysa* 'foolishness' vetlþyse Vegårshei.

³² Examples *kvillett* 'blonde' gvislett Tinn, *mallaus* 'without food' maslous Tinn, masslous Hornnes, maslaue Setisdal, *molag* 'meeting' moslag Setisdal, Telemark, *raplågja* 'log on which roof rests' rahlei Opdal (Sør-Trøndelag), *rettlerda* 'direct' resleie Tinn, resleie Nord-Rollag, resleie Setisdal, Valdres, Tuddal, Møsstrand, resleie Ådal, Norderhov (Ross reports resleie, Hægstad resleie, from Sunnfjord, which remains unexplained), rehlest Sunnmøre, *skjotleik* 'speed' skjouslaik Setisdal, Råbyggelaget, Telemark, *ullægr* 'outlaw' usløg Telemark.

³³ Area 1 *føsling* Setisdal. Area 2 *fesling*, *fisling* Østlandet; *bryslýng* Hedmark, Vardal, Valdres, *kjesling* Setisdal, Hornnes. Area 3 *bøhling* Gudbrandsdal, *fæhling*, *fæisling* Solør, *fehling* Trondheim, Nordland, *kihling* Salta. Area 4 *fetling* Sogn, Sunnhordland, *føtling* Jæren etc., *kjetling* Aurland.

³⁴ Reported from Sogn, Voss, Sunnhordland, Ryfylke, Jæren, Dalane, Sunnfjord, and Telemark.

³⁵ *susla* 'be given to drunkenness' Aurland from *susa* 'drink'; *tasla* 'move slowly' from *tassa*, the same, Ryfylke, *kruslunn* 'sickly' from *krusken*, the same, Ryfylke (kroslen Gyland), *grisla* 'spread out thin' from *grisja*, the same, Ryfylke, Røldal, Shl Hard Nordl; *tisla* 'whisper, tattle' from *tisa*, the same, Ryf Dal Berg, *drisla* 'drnp' Hard, *drusla* 'rain in small drops' Hardanger, *drysla*, the same, Sunnhordland, all related to *drusa*, *drysj* and a series of such words, *bisla* 'gossip' Ryfylke & Jæren, from *bisa*, the same; *vaslast* 'get wet' Lista from *vass*—genitive of *vatn*, *musla* 'chuckle' Gyland, from *musa*, *mussa*, *mysa* 'whisper, chatter' Lister.

In the *sl* areas (1 and 2) only two words are given with *tl*, and these can be explained in the same way *Killa* 'tickle,' found in Løten and Tøten, coexisted in the dialect with *kjetall* 'ticklish,' and *kita* 'tickle' *Tatta* 'chew with difficulty, talk monotonously, gossip' (Rbg Gbr Senja) may be a new formation from some such word as *tjatra*, meaning the same

d Borrowings One small group of words in the dialects of areas 3 and 4 contain an unexpected *sl* for reasons that appear to lie in their recent introduction into the dialects from the standard language. Among such words may be mentioned *pusling* 'putterer, insignificant person,' *brisling* 'herring,' *usle* 'miserable,' and *usling* 'scoundrel' ³⁶ The word *brisling* is derived from Low German *brelling*, but acquired an East Norwegian form and spread with the herring industry ³⁷ The others are highly expressive words, well calculated to become widely popular

The same is true of a group of verbs in *-la* which show unexpected *sl* in areas 3 and 4: *fisla* 'tattle,' *gjødsle* 'fertilize,' *pusla* 'putter,' *rasla* 'rustle,' *rusla* 'stroll,' *tusla* 'putter.' Interestingly enough, in some dialects these coexist with verbs having the expected phonetic form of that region, but having a different meaning. In each of these cases the word with the unexpected *sl* is identical in meaning with the corresponding word in standard Norwegian ³⁸ The word *gjødsle* is recent in form, no doubt because of the fairly recent adoption of the practice of fertilizing the soil as a regular practice in Norway (about a century ago) The others have spread by virtue of their delicate expression of emotional and emphatic overtones. In a few cases they have actually succeeded in establishing a new phonetic opposition on the ruins of the old

When proper names occasionally show a tendency to have forms not warranted within the dialect, we can probably see in this, too, the effect of interdialectal movement, or the influence of the written word ³⁹

³⁶ *pusling* Kvernnes, *brisling* Stavanger, Aurland, Tønsberg, *usle* Aurland, *usling* Salangen, also *vesle* Aurland (beside *vetle*), and *nesle* 'nettle' Tynnset

³⁷ The association with *brisa* 'shine,' suggested by Aasen, sounds most improbable

³⁸ *fisla* 'tattle' very general vs *fihle* 'putter' Nord-Trøndelag, Sør Helgeland, Nordre Gudbrandsdalen, *filkje* Breim; *gjødsle* 'fertilize' *jøsle* Øvre Rendal, *jøs* Elverum, Solør vs *gjøtla* 'fatten' Sunnhordland, *jøsle* Setisdal, *gyhle* Nordfjord, *pusla* 'putter' Ryfylke, *pusle* Troms, Senja etc vs *putla* 'putter' Ryfylke, *pusla* 'putter' vs. *potla* (the same) Gyland, *rusla* 'stroll' *rusle* Østlandet, *rusla* Ryfylke, Hallingdal, Sogn, Lista, Stavanger, *rosla* Gyland vs *rutla* 'make a noise like thunder' Ryfylke, Aurland, Sogn, *ruhle* Hallingdal, *rasla* 'rustle' Ryfylke, Hallingdal, Dalane vs *ratla* 'walk slowly' Ryfylke, *tusla* 'putter' Ryfylke, 'whisper' Lista vs *tutla* 'putter' Ryfylke, *tosla* 'make faint noise,' *tosling* 'good-for-nothing' vs. *totla* 'putter,' *totlen* 'puttering' Gyland, note also *musla* 'chuckle' in Gyland

³⁹ The names *Asli* and *Aslak* are found with *sl* in Ryfylke and Aurland, where *tl* might be expected, and (apparently) with *tl* in Øyer, where *hl* is general.

6 SOME PHENOMENA ASSOCIATED WITH THE *L*-SUFFIX

A conspicuous proportion of the words containing the sound groups *sl* and *tl* are derivatives produced by the common Germanic *l*-suffix. The Old Norse forms from which the modern forms are derived are *-la* for the verbs (from **-ilon* and **-alon*) *-li* (masculine), *-la* (feminine), or *-l* (masculine and neuter) for the nouns, and *-linn* for the adjectives.⁴⁰

It is a striking fact that the overwhelming majority of the words in question are not attested in Old Norse. Many of those that are attested, seem to have undergone a change in meaning. Although one cannot safely argue from the negative evidence of the Old Norse texts, there seems to be a tendency toward a semantic pattern for words with this suffix, and it appears to have been prolific of new words down to the very present. Since most of these words have no attested Old Norse forms, scholars have had to reconstruct forms on the basis of their supposed etymologies. It is interesting to see that the confusion of *sl* and *tl* in the modern dialects has often made it impossible to be certain whether the stem of the word ended in *s* or *t*. Except for the small number of words spread by standard Norwegian and the new formations listed above, the phonetic forms of these words are quite regular throughout the country.

Nineteen verbs with the *l*-suffix have been found in Old Norse lexica. Of these ten are attested in the modern dialects, while nine appear to have been lost.⁴¹ Of those which have survived, *fatla*, *skutla*, and *ætla* are attested from all four dialect areas, while the rest are less widespread. It is clear that the connotations of puttering, iterative action, fooling around, wasting time etc. were present in some of these verbs already in Old Norse times, but these meanings have become more pronounced in the Norwegian descendants. Thus *fatla* 'tie' has in Jæren acquired the sense of 'bungle'; so have *fitla* and *tutla*, *husla* and *skutla* in various parts of the country.

In number, too, the verbs with the *l*-suffix seem to have increased. Practically all of them can be referred to certain typical meanings, ranging in a series from movement and repetition, to diminution and waste. Some of them have several of these meanings and will be listed under each

⁴⁰ This suffix and some others of the same type have been studied by Elof Hellqvist, "Om de nordiska verb på suffixalt -k, -l, -r, -s och -t samt af dem bildade nomina," *Ark. f. n. f.*, xiv (1898), 1-46, 136-194. Hellqvist's lists are far from complete for the Norwegian material.

⁴¹ *Survived*: *dusla* 'putter,' *fatla* 'tie,' *fitla* 'finger,' *húsla* 'housel,' *kitla* 'tickle,' *kvísla* 'branch out,' *skutla* 'waste,' *sýsla* 'be busy,' *tutla* 'whimper,' *vesla* 'decrease, waste away,' *ætla* 'intend.' *Lost*: *eitla* 'sharpen eyes,' *fetla* 'fasten,' *geisla* 'shine,' *gisla* 'give hostages,' *hasla* 'mark out,' *hvisla* 'whisper,' *meitla* 'cut with adze,' *stirtla* 'get up with difficulty,' *qsla* 'wade.'

head. The areas from which they are attested with regular phonetic forms are given after each

- (1) Short, quick movement ⁴² The forms here given are the reconstructed ones, of which ten contain *sl*, fifteen *tl*
- (2) Puttering and ineffectual work ⁴³
- (3) Aimless walking, strolling, sauntering ⁴⁴
- (4) Trickling, dripping, squirting ⁴⁵
- (5) Gentle noises ⁴⁶
- (6) Sharp noises ⁴⁷
- (7) Chattering, tattling, gossiping ⁴⁸
- (8) Waste ⁴⁹
- (9) Tickling sensation ⁵⁰

⁴² *drasla* 'pull' 1, 3, 4, *fisla* 'wag' 1, *fjatla* 'wag' 1, 3, 4, *frisla* 'wag' 3, *gretla* 'eat greedily' 4, *grutla* 'work quickly but carelessly' 3, 4, *husla* 'push aside' 1, *kitla* 'move slightly' 3, *knitla* 'chop with quick, short strokes' 4, *kritla* 'swarm, itch' 3, *krytla* 'swarm' 4, *nasla* 'snatch' 4, *patla* 'walk quickly' 4, *pitla* 'pluck' 4, also 'take short steps' 4, *pjotla* 'knit, crochet' 4, *skutla* 'push forward rapidly' 3, 4, *snatla* 'snatch' 4, *smisla* 'smile secretly' 1, *smusla* 'smile secretly' 1, 2, *snusla* 'sniff around' 1, 3, 4?, *spratla* 'jump' 1, 4, *spritla* 'stir, squirm' 1, 3, 4, *strusla* 'untwist' 1, *tisla* 'pick apart' 3, *tutla* 'press, squeeze'

⁴³ *dratla* 3, *dasla* 3, *disla* 1, 4, *duatla* 3, 4, *fatla* 4, *fatlast* 3, *fitla* 3, 4, *fjatla* 1, 3, 4, *fjusla* 1, 3, 4, *fusla* 1, 3?, *knatla* 4, *kratla* 1, 3, *krutla* 1, 3, 4, *lasla* 4, *masla* 3, *mutla* 1, 3, 4, *mysla* 1, 4, *njatla* 4, *nusla* 1, 3, *pjotla* 4, *prisla* 4, *prutla* 3, *pusla* 2, 3, 4, *sysla* 1, 3, *tasla* 3, 4, *trusla* seg 4, *tusla* 1, 3, 4, *vasla* 3

⁴⁴ *dasla* 3, *dratla* 1, 3, 4, *drutla* 3, 4, *drusla* 4?, *fjatla* 1, 3, 4, *fjotla* 1, 4, *fjötla* 4, *ketla* 3, *kratla* 1, 3, *ratla* 1, 3, 4, *rusla* 1, 2, 3, 4, *skjaasla* 1, 4, *tasla* 1, 2?, 3, 4, *trasla* 3, *tusla* 1, 2, 3, 4; *tvisla* 3

⁴⁵ *drisla* 1, 3, *drusla* 1, *drysla* 1, *kvisla* 1, 3, *risla* 1, 2?, 3, *sisla* 1, 2, 4, *skrisla* 1, *skvisla* 1, 4, *spritla* 1, 3, 4, *stritla* (3), 4, *tisla* (not localized)

⁴⁶ *brutla* 'make a faint, distant noise' 3, 4, *dusla* 'graze' 3, *gnatla* 'gnaw' 3, *gnusla* 'snicker' 1, 'sharp noise' 2; *knasla* 'chew quickly with open mouth and audible sound' 4, 'rattle weakly' 1, *knisla* 'whinny, snicker' 1, 3, 4, *knusla* 'rustle with faint sound' 1; *kritla* 'snicker' 4, *krutla* 'boil gently' 1, 3, 4, *mutla* 'chew slowly' 1, 3, *natla* 'knock gently, chew' 1, 3, *nosla* 'eat like pig' 3, *nusla* 'munch' 3, *pusla* 'boil gently' 4, *skvisla* 'splash' 1, 4, *spritla* 'chuckle, squirt' 1, 3, 4, *tvasla* 'splash' 3

⁴⁷ *bratla* 'work noisily' 4, *dratla* 'fall with noise, especially like peas' 4, *fratla* 'crackle' 3, *grisla* 'make a racket' 1, *kvasla* 'rattle', *rasla* 'fall down with a crash' 3, *rusla* 'rattle' 3; *skratla* 'rattle, rustle, creak' 1, 3, 4, *skvasla* 'splash' 1, 3, 4, *skvutla* 'splash' 4, *susla* 'splash, spill, cluck' 1, 3, 4, *tatla* 'chew with difficulty' 3, *trasla* 'walk heavily and noisily' 1, 3 (also same as *dratla*), *skrotla* 'cry of birds' 4

⁴⁸ *bisla* (forms irregular) 4, *dasla* 4, *disla* 1; *fisla* 1, 2, 3, 4, but with irregular forms (*sl*), *husla* 'joke' 3, *jasla* 3, 4, *rasla* (*sl* forms in 4), *skratla* 'laugh loudly' 1, 3, 4, *susla* 3; *svisla* 3; *tatla* 1, 3, 4; *tjaatla* 'talk nonsense' 4; *tjatla* 'haggle, quarrel' 4; *tusla* 4?; *tvasla* 1, 3, 4; *vasla* 'talk nonsense' 3, *øsla* 'joke' 1

⁴⁹ *husla* 'ruin, waste time' 1, 4, *kvisla*, *kvislast* 'waste away' 1, 4, *skrutlast* 'be worn down' 1; *skutla* 'waste' 1, 2, 3, 4, *skvasla* 'waste away' 1; *træsla*, *træslast* 'waste away' 3; *tuslast* 'waste away' (*sl* form in 4); *tvislast* 'waste away, shrink' 1, 4

⁵⁰ *fitla* 'itch' 3; *kitla* 'tickle' 1, 3, 4, *kritla* 'itch' 1, 3, 4, *kutla* 'tickle' 4; *prisla* 'tickle, itch, sting' 4.

For our purposes it will not be of interest to list the nouns and adjectives, which in most instances are derivatives of the verbs given above. Most of them refer to weak, stupid, or ineffectual persons, e.g. *krasl* 'a puny, stupid person,' *musl* 'a putterer,' or small, ineffectual things, e.g. *brull* 'a faint noise,' 'worn out vessels and implements,' *mutl* 'crumbings, particles.' The rest are the names of the actions described by the verbs, e.g. *fill* 'puttering around' etc.

A study of the consonant and vowel structure of the verbs listed above reveals that they practically exhaust the consonant possibilities of the Norwegian language, but not the vowels. Each x means that there is a verb having the consonant cluster listed at the left, plus the vowel listed above, followed by either *sl* or *tl*.

The non-occurrence of the clusters with *j* is due to the comparative rarity of these clusters in the language as a whole, while the avoidance of the *l*-clusters is clearly due to an aversion to two successive *l*-clusters (as e.g. in a hypothetical **slasla* or **blatla*). Of the 92 verbs listed, more than three-fourths use one of the three cardinal vowels *a*, *i*, or *u*. In many cases all three are used with the same consonant clusters, e.g. *krasla*, *krisla*, *krusla* or *skvasla*, *skvisla*, *skvusla*. In effect this means that new verbs of this type are easily created simply by taking a familiar consonant at the start and then varying the vowels before the *sl* or *tl* ending. But the vowels chosen are those which are most distinct in their formation. Torp suggests 'new ablaut' as an explanation of some, but this is true only in the sense that a free variation of vowel quality can take place here on account of the limited significance of the class as a whole.

Regular efforts to derive these verbs frequently meet with difficulty because of the confusing situation both in the vowels and the following consonants. These words live a life of kaleidoscopic change, in which several words may cross to form a new one which is immediately understood because it is reminiscent in sound to others of its type.

Within the type one may also discern a certain tendency toward distinguishing the vowels on the basis of symbolic value. The *i* is most frequent in the groups entitled 'short, quick movement,' 'trickling, dripping, squirting,' and 'tickling sensation,' while *a* and *u* are more common in the 'sharp noises,' the 'puttering,' and the 'talk.' In such words as this the vowels are not so rigidly governed by adherence to historical precedent; their natural differences in resonance may come into play and produce some of that sound symbolism of which Jespersen writes⁵¹

This analysis of the verbs containing the consonant clusters *sl* and *tl*

⁵¹ Cf. pairs like the following *drisla*—*drasla*, *gnisla*—*gnatla*, *krisla*—*krasla*, *risla*—*rasla*, *skvisla*—*skvasla*.

Verbs in *-sla* or *-lla*

Init. Cons Cluster	Accented vowel				Init Cons Cluster	Accented vowel			
	a	i	u	other vowels		a	i	u	other vowels
—			x	ø, y	nj	x			
b		x			p	x	x	x	
br	x		x		pj				o
d	x	x	x		pr		x	x	
dr	x	x	x	y	r	x	x	x	
f	x	x	x		s		x	x	
fj	x		x	o, ø	sj				å
fr	x	x		y	sk			x	
gn	x	x			skr	x	x	x	
gr		x	x	e	skv	x	x	x	
h			x		sm		x	x	
j	x	x			sn	x		x	
k			x		spr	x	x		
kj		x		e	str		x	x	
kn	x	x	x		sv		x		
kr	x	x	x	y	t	x	x	x	
kv	x	x			tj	x			å
l	x				tr	x		x	æ
m	x		x	y	tv	x	x		
n	x		x	e, o	v	x	x		
					40	25	25	25	17
Total 92									

Unexploited initial clusters bj dj fj lj mj slj smj snj spj sprj strj, bl fl gl kl pl skl
sl spl, dv sp st, g

Unexploited vowels au ei øy Relatively unexploited vowels: e o y å æ ø.

brings out the fact that there was no real functional burdening of these combinations in Old Norse. There were no words in the language distinguished solely by this opposition, and when new verbs, some derived from *s*-stems, and some from *t*-stems, received the *l*-suffix, their meanings became sufficiently alike so that the consonant before the *l* assumed less significance, just as did the vowels. In the modern dialects the ending has expanded its use and remained living down to the present, for most of the verbs seem to have been formed since Old Norse times, and some reveal by their phonetic form that they must have appeared after the sound change discussed in this study.⁵²

⁵² Cf. George T. Flom on a similar situation in English dialects, "A list of English dialect

7 ORIGIN AND HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Several theories have been advanced to account for this striking sound change. These are based in part on the misspellings of the medieval manuscripts, and in part on general phonetic considerations. Hægstad has found an instance of confusion as early as 1225,⁵³ but otherwise the distinction was well maintained down to 1300. In fourteenth century manuscripts there are numerous examples of confusion and many remarkable attempts at rendering these sounds more phonetically. Unfortunately it is not easy to unravel the significance of these spellings; the spelling tradition of Old Norwegian was still strong, the documents are not always dated, and the scribes are seldom localized.

Hægstad made several suggestions in his great work on the West Norwegian dialects. In documents from Valdres (area 1) he found certain spellings with *rp̥ll* (for *tl*, later *sl*), to explain these he postulated a development from cacuminal *s* and *t* to *h* (*tl* > *pl* > *sl* > *hl*).⁵⁴ This reasoning is quite unsupported by anything in the old or present-day dialect, which has neither cacuminals nor unvoiced *l*. In his discussion of the development in area 3 he said simply that *sl* and *tl* have coalesced in *hl*.⁵⁵ In treating the phenomena of area 4 he made two interesting suggestions: that the sibilant quality of *s* may have been reduced to facilitate the transition to *t*,⁵⁶ and that *sl* may first have become *hl* before it became *tl*, or in the word *kvikl*, *kl*.⁵⁷

Noreen believed that *tl* became *sl* by way of *tsl*, and that *hl* in area 3 arose from *sl*.⁵⁸ Amund Larsen also believed that an *sl* lay between the *tl* and the *hl* of area 3.⁵⁹ Seip discusses the change in considerable detail.⁶⁰ He points out that in unstressed position assimilation of *tl* took place very early, and that the cluster frequently occurred in positions where it was liable to change. He does not postulate any intermediate forms, but classifies the changes according to the articulatory processes involved. He calls the change in areas 1 and 2 (*tl* to *sl*) "the first step to an assimilation," in area 3 (*tl* to *hl*) "assimilation," and in area 4 (*sl* to *tl*) "differentiation." He also finds evidence for a "complete assimilation" to *ll* in the manuscripts and certain modern SE Norwegian dialects.⁶¹ Manuscript forms with *tsl* he regards as compromises between speech and traditional spelling.

Verbs with the suffix -l," *Dialect Notes*, II (1900-04), 404-415. "This l-suffix is a living suffix, generally with the meaning of smallness or frequency, it has been added in comparatively recent times to a large number of verbs, giving to such words a diminutive, iterative, or frequentative significance. The idea of smallness has developed that of the trifling, the insignificant, the worthless."

⁵³ ofgorytlan for ofgoryzlan *Hom.* See *VNM*, I, 146.

⁵⁴ *VNM*, II, 2, p. 45.

⁵⁵ *VNM*, I, 146.

⁵⁶ *VNM*, II, 1, p. 125.

⁵⁷ *VNM*, II, 56-57.

⁵⁸ *Altn. Gr.* I, 14.

⁵⁹ *BBym*, 90.

⁶⁰ *NSprh.*, 297-300.

⁶¹ On this see esp. *Vestfoldminne* II, 208-209.

Grøtvedt describes the change as due to "an effort to find a suitable place of articulation for *l* without producing complete assimilation with the preceding consonant."⁶²

It may be worth while to try developing these various and in part contradictory suggestions into a coherent theory of the sound changes involved, correlated as far as possible with the spelling errors of the manuscripts. This theory is presented very tentatively and with full awareness that such speculation is liable to many pitfalls.

(1) We are not dealing with several processes here, but with one. It is misleading to say that before *l*, *s* became *t* in one place, while *t* became *s* in another. A change from *s* to *t* is *a priori* unlikely. And if these had really been different processes, it would be strange that there are no border areas, or speech islands, in which *sl* and *tl* still remain distinct, as they do, for instance, in Danish. One basic change is common to all of Norway (barring the possibility that the Danish development may have extended into the SE corner of Norway): that *the distinction between sl and tl is lost*.⁶³ Hence it seems most likely that up to the actual confounding of these clusters the phonetic development was roughly the same throughout the country.

(2) A careful study of the spelling errors listed by the above-mentioned scholars suggests further that in the fourteenth-century manuscripts the errors do not markedly follow the dialectal lines of today. In manuscripts from area 1 and 2 we find *tl* for *sl*⁶⁴ and various compromise forms (*lsl*, *shl*, *rsl*, *lhsl*, *sstl*, *lstl*, *þll*, etc.) as well as the very common *ll* or *l* for both *sl* and *tl*. For *tl* there are also a goodly number of forms with *tsl*. If *tl* had become *sl* without further ado, and if *sl* had not also been involved in a change, such confusion would seem unlikely. In area 3 the examples are fewer; but they do not seem widely different from those of the other areas. We find *tl* and *ll* for *zl* (>*sl*), *tsl* and *tzl* for *tl*, and similar compromise forms (*lsl*, *lþl*, *llzl*). In area 4 the situation is similar, the most common spellings are *tl* for *sl*, *sl* for *tl*, and *tsl* for both.⁶⁵ Here the compromise forms are: *thl*, *shl*, *thsl*, *dzsl*.

When Hægstad found forms that did not agree with those of the modern dialects, he attributed them to scribes of other dialects. Seip prefers to regard them as compromises between sound and spelling, or as hypercorrect forms. But it seems clear from the distribution of the forms that

⁶² *Lydverket*, SNVA 1938. No. 7. Oslo, 1939, p. 105.

⁶³ Note that Seip says "Tendensen har tydelig vært assimilasjon over hele det norske område" *NSpr* 299. By this he means, however, that the two consonants (*s* plus *l*, or *t* plus *l*) tended to be assimilated, a tendency which was heroically resisted in area 4.

⁶⁴ sytluman Skien 1308 *DN*, I, 116, Atleifs Oslo 1355 *DN*, v, 220, etc.

⁶⁵ ætkuſl AM 71 qto *NGL*, II, 93 (1320-50); lsls Stavanger 1379 *VNM*, II, 1, 56, etc.

the spellings of the fourteenth century actually tell us nothing about the dialectal varieties of that day. They only tell us that *throughout the country the distinction of $sl/ɹl$ had vanished*. To take individual spellings from one area or the other as proof that the change now completed in those areas had already taken place in the fourteenth century, seems decidedly premature.

For complete coalescence of sl , $ɹl$, and zl , only two small phonetic changes were necessary: that zl should have become sl , which happened very early,⁶⁶ and that $ɹl$ by way of tsl should also have become sl . The transition of $ɹl$ to tsl would be a simple case of fractioning, with the explosion of the t and the voiceless beginning of the l combining to make an s .

(3) We cannot assume, however, that the sound arrived at was a pure sl , or that it was everywhere of exactly the same quality. What, then, was its nature?

I think we can find a clue to that by observing the speech islands on the preceding maps, and comparing the sounds there with the manuscript spellings. There are five areas in Norway, in widely different dialectal groups, where unvoiced l is reported as alternating with sl (or $ɹl$).⁶⁷ Storm reports that in Hjartdal (Telemark) initial sl is pronounced with "a loosely formed s , which partly coalesces with hl ."⁶⁸

As suggested by Brøndum-Nielsen, speech islands very frequently represent conservative areas which have resisted a novation.⁶⁹ In my opinion these areas (and perhaps others not yet reported) have preserved a state of things which existed in the fourteenth century throughout a large part, if not all of the nation.

This state may be described as follows: between a pure sl , a marked $ɹl$, and a clear unvoiced l [lll], there may exist a multitude of more or less assibilated sounds. The tongue positions are unstable and easily varied, while the acoustic impressions are similar and difficult to distinguish. Although the l at the end of the cluster probably varied from voiced to unvoiced, its l -quality was never in doubt.⁷⁰ The real trouble lay in the beginning of the cluster.

⁶⁶ Seip, *NSpr* 183, 186, 297. Cf. *vatzbotn* > *vassbotten*, *vitskap* > *visskap* (Aasen, from Hallingdal), "Forved s ville t og d blive utydelige," e.g., *til* *Mots*, *Baats*, *ytst*, *slits*, *læst* (Aasen, *Gram*², 41).

⁶⁷ Selbu, Solør, Nes (Telemark), Hallingdal, and Sogn initially, Solør, Nes, and Hallingdal medially. Amund Larsen states that he knows a great number of places in southern Norway where sl and hl alternate 'without visible geographic borderline' (*Sognemålene*, p. 25). He also makes the very interesting statement that this is in contrast to the distribution of $ʃ$, where there is always a clear borderline "does this signify that the difference between dental and retracted articulation is perceived by us as more marked than the distinction between sl and hl ?" ⁶⁸ *Norvegia* I, 92. ⁶⁹ *Dialekt og Dialektforskning* (1927), 40.

⁷⁰ Of the more than 100 misspellings of sl and $ɹl$ only two fail to end in l . Gilstir Gul. *VNM*, I, 90, *abreilz Kinn* 1322 *DN* II, 147.

For the new intermediate sounds there were no symbols. As long as the first sound fell within the range of variation of the *s*-sound, it was written *s*. Some sought the expedient of writing *þ*, *r*, *sh*, *th*, *ths*, etc. to mark the sound as different from *s*. Still others recognized that the position of the organs at the beginning of the cluster had ceased to be that of *s* and had become that of *l*, so they wrote just plain *l*, or *ll*, or combinations beginning with *l*, such as *lsl*, *lksl*, *lstl*, *llzl*, *lsl*, or *lþl*.⁷¹

This was the state of the clusters *sl/ll* in the fourteenth century. their lack of functional burdening permitted them to vary back and forth within an articulatory area where they could not easily be associated with other sounds in the language, and therefore had no obvious method of representation. In addition, awareness of the traditional spelling led to compromises with earlier forms.

(4) At this point begin the developments of the modern dialects, which have gradually arrived at various methods of stabilizing the combination. In the mountain valleys of area 1, the pure *s* was restored (or perhaps had never been affected) except in Hallingdal, area 1 is a conservative area of clear, unassimilated consonants. In area 2 a variety of *f*-sounds became general; cacuminal assimilation of consonants (esp. of *r*) is characteristic in this area.

In areas 3 and 4 the combinations remained *fl*, *sl*, or *hl* initially. But medially they lost all *s*-quality and were ranged with the long dentals. That is, they were recognized as long, unvoiced *l*'s [ll] and correlated to the long, voiced *l*'s [ll̥].

In both areas these dentals were at that time going through certain characteristic changes: their qualities were moving in opposite directions.

In the North (area 3) all long dentals were being palatalized. The isogloss for this phenomenon is drawn on map 1B in Ross, *Norske Bygdemaal* and it will be seen that it is strikingly parallel to the southern border of our area 3. It includes two small districts that ours does not, namely outer Sogn in the West, and the Lake Mjøsa region in the East. It is clear, however, that the latter was once a part of the *hl*-region, for the unvoiced *l* is in retreat, and older sources indicate its existence farther to the south than at present.⁷² One cannot expect such isoglosses to cover one another exactly, and this is not a point at which a great number of

⁷¹ I view with some doubt Seip's theory that the *l* and *ll* spellings so common in areas 1 and 2 represent an actual voiced *l*. They are found impartially for older *sl* and *ll*, so they cannot be connected with the Danish development in which only the *ll* was assimilated to *ll* (see below). They have left no trace in the modern dialects; the form *velle* given from Toten by Kolsrud stands too isolated to prove much (*Vestfoldminne*, II, 209). Such forms as "lille" may either be borrowed from Dano-Norwegian or be connected with the Danish development. The *l*'s of the old manuscripts probably represent unvoiced *l*'s.

⁷² Grøtvedt, *Lydverket*, 105.

isoglosses happen to run.⁷³ Hence there is seen to be a very definite connection between the palatalization of *ll* and of *ll̥* (as well as all the other long dentals) in this region, while the *ll̥* of the other regions remained unpalatalized

In the Southwest, on the other hand, long voiced *l* (and in part long voiced *n* and *m*) was being strengthened by a voiced implosion at the beginning, so that e.g. Old Norse *all* became *adl* (and in some districts⁷⁴ *sternn* became *sterdn*, *barn* *badn* etc.) In this movement the unvoiced long *l* was caught up and given a corresponding unvoiced implosion, producing *ll̥* parallel to *dl̥*. The evidence for this is primarily the remarkable coincidence between the areas containing these two sounds. We have seen how the northern border of this area corresponds to the northern border of area 4, except for outer Sogn, which has *ll̥* along with palatalized *ll*. The southern limit of the *dl̥* is drawn on the accompanying map (No. 3) on the basis of Hans Ross, *Norske Bygdemaal*, 1909, 76. In its southernmost extension this includes a part of the area in which *dl̥* later became *dd̥*, a phenomenon that extends to the east well into area 2 (as far as Tinn in Telemark). This movement has pushed the line to the east in the mountain valleys, while the counter extension of *ll̥* along the coast due to coastwise traffic has pushed the lower part of the line to the west. But the parallel is obvious and striking. No other isoglosses of importance happen to follow this exact course.⁷⁵

While these four processes were generalized throughout large parts of the country, they did not strike all communities nor all words. Along the border between areas 3 and 4 a number of dialects attempted to mediate between the sounds they heard to the north and south of them. By taking part in neither development perhaps they retained some of the forms that had existed in the fourteenth century, at least some of the manuscript forms are strikingly similar to the sounds now heard in Nordfjord. And, as suggested earlier, some conservative communities elsewhere

⁷³ In his *Översigt over de norske Bygdemaal* (1898) Amund Larsen declared that the lines were identical (pp. 30, 58), but retracted this statement in a footnote on page 80.

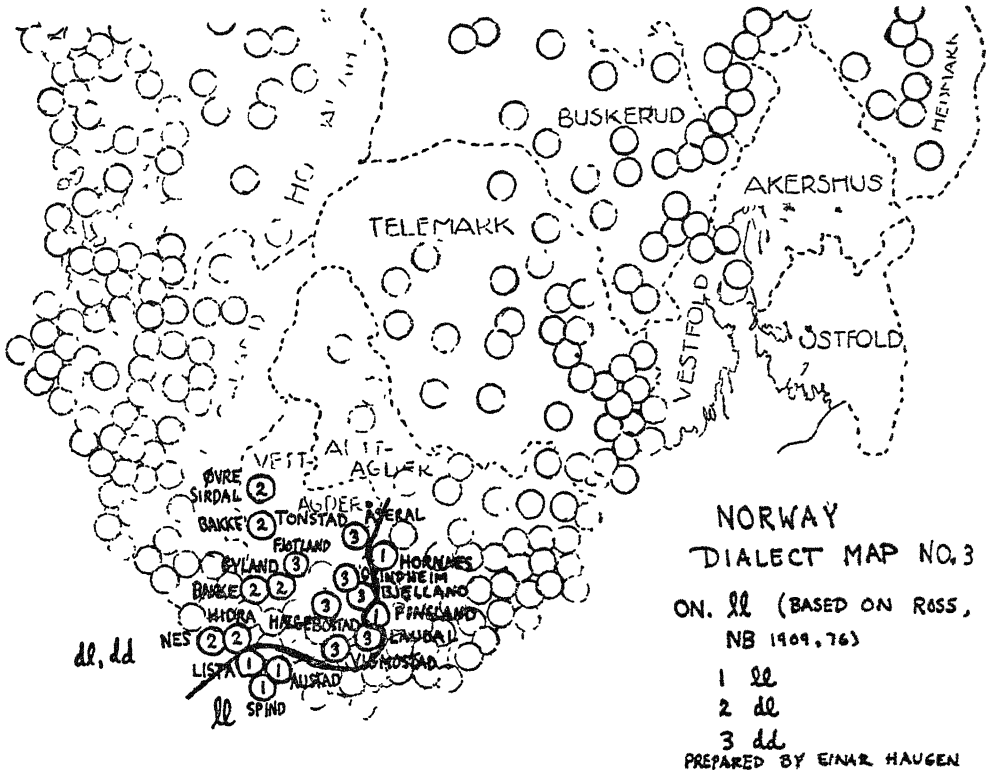
⁷⁴ One of the earliest examples of *dl̥* for *ll̥* is from 1438, cf. Hægstad *VNM*, II₂ 1, 143.

⁷⁵ Note that Hægstad assumes this very development for Ryfylke in an attempt to explain the spelling Gillæson 1366, *VNM*, II₁, 56-57. Amund Larsen was apparently the first to point out the parallel between *ll̥* and *dl̥*. In *Sognemålene* (p. 6) he wrote about the characteristic West Norwegian changes of *ll̥* to *dl̥*, etc.: "this is in some degree—though just how is uncertain—connected with such consonant changes as that of *rl̥* to *dl̥*, *rn̥* to *dn̥*, and more remotely with such changes as *fn̥* to *bn̥*, *sl̥* to *tl̥*, etc. . . ." He believed that the West Norwegian forms were due to an exaggerated care in the preservation of traditional forms, while the East Norwegian were due to "carelessness" and "an attempt to accommodate the inherited sounds to the convenience of the articulating organs."

never gave up that phonemic latitude which permitted *s* to exist with or without sibilant quality before *l*.

(5) The substance of this hypothesis may be presented as follows:

In the thirteenth century *ʍ* and *tsl* (*zl*) coincide with *sl*, becoming a cluster that varied sporadically from *sl* to *ʂl*, *ʃl*, and *hl* throughout



Map 3 Old Norse *ll* in southern Norway, as investigated by Hans Ross (*Norske Bygdemaal*, 1909, page 76).

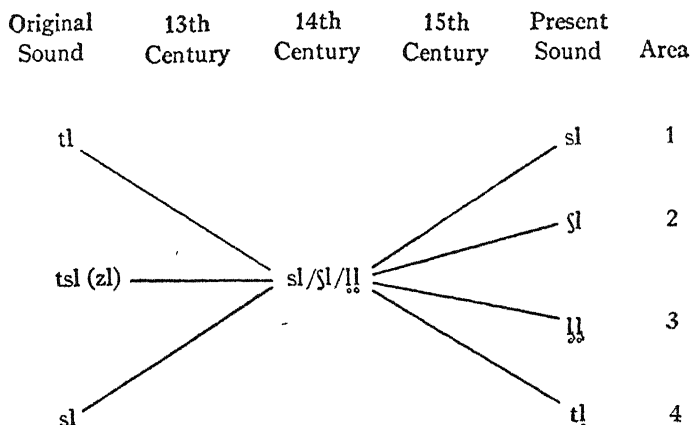
Norway, a situation still existing in a few scattered dialects.

This is the state which is reflected by the occasional spellings of the fourteenth century, which include traditional, phonetic, and hypertraditional forms, though we cannot now be sure which is which.

Gradually, by 1400 or later, the new sounds were incorporated, rejected, or modified by the various dialects in agreement with the general tendencies of the consonant patterns of those dialects.

The result is that in central Norway *sl* is found, in southeastern Norway *ʃl*, in northern and northwestern Norway *ʎl*, and in western Norway *tl*, all developed out of phonemically unstable clusters of sibilant-breath-spirant plus *l* which existed in the fourteenth century.

In tabular form



8 A SCANDINAVIAN PERSPECTIVE

The changes here discussed are not limited to Norway, but are connected with similar phenomena in neighboring Scandinavian countries. Although a complete analysis of the Swedish and Danish parallels is outside the scope of this study, a few notes drawn from the available literature will point the way to a general Scandinavian treatment.

In Iceland and the Faroes *sl* and *tl* remained apart, for these dialects missed entirely the assimilatory tendencies of the continent. But *tsl* (*zl*) was simplified to *sl* (*beisl* 'bridle'), as assumed in the first step of our historical hypothesis.

In Denmark and those parts of Sweden which speak Danish dialects they also remained apart.⁷⁶ The *tsl* was simplified to *sl*, along with other *ts*'s (Old Danish *giætʒlæ* > *gæslæ* 'guard'). But about the same time as *tl* and *sl* were being confused in Norway, every short *t* after vowels was being voiced in Denmark. This development included *t* before *l*, which became *d*, and was then assimilated with the *l* into *ll*. Hence ON *litr* 'little' became modern Danish *lille*, *kellingr* 'kitten' > *killing* etc. In Sweden this development included the southern provinces—Halland, Skåne, and Blekinge, perhaps a little more.⁷⁷

According to Elias Wessén, some of the dialects in Götaland preserve

⁷⁶ Brøndum-Nielsen, *Gammeldansk Grammatik*, II, 227–228.

⁷⁷ See e.g. Gustaf Billing, *Åsbomålets Ljudlara* (Sv. Lm., x, 2) Stockholm, 1890; Nils

the distinction between *tl* and *sl* without assimilating either.⁷⁸ Apparently the same is true of Gotland.⁷⁹ This is only what we might expect in a border area. But all the rest of Sweden has partaken in the confusion of *sl* and *tl* characteristic of Norway.

Medially both of these sound clusters have become *sl*, *fl*, or *ll* in all the Swedish dialects proper. Swedish historians of the language assume a development identical with the one here postulated for areas 1, 2, and 3 in

Norway: $tl > tsl > sl > \frac{sl}{ll}$ ⁸⁰ With the material at hand it is impossible to

draw a line between these sound varieties. But it is clear that the Norwegian area 2 finds a continuation immediately to the east in central Sweden: Varmland, Narke, Västergötland, parts of Södermanland and Östergötland, or approximately the so-called "Middle Swedish" dialects (mellansvenska). In these districts the medial sound and the initial are both *fl*. To the east and south, and sporadically within the same area, *sl* occurs in both positions: SE Östergötland, Öland, part of Södermanland.⁸¹

North of a line from the Norwegian border at about Elverum or Kongsvinger southeast to Stockholm nearly all dialects have unvoiced *l*. It is reported in medial position for both *sl* and *tl* in every province from Dalarna, Västmanland, and Uppland north. It is reported also from Åland, Finland, and the Swedish dialects in Esthonia. The Norwegian area 3 is thus part of a larger area which includes north-central Sweden (Dalmål and Uppsvenska), and the north and east Swedish dialects.⁸²

In most of this area, however, initial and medial *sl* are treated very much alike, only in the old Norwegian provinces, Jamtland and Her-

Olséni, *Södra Luggudemålets Ljudlara* (Sv Lm, vi, 4) Stockholm, 1887; Ernst Wigforss, *Södra Hallands Folkhäl* (Sv Lm, B 13) Stockholm 1913-18

⁷⁸ *Våra Folkhäl* (Sth, 1935), 25. See also A. T. Ålander, *Konsonanterna i Östergötlands Folkhäl* (Upps, 1932), i, 291, ii, 134. Samuel Landtmanson, *Studier over Västgötamålets i ock r-ljud* (Stockh, 1905), 9.

⁷⁹ Noreen, *Fåromålets Ljudlara* (Stockh, 1879), 304.

⁸⁰ Cf. Noreen, *Allschw Gram* ¶44, 2, 334, 290, anm. 1. A. J. Ålander, *Konsonanterna i Östergötlands Folkhäl*, ii, (Uppsala, 1932), 46. Elias Grip, *Skutlungemålets Ljudlara* (Stockholm, 1901), 129.

⁸¹ Borgström, *Askersmålets Ljudlara* (Stockh, 1913), 23, Gjerdmann, *Studier over de Sörmländska Stadsmålens Kvalitativa Ljudlara*, i (Upps, 1918), 97 f.; Kallstenius, *Värmlandsska Borgslagsmålets Ljudlara* (Stockholm, 1902), 106, Noreen, *Dalbymålets Ljudlara* (Stockh, 1879), 189, Ålander, *op cit*, i, 291, Lundell, in *Sv Lm*, i, 76, Torsten Ericsson, *Grundlinjer till undersökningen av Södermanlands Folkhäl* (Stockh, 1914), 136.

⁸² Lundell, *Sv Lm*, i, 76, Grip, *Skutlungemålet* (Stockh, 1901), 129, 135, Hagfors, *Gamlakarlebymålet* (Stockh, 1891), 63, Isaacsson, *Om södra Fjärdhundralands Folkhäl* (St, 1923), 78, Karsten, *Kokarsmålets Ljud- och Formlara* (Stockh, 1892), 45, Lindgren, *Burtraskemålets Ljudlara* (Stockh, 1890-1919), 240, (E.) Noreen, *Ärtemarksmålets Ljudlara*

jedalen, and their neighbors, Ångermanland and possibly Medelpad, are conditions just like those of area 3, even including some palatalization. On Åland also the initial *ʃl* is different from the medial *ʃʃ*, but the *ʃ* is not the *ʃ* of the other dialects, for here all *s*'s become *ʃ*.

Otherwise the use of *sl*, *ʃl*, and *ʃʃ* in Sweden appears to vacillate individually, in the manner we have postulated for fourteenth century Norway. The distance between these three sounds is very small, and the one merges into the other.⁸³

Standard Swedish has followed the dialects of "Middle Sweden," just to the south of Stockholm, in this as in many other features. Thus it uses *sl*, but with a clear *s*-pronunciation, in most of these words: *nassla* 'nettle,' *vassla* 'whey,' *hassel* 'hazel.' But in the word *lille* 'little' the south Swedish and Danish form has established itself, while in *kittla* 'tickle,' the *t* has been maintained, likewise in *kittel* 'kettle.' In *betsel* 'bridle' even *ts* has maintained itself, in spite of its general loss among the dialects. In these words we must undoubtedly see the influence of the written language.

Standard Danish is completely in accord with the Danish dialects on this point, having *ll* for *tl*, and *sl* for *ʃl*.

Literary Dano-Norwegian, a Danish graft on the Norwegian tree, shows a characteristic mixture of Danish and Norwegian practice. It is a matter of course that all *sl*-words have *sl*, as this is common to Danish and the southeastern dialects of Norway.⁸⁴ In the cultivated speech of Oslo the pronunciation with *ʃl*, as previously noted, is making headway, especially in initial position. The words with *tl* in Old Norse, however, are split between the Danish *ll* and the Norwegian *sl* according to their origin. Among the words that were brought in by literary Danish in Norway were *lille* 'little,' *kille* 'tickle,' *kilden* 'ticklish,' *killing* 'kitten,' *nælde* 'nettle,' and *valle* 'whey.' Of these words *kille* has become *kile*, *kilden* > *kilen* (except in certain phrases: *et kildent emne* 'a delicate subject'). *Killing* and *valle* have become obsolete, being replaced by the Norwegian *kattunge* and *myse*. *Nælde* has given way to the Norwegian *nesle*. Only *lille* remains active (as in standard Swedish), but it is under competition from the genuinely Norwegian *vesle*. The words *esle* 'intend' and *firfisle* 'lizard'

(Stockh., 1907), 29, (A) Noreen, *Ordlista öfver Dalmålet* (Stockh., 1883), 114; Reitan, *Vemdalsmålet* (Oslo, 1930), Tiseliu, *Ljud- och Formlora for Fasternamålet i Roslagen* (Stockh., 1902-03); Vendell, *Runomålet* (Stockh., 1882-87), 36; Tjberg, *Rågosvenskan* (Stockh., 1940), 333.

⁸³ Vacillation is reported from Gamlakarleby (Finland), Lillhardal (Harjedalen), Fasterna (Uppland), Bargslagen (Varmland), Fryksdal (Varmland), Artemark (Dalsland), Asker (Närke), Södermanland, Västergötland, and Östergötland.

⁸⁴ Includes a large number of words: *fisle*, *gnisle*, *krisle*, *krusle*, *pusle*, *rusle*, *risle*, *sysle*, *tusle*, *knussel*, *hassel*, *bissel*, etc.

are *tl*-words taken up in modern Norwegian with the east Norwegian *sl*. *Esle* was introduced into literature by Henrik Wergeland, and bitterly opposed by many for its 'vulgar' sound. Some preferred to take it up with the *tl*-form of Old Norse.⁸⁵

Norway's other standard language, New Norse (Landsmål), being the creation of an etymologist, carefully maintains the lost distinction of *sl* and *tl* as in Old Norse: *etla, litla, fetla, kitta, nella* vs. *hassel, vesle, pusle, beisel*. This was a practical enough expedient, since Norway is split between dialects where these are all *sl* or all *tl* (where *ll* reigned, it would of course be indifferent), hence no dialect could feel slighted, and no dialect was wholly satisfied. In modern practice the tendency has been toward admitting *sl* for many of the *tl*-words.⁸⁶

For all of Scandinavia we may sum up the development of these sound clusters under the following heads:

(1) *zl (tsl)* and *sl* are assimilated as *sl* throughout Scandinavia, except in literary Swedish (*betsel*).

(2) *tl* is retained unchanged in the Faroes and Iceland, it is voiced to become *ll* in the Danish area (which includes southern Sweden), it is assimilated to *sl* in the Swedish and Norwegian dialects (by way of *tsl*, if our hypothesis is correct), except in a border area in southern Sweden.

(3) The resulting *sl/fl* in postvocalic position is retained in central Sweden and eastern Norway, varying from one to the other regionally and individually.

(4) North of a line running diagonally across Scandinavia from about 62° North on the Norwegian West coast to 60° North on the Swedish East coast *sl* has most commonly become *ll* or *lls*, especially in postvocalic position.

(5) West of the Norwegian mountains the *sl* has become *tl*, possibly by way of *lls*, a change paralleled by the dissimilation of *ll* to *dl*.

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⁸⁵ Hamsun, Ibsen, see quotations in *Norsk Ræksmåls-Ordbok*

⁸⁶ The latest orthography (1938) writes *firfisle, nesle*, but *lilla, kitta*, and permits both spellings for *etla* and *fetla*

THE 1942 ANNUAL MEETING

THE announcements in the end pages of the June issue remain in force except as noted below.

1. Cancellation will occur only on definite advice from the Government that such meetings are undesirable. A committee of the four major national Councils has conferred with the Government in Washington and we been informed that such meetings should proceed according to plan. . . .

In event of late cancellation prompt notice will be sent to all members

2. The meeting will presumably be attended chiefly by Eastern members (primarily from in and reasonably near Greater New York). Western members who are able and interested to attend should avoid arranging large groups on particular trains. The meeting of 1943 is to be in Chicago.
3. The *Circular* will be omitted, but a headquarters hotel registration card sent out (about November 1). The headquarters hotel will, if it cannot accommodate members, secure nearby rooms.
4. The *Program* will be reduced by omitting (1) names of committeemen of Sections and Groups (except their Nominating Committees), (2) the Index, (3) MLA books except those of 1941-43.
5. The conflict of the Celtic and Arthurian Groups will be removed.

As our present membership exceeds the 1941 Supplement total, and numbers nearly 2000 in the New England and Middle Atlantic States, a normal attendance is as yet presumable. In 1917 at Yale attendance remained normal.

PERCY W. LONG
Chairman of the Program Committee

PMLA

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A DRUIDIC PROPHECY, THE FIRST IRISH SATIRE, AND A POEM TO RAISE BLISTERS

CERTAIN writings of antiquity, certain documents of early Celtic ecclesiastical history, and certain of the oldest Irish sagas reveal that the composition of poetry was practiced by the Irish pagans. The stylistic character of the pagan poetry has been rather generally ignored. Not that there is an abundance of specimens incontestably pagan in provenance; nevertheless, a number of poems have survived from Irish paganism, and though few are sufficient to establish the character of at least *one style* of pagan Irish verse.

One of the most unusual pieces of Irish heathen poetry is a prophecy, purportedly druidic, of the coming of St. Patrick.¹ It is to be found, in seemingly incomplete form, in a manuscript of the *Liber Hymnorum*,² in the Egerton copy of the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* (p. 34), and in the *Leabhar Breac* Homily on St. Patrick. An early Latin translation of this prophecy has survived in the *Book of Armagh*. The differences between this Latin version and the Irish versions are such as to indicate that neither the Irish original of the Latin translation nor the available Irish versions are true originals, since both the Irish and the Latin versions contain lines and phrases not common to the other, and exhibit differences in the sequence of some of their common lines. Here is the Irish version from the *Liber Hymnorum*, and the Latin version from the *Book of Armagh*, with translations that bring out their common elements and their differences.

¹ See K. Mulchrone, *Belthu Phátraic* (Dublin & London, 1939), p. 22, for a possibly complete version.

² The manuscript associated with the Library of the Franciscans, Dublin.

tícfá tal-cend
 dar muir merr-cend
 a brat toll-cend
 a chrand crom-cend
 a mias a n-iarthair a thige huile
 frigserat [fris gerat] a munter huile
 Amen Amen³

Adze-head will come
 over mad-head sea,
 his cloak hole-head,
 his staff crook-head,
 his table in the west of his house;
 all his household will answer, Amen,
 Amen.⁴

Adveniet asciciput
 cum suo ligno curuicipite
 et sua domu capite perforato.
 Incantabit nefas a sua mensa
 ex anteriore parte domus suæ:
 respondebit ei sua famiha tota, fiat,
 fiat.⁵

Adze-head will come,
 his staff crook-head,
 and his house hole-head.
 He will chant nonsense at his table
 from the rear of his house:
 all his family will answer him, amen,
 amen.

The stylistic parallelism of the Irish version should be remarked. This parallelism is exhibited not only in the similarity of the grammatical structure from line to line, but especially in the tendency toward a continuous end-rime and toward parallel assonantal interlacement between consecutive lines. Thus, the first four lines close with *-cend*, and the last two are knit by a rime on *huile*. The third and fourth lines are richly interwoven, every vowel sound in the third corresponding perfectly with every similarly-placed vowel sound in the fourth, and the end words—*toll-cend* and *crom-cend*—riming perfectly according to Irish rules for rime. Likewise, in the fifth and sixth lines, *a thige huile* is fairly similar in sound to *a munter huile*. All six lines contain an alliteration, an assonance, or both. Thus, there is alliteration on *t* in line one, on *m* in line two, and on *c* and *ch* in line four; and there is assonance on *a* in every line except the second, and assonance on *ia* between *mias* and *n-iarthair* in line five, and on *ui* between *munter* and *huile* in line six. Nor is the presence of an *a* sound scarcely unintended in the first word of all six lines; and of an *e* sound, in the last syllable of all six. Though all the devices of this prophecy are employed in other pagan Irish poems, such as the incantation and the hymn attributed to Amorgen,⁶ and the

³ *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, edited by J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson (London: Harrison and Sons, 1898), I, 100, the gloss to line 21. *frigserat*, in line 6, above, and in the edited source, should be *fris·gerat* ⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 181.

⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, II, 181. Obviously, the Latin version lacks line 2 of the Irish version, and supplies "Incantabit nefas." If the equivalent of this expression should be supplied in the Irish version, the prophecy would possibly be restored to substantially its original form. But see K. Mulchrone, *Bethu Phátraíe*, p. 22.

⁶ See Owen Connellan, editor, *Ossianic Society Transactions*, v (1860), 232, 234–236, for an edition and translation of these two poems. The poems attributed to Amorgen occur in

prayer to pagan divinities for long life attributed to an Irish bishop,⁷ nevertheless the prophecy combines these devices characteristically, being distinguished chiefly for the continuous assonance on *a* at the opening of the lines, and on *e* at their close.

This prophecy is almost certainly older in substance, though not necessarily in language, than that date in the seventh century on which the Latin version was written. There is no *a priori* objection in the substance to a date before Patrick's coming, since the poem is not directed especially at him, and since the Irish certainly knew of Christianity before Patrick's time, if only because of their trade with Gaul and Britain.⁸ The position of the altar "in the west of the house" is significant of the prophecy's antiquity. It seems plausible, certainly, to regard the prophecy as a bit of pagan propaganda, whatever its age. "Incantabit nefas" would hardly be the words, or their equivalent, of a Christian.

For prosodic purposes, to establish pagan authorship of the prophecy is not really crucial: it suffices to point out that the poem was already old enough to be corrupt in the seventh century and that it was ascribed in that century to the druids, who were by no means extinct at the time. Under these circumstances, it is hardly conceivable that the poetic style of the prophecy was not characteristically pagan. It would have to be at least superficially so to pass muster as the work of a druid, and it certainly was not drawn from Latin models. Indeed, the prosody of the poem is quite as indigenous as that of other early Irish poems of pagan character.

In turning to the "first satire made in Ireland,"⁹ we examine a poem that is not Christian in either substance or technique, though preserved in a gloss in the Bodleian *Amra Choluimb Chille*:

Cen cholt for crib cernini,
cen gert ferbba fora n-asa athrinni,

various sources—*Book of Ballymote*, *Book of Leinster*, *Book of Lecan*, Bodleian MS *Laud 610*. A most useful edition of the two poems mentioned is to be found in R. Thurneysen, *Mittelirische Verslehren*, in *Irische Texte*, III, 35–36, 61–62. Thurneysen furnishes, side by side, the versions from *Book of Ballymote*, *Book of Leinster*, and *Laud 610*. The attributions to Amorgen occur in the sources.

⁷ For an edition and translation of this prayer, see Kuno Meyer, *Miscellanea Hibernica*, *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, II, no. 4 (1916), 19–21. The attribution occurs in the source.

⁸ For this trade as well as for cultural relationships, see Heinrich Zimmer, "Über direkte Handelsverbindungen Westgalliens mit Irland im Altertum und frühen Mittelalter," five parts, in *Sitz d. k. preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.* (1909 and 1910), and C. H. Slover, "Early Literary Channels between Britain and Ireland," *Univ. of Texas Bulletins*, nos. 2648 (1926) and 2743 (1927).

⁹ *The Bodleian Amra Choluimb Chille*, edited by Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XX, 159.

cen adba fir iar ndruba disoirchi,
 cen díl daimí ríssi,
 ro sain Brisse ¹⁰

Without food speedily on a platter.
 without a cow's milk whereon a calf thrives,
 without a man's habitation after the staying of darkness,
 without payment of a band of story-tellers,
 be that (the fate) of Bress ¹¹

As in the druidic prophecy, a grammatical parallelism is reflected in a parallelism of alliteration, assonance, and rime. The lines of the satire being longer, the poet has more scope for a variety of device. Hence, in addition to almost continuous entrance rime and dissyllabic end-rime, the verse displays a link of alliteration¹² between the last word of each line and the first word, following the entrance rime, of the next; for example, *cernini gert, aithrinni adba, disoirchi díl*, except that, since there is no entrance rime joining the last two lines, the link in the last line is supplied by the first word of the line. Further, each line except the last, which contains a proper name, has at least one pair of alliterating words. As with the druidic prophecy, all the devices of the first satire are duplicated in other early Irish poems.

The poem written to raise blisters also exhibits the characteristic pagan Irish prosodic devices of an alliterative link between the end and beginning of consecutive lines, and of continuous rime at the beginning and end of grammatical units and verse units. The poem is preserved, in somewhat different versions, in manuscripts of *Cormac's Glossary*. Its original setting was an old Irish saga.

Maile baire gaire Caieur
 Combeodutar celtra cath Caier
 Caier dibá Caier díra Caier foró
 fomara fochara Caier.¹³

Evil, death, and short life to Caier,
 May spears of battle slay Caier,

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 158. This satire has been edited more recently and more fully by Vernam Hull; see his "Cairpre mac Edaine's Satire on Bres mac Eladam," *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, xviii, 63-69. ¹¹ Stokes, *Amra Choluimb Chille*, 159.

¹² For a discussion of this device, see Kuno Meyer, "Ueber die Älteste irische Dichtung, in two parts, in *Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akad. d. Wissenschaft*, 1913, *phil.-hist. Klasse* (Berlin, 1914).

¹³ *Three Irish Glossaries*, edited by Whitley Stokes (London: Williams and Norgate, 1862), p. 24. For another reading (*Yellow Book of Lecan*), see *Sanas Cormaic*, edited by Kuno Meyer, *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts IV* (Halle and Dublin, 1912), §698.

The rejected of the land and earth is Caier;
Beneath the mounds and the rocks be Caier¹⁴

Notice the use of the name Caier to provide the end-rime in lines one, two, and four, and the entrance rime among the three phrases of line three, and the link between the end of line two and the beginning of line three. Other graces are: (1) alliteration on *c* joining the end of line one and the beginning of line two, (2) the same sort of link on *f* between lines three and four; (3) the rich rime in line one—*maile baire gaire Caieur*; (4) the rich rimes in lines three and four—*dibá dīra, fomara fochara*; (5) the alliteration in each line. There is not a single word in the four lines that is not linked in one or more ways to corresponding or adjoining words in the same or adjoining lines.

In the saga from which the poem is drawn, the poem actually did raise three blisters on Caier, and thereby caused him to lose his kingly rule, since no one in early Ireland could be a king or a high poet who was not physically perfect. In short, the poem was designed as a magic formula.

The effect of the poet's satire is feared in Ireland to this day.¹⁵ In pre-Christian times and later, certain types of satire were delivered against the victim in an elaborate ceremony, involving an assemblage of the nine grades of poets and a facing toward the four winds. Nor was the execution of a satire the only occasion on which the poets participated in magical proceedings. The ancient Irish practiced *Teinm Laeghdha*, Illumination of Rimes, in order to identify dead people and animals. This procedure was sometimes accompanied, before the Christianization of the country, by a sacrifice to, or an invocation of, idols. When practiced without idolatry, it was termed *Dichetal do Chennaibh*; and, in this form, it survived the triumph of Christianity. Specimens of the poetry used in these illuminations have been preserved. One of these poems was composed, so its setting reveals, in order to accomplish the identification of the skull of a dog. Here is one used to identify a man:

Niconruba arduene
niconruba for Luigne
contoboing nais conept
niconruba torc nī contorgi
nī conarberta lige Lómna¹⁶

¹⁴ Translation of a similar version by Eugene O'Curry in his *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* (London, 1873), II, 218. The translation is, to be sure, partly guesswork.

¹⁵ For the background of this fear, see F. N. Robinson, "Satirists and Enchanters in Early Irish Literature," in *Studies in the History of Religions presented to Homer Troy* (New York, 1912), pp. 95-130.

¹⁶ *Three Irish Glossaries*, p. 34. Variant readings in Kuno Meyer, *Sanas Cormaic*, §1018.

He has not been killed by people
 He has not been killed by the people of Lighne
 He has not been killed by a wild boar
 He has not been killed by a fall
 He has not died on his bed—Lomna¹⁷

Evidently, this poem is related prosodically to the three poems already examined by virtue of its grammatical parallelism and its consequent approach to entrance rime and end-assonance. Otherwise, the linear refinements so pronounced in the others are scarcely present.

From this brief survey, it is possible to suggest the ultimate source of much in the contour and technique of one style, perhaps the oldest, of the verse of the Irish pagans. The basic characteristic uniting all four of the magical or semi-magical poems presented above is simply repetition—of a name, a sound, a grammatical formula. Moreover, this repetition is practiced for magical purposes. It is little more, at root, than the ceaseless repetition of the victim's name, as in much death-dealing magic. On the other hand, the matured satiric, prophetic, devotional style must have been fed from other channels also, and on repetition. The praise of the godhead, in primitive poetry from ancient Egypt to Hawaii, relies for much of its effect on formulas of a repetitious character—formulas that create, through their culminative influence, a sort of hypnotic spell, a sort of trance. The genius of what fragments survive of Irish pagan poetry consists in its systematization of devices that have remained sporadic even among peoples of a relatively high degree of literary culture. We see in the Irish pagan poems of worship, malediction, prophecy, and divination the unique union of an uncontaminated primitive psychology with a degree of artistic or ornamental elaboration unknown to non-Celtic literature. Much the same phenomenon appears in the fields of early Irish illumination and design, although, in illumination, the surviving specimens are Christian in substance.

It would be idle to suppose that we could fully appreciate the power of the early Irish verse, for we should need to become more consistently primitive, and more keen of ear—more sensitive to the magical echoing of a web of harmonious sounds, a web patterned ultimately on the psychology of the primitive mind. But at least we can see the historical significance of this verse: its character obviates the necessity some theorists have felt for discovering the sources of the parallelism and the other devices of early Irish verse in Classical rhetoric, brought to Ireland either as a consequence of a flight of Gaulish scholars in the fifth century

¹⁷ Translated in Eugene O'Curry, *On the Manner and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, II, 210. This translation must be taken as merely tentative.

(Kuno Meyer¹⁸), or as a consequence of the introduction of Latin Christianity and its learning (Polheim,¹⁹ Wilhelm Meyer²⁰) We assert, for we have shown here, that the Irish pagan poetry preserved in Irish Christian documents displays all the devices attributed by certain theorists to the influence of "rimed prose," and a number of other devices also We further assert—for we trust that our case above is sound—that the devices of one style of the oldest Irish verse are of indigenous origin, and have their source, not in Classical rhetoric, but in primitive magic

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¹⁸ Kuno Meyer, *Learning in Ireland in the Fifth Century and the Transmission of Letters* (Dublin, 1913)

¹⁹ Polheim, *Die lateinische Reimprosa* (1925), especially on Columbanus

²⁰ Wilhelm Meyer, "Die Verskunst der Iren in rythmischen lateinischen Gedichten," *Nachrichten von der Koniglichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse* (Berlin, 1916), 605-644.

ARCHBISHOP WULFSTAN'S COMMONPLACE BOOK

MISS CCCC 190 and 265, Bodley 718 (2632), Junius 121 (5232), Nero A 1, and Bibl. Paris MS Fonds Latin 3182, all from the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, contain a great many common entries relating to the affairs of a bishop and have been studied with some care by several scholars.¹ Miss Mary Bateson nearly fifty years ago made it clear that the theological and legal material in these MSS really constituted a sort of bishop's commonplace book, and she identified a number of the random excerpts found here in such bewildering confusion. It is my purpose to present some evidence that Archbishop Wulfstan early in his episcopacy at Worcester made extensive use of the material collected here and perhaps directed its assembling as a part of his attempt to regulate the practices of both bishops and lesser clergy under his supervision. To the list given above must be added two other MSS which contain the same excerpts in somewhat the same order—Copenhagen Royal Library Gl. Kgl. 1595,² and Bodleian Barlow 37. It is extremely difficult, if not now impossible, to fix the relationship among these MSS, but it is generally agreed that they represent a collection made at Worcester early in the eleventh century, and in the following discussion I shall deal with what must have been the original collection rather than with the contents of any particular MS.

Though these MSS have been studied in several connections, many of the fragmentary paragraphs and sentences interspersed among the larger works remain to be identified. Miss Bateson sifted out a number of these extracts in CCCC 265 and suggested connections with the other MSS. But until the purpose to which the collection was put is better known, no accurate description of the contents can be given. The principal works here copied are the penitentials of Pseudo-Theodore and Egbert of York, liturgical directions from many sources, extracts from canon law relating to the affairs of a bishop, two letters of Alcuin, the *Capitulare Episcoporum* falsely attributed to Egbert and now known to

¹ Mary Bateson, "A Worcester Cathedral Book of Ecclesiastical Collections Made about 1000 A.D.," *English Historical Review*, x (1895), 712-731, Roundell, Earl of Selborne, *Ancient Facts and Fictions concerning Churches and Tithes* (1892), Leibermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I, xx ff.; M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*; F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1922, 1937), B. Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Alfons des Ersten, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa*, IX (1914), x-xxII, J. Raith, *Pseudo-Egbert's Penitential, Bibl. der ags. Prosa*, XIII (1933), x-xIII.

² I am indebted to Miss Dorothy Whitelock for calling this MS to my attention.

be a Carolingian capitulary, perhaps of the Council of Aachen³ (802), Ælfric's pastoral letters for Wulfsige and for Wulfstan, Wulfstan's Latin homily on baptism (Napier iv), chapters from Amalarius of Metz's *De Regula Canonicorum*, and the *Capitula* of Theodulf translated as *Ecclesiastical Institutes* in CCCC 201. In addition to these recognizable works are very many short chapters and sentences interspersed apparently without plan, but most of them relating to episcopal duties. In most cases where they do not so apply, they can be shown, in at least one MS, to have been used by Wulfstan.

It may be well in the beginning to list the external evidences of Wulfstan's connections with some of these MSS. CCCC 265 opens with a monastic profession which specifically names Wulfstan,⁴ and the evidence of date, both from palaeography and content, makes it certain that Archbishop Wulfstan the homilist is the Wulfstan referred to. The same MS contains penitential letters of Wulfstan issued under the name of Lupus while he was still Bishop of London,⁵ some letters addressed to him as Archbishop by Pope John XVIII, and a letter from him to an unnamed pope.⁶ These letters with one exception appear also in the Copenhagen MS and in Barlow 37. It has long been known that CCCC 265 originated at Worcester, and the profession to monkhood dates the first collecting of this material in Wulfstan's episcopacy.⁷

WULFSTAN'S USE OF THE LARGER WORKS IN THESE MSS

The larger works in these MSS are nearly all from the documents of the Carolingian period, to which the Benedictine reformers went for the regulatory literature they needed.⁸ They consist of canons, laws, penitentials, and expositions of the mass, and are nearly all in Latin, except that the second part of CCCC 190⁹ contains translations into Old English of many of these pieces. It is just such a collection as a reforming bishop

³ See Lord Selborne, *op cit.*, pp. 37-45, 227-245.

⁴ *Ego frater N promitto deo omnibusque sanctis eius castitatem / corporis mei secundum (patrum?) decreta et secundum / ordinem mihi (blank above the line, imponendum) seruare, domno / presule wulstano presente*. Quoted from James II, 16.

⁵ For the identification of Archbishop Wulfstan with the Wulfstan who was Bishop of London from 996 to 1003, see Dorothy Whitelock, "A Note on Wulfstan the Homilist," *E H R*, LII (1937), 460-465.

⁶ These are printed by Miss Bateson in the article referred to above, pp. 728-730.

⁷ Liebermann says (p. xx), "erst dem Domkloster Worcester gehorig, um 1025." Since Wulfstan resigned Worcester to Leofsige in 1016 and presumably took up residence at York, the collection must have been made before that date.

⁸ See the list published by Miss Bateson in "Rules for Monks and Secular Canons after the Revival under King Eadgar," *E H R*, ix (1894), 690-708.

⁹ James divides the book into three volumes, after pp. 294 and 364. His Vol. II contains the translations, and Vol. III is made up entirely of penitentials and is in English.

of the early eleventh century would need, and Wulfstan's use of the works collected here increases the probability that he ordered it made as a guide to his own duties as archbishop. His interest in law and zeal for reform are attested by his authorship of the later edicts of Æðelred's reign, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x Atr.—the codes issued from Enham in 1008 and those dependent upon them (see Liebermann, III, 168-169)—and by the eagerness with which he followed up the suggestions made to him by Ælfric in the pastoral letters, as well as by nature of his homilies.

1. Theodulf's *Capitula*, one of the most popular collections of canons in England in the tenth and eleventh centuries,¹⁰ Wulfstan used in his *Canons of Edgar* and in vii Æðelred.¹¹ Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans under Charlemagne, was not only one of the most learned and humane of Frankish churchmen,¹² but was also an assiduous collector and codifier, and after he became bishop equipped himself with all the canonical literature necessary for the reform of the church and the discipline of the clergy. In a poem entitled "De Libris Quos Legere Solebam et Qualiter Fabulae Poetarum a Philosophis Mystice Pertractentur" he lists the works he has studied and records days and nights spent with the fathers—Gregory, Augustine, Hilary, Jerome, Ambrose, Isidore, and Cyprian the Martyr.¹³ He must have seemed a model to the reforming bishops of a less fortunate age, and it is not surprising that his *Capitula* should have had so wide a use nor that Wulfstan should have borrowed from his *De Ordine Baptismi* for his own homily on baptism.¹⁴ The *Capitula* took the form of a pastoral letter to the clergy and for that reason also was particularly apt.

2. The penitential falsely attributed to Theodore, which is in the Corpus MSS and in Nero A 1, Wulfstan used in the *Canons of Edgar*.¹⁵ It also is a Frankish compilation of the ninth century which came into use in the late Old English period.¹⁶

¹⁰ See Jost, "Einige Wulfstantexte und ihre Quellen," *Anglia*, lvi (1932), 293. The *Capitula* is found in CCCC 201 and 265, an OE translation, which Thorpe published under the title *Ecclesiastical Institutes (Ancient Laws*, p. 469), is in CCCC 201; a part of the OE version is in Bodley 265, and two homilies in Assmann's *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben (Bibl. der ags. Prosa*, III), pp. 138 and 144, are dependent on the *Capitula*.

¹¹ Jost, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-294, gives a list of corresponding passages.

¹² Raby gives a brief sketch of him in *Christian-Latin Poetry* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 171-177. His works, poetry and prose, are in Migne, *P. L.*, cv, and his poetry in *M. G. H., Poet. Car.*, I, 437 ff. ¹³ *M. G. H., Poet. Car.*, I, 543.

¹⁴ Jost, *op. cit.*, proves Wulfstan's indebtedness, first in the Latin excerpts of iv, and then in the English elaboration of them in v. rv had a wide circulation in these MSS, it is in CCCC 190 and 265, in Barlow 37, and in Copenhagen Kgl. S. 1595.

¹⁵ Jost, pp. 288-301.

¹⁶ See T. P. Oakley, *English Penitential Discipline and Anglo-Saxon Law in their Joint Influence*. Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Vol. cvii (New York, 1923), pp. 31-32 and ch. rv.

3. The short piece in English entitled *De Regula Canonicorum* found in Junius 121 is a translation of a chapter from Amalarius of Metz's *Regula Canonicorum* (Migne, *P.L.*, cv, 932), the original Latin of which appears in CCCC 265 and Copenhagen Kgl. S. 1595 in two places, ff. 18–23 and ff. 80–82. Jost, in the article cited above, has shown that Wulfstan himself made the translation that and he used it in both the *Institutes of Polity* and in Homily v.

4. Ælfric's pastoral letters for Wulfstan are all found in these MSS, in CCCC 265 the two Latin letters, numbered by Fehr 2 and 3; in 190 the same two Latin letters, the letter for Wulfsgie, and the Old English form of 2 and 3, that is, all of Ælfric's pastoral letters, in Junius 121 the letter for Wulfsgie and the second OE letter for Wulfstan; and in the Copenhagen MS the two Latin letters for Wulfstan.¹⁷

5. Wulfstan's Latin homily on baptism, Napier iv, made up of excerpts from Theodulf, Jesse of Amiens, and Amalarius, is in the two Corpus MSS, in Barlow 37, and in the Copenhagen MS

6. The much-discussed *Jura quae sacerdotes debent habere*, falsely ascribed to Egbert, Archbishop of York in the eighth century, under the title *Excerptiones Egberti*, forms an important part of six of these MSS—CCCC 265 and 190, Bod. 178, Nero A 1, Paris Bibl. Nat. Lat. 3182, and Barlow 37. Wulfstan may have used this work in the *Canons of Edgar*.¹⁸ The appearance of this piece in CCCC 265, Bod. 718, and Nero A 1 engaged the attention of Lord Selborne, and he discussed the MSS with care in connection with the history of tithes; for the tripartite division of tithes entered English practice through this work, and Selborne was concerned to prove that it could not have been the work of Egbert but identified it as a part of the Frankish *Capitulare Episcoporum*, laws for the clergy drawn up at a synod held under Charlemagne in the early years of the empire.¹⁹ Miss Bateson, in the article cited, described the relation of the version in 190 with those in 265 and in Nero A 1. The authorship of the *Canons of Edgar*, which arises in this connection, has only recently been settled. Lord Selborne, believing the work really dated from Edgar's reign, attributed it to Oswald, a nephew of the celebrated Bishop Oswald, and Stubbs thought Dunstan the author,²⁰ but these were mere guesses, and Jost²¹ has produced strong evidence that the author was Wulfstan.

¹⁷ See Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. x–xxxii, apparently he did not know of the existence of the Copenhagen MS.

¹⁸ Selborne, p. 217. The question turns upon the authenticity of the version of the *Canons of Edgar* in Junius 121.

¹⁹ See Pertz, *M.G.H. : Legum*, i, 87; and Boretius, *M.G.H. : Cap. Reg. Franc.*, p. 105.

²⁰ *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, Rolls. Series (London, 1874), p. cvii.

²¹ "Emige Wulfstantexte," pp. 288–301.

7. Another possible connection between the major works in these MSS and Wulfstan's writings is with the selection found in 190, pp. 205-212, and in 265, p. 194, entitled "De Officiis Diurnalium siue Nocturnalium" from the second book, "De Officiis et Orationibus Canoniarum Horarum" of Rabanus Maurus' *De Institutione Clericorum*. This is the work translated into Old English as the Benedictine Office in CCC 201, pp. 1-8.²² Feiler thinks Wulfstan the author of the shortened Old English form, and the stylistic similarities are considerable. If so, he found the Latin text in the material at Worcester and had it incorporated into the original of these MSS.

WULFSTAN'S USE OF SCATTERED EXCERPTS

The use of these larger works in his writings, however, does not prove that Wulfstan ordered this collection made, nor that he worked from something resembling these very MSS. More telling is the evidence from some of the random sentences and smaller excerpts scattered through the collections which found their way into Wulfstan's work.

In CCC 265, p. 7, in CCC 190, p. 173, and in Barlow 37, p. 34, is a letter from Alcuin to Archbishop Æðelhard which contains this sentence:

Legitur vero in libro Gildi Brettonum sapientissimi, quod idem ipsi Brettones propter rapinas et avaritiam principum, propter iniquitatem et iniustitiam iudicum, propter desidiā et pigritiam praedicationis episcoporum, propter luxuriam et malos mores populi patriam perdiderunt. Caveamus, haec eadem nostris temporibus vitia inolescere, quatenus benedictio divina nobis patriam conservet in prosperitate bona, quam nobis in sua misericordia perdonare dignata est.

On p. 140 of CCC 190 the first sentence quoted above stands alone under the rubric "De Interitu Brittonum." In Wulfstan's "Sermo ad Anglos," Napier xxxiii, p. 166, note, he says:

An þeodwita was on Brytta tidum, Gildas hatte, se awrat be heora misdædum, hu hi mid heora synnan swa oferlice swyðe god gegræmedon, þæt he let æt nystan Engla here heora eard gewinnan and Brytta duguðe fordon mid ealle.

Alcuin is saying to Æðelhard that the sufferings of the English during the viking raids of his day (790-803) were due, like those of the Britons that Gildas described, to the sins of the people, and that is exactly Wulfstan's point in the "Sermo ad Anglos" about the ravages of the Danes in the eleventh century. The apt reference to Gildas was almost certainly sug-

²² It was edited by Emil Feiler, "Das Benediktiner-Offizium ein altenglisches Brevier aus dem 11. Jahrhundert," *Anglistische Forschungen*, iv, (1901). See also Zupitza in Herrig's *Archiv*, lxxxiv, 1, Miss Bateson in *EHR*, ix (1894), 707, and Fehr, "Das Benediktiner-Offizium und die Beziehungen zwischen Ælfric und Wulfstan," *Eng. Stud.*, xlv (1913), 337-346.

gested to him by this passage in Alcuin's letter, and the separate sentence here copied out without any apparent reason becomes understandable if we regard these excerpts as collected by Wulfstan for his own uses. Furthermore, in the next sentence he translates Alcuin's own list of evils, transposing and rearranging, as is his custom in making translations, for the sake of the rhythm of the sentence:

propter luxuriam et malos mores populi

and þæt wæs geworden, þæs he sæde, þurh gelæreda regolbryce and þurh læwedra
propter rapinas et avaritiam principum *propter*
 lahbryce, þurh ricra reafiac and ðurh gitsunge wohgestreona, þurh leode
iniquitatem et iniustitiam iudicum *propter desidiam et pigritiam*
 unlaga and ðurh wohdomas, ðurh bisceopa asolcennesse and unsnotornesse
praedicationis episcoporum
 and ðurh lyðre yrhðe godes bydela

Just before these sentences and immediately following the so-called *Excerptiones Egberti* is a short piece headed "De captivitate iudeorum" which is on the same subject as the sentences from Alcuin's letters, namely, a disobedient people being punished by God by wars and defeat at the hands of foreign invaders. This was one of the ways of Providence of which Wulfstan never tired of finding examples, and he has not neglected this one. Homily II, which is a brief survey of Hebrew history through the life of Christ, is based on Ælfric's "De Initio Creature" (Thorpe, *C.H.*, I, 8-28), which Wulfstan follows fairly closely in outline, though he condenses some material and omits some. On p. 14²⁻⁹ is a statement that, on account of their sins, in the days of King Zedechiah God permitted the Jews to be taken captive by heathen people and their leaders to be slain. There is no mention of Zedechiah in Ælfric's homily, but this short passage in CCC 190 says:

Vere priusquam pagani deuastauerunt totum regnum iudeorum / domino permit-
 tente pro peccatis populi. ad ultimum uenerunt in / hierusalem ubi erat rex
 sedechias & omnes principes eius et / capta ciuitate occiderunt duos filios
 sedechie regis & / omnes principes regni occiderunt gladio coram rege & ipsum /
 regem excecauerunt & secum duxerunt captiuum in babyloniam.

Wulfstan had apparently collected passages on this subject, as one takes notes on passages pertinent to the subject on which one is writing, and when he found a place for this sentence in his homily he worked it in.²³

Another passage containing apparently random excerpts has been used

²³ Ælfric has another survey of the Old and New Testaments in the letter to Sigward called by the MS "Libellus de ueteri testamento et nouo" (ed S J Crawford, *EETS* 160 [1922]), and it contains a reference to Zedechiah. But there is no other connection between this work and Wulfstan's homily, and the verbal correspondence between Wulfstan and CCC 190 is much closer.

by Wulfstan On p 2 of CCCC 190, under the rubric "Incipit de Initio Creature," following passages taken from Genesis are the ten commandments. The statement of them is identical with Wulfstan ix, 60¹¹ 61³, and this is significant, because both forms shorten Exodus xx 2, omit 4 and 10, and give the version in Deut. v 21, for 9 and 10,²⁴ Jost found the same form of the Decalogue in MS Boulogne-sur-Mer No 63,²⁵ to which Fehr had called attention in his edition of Ælfric's pastoral letters, and Jost remarks upon the significance of finding this source for Wulfstan's homily in a MS containing material Ælfric used as a source and containing also Ælfric's private letter to Wulfstan.²⁶ The Boulogne-sur-Mer MS has two other items in common with this group, the passage from Isidore's *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* and the excerpt called *De Septem Gradibus Ecclesiasticis*, both of which Ælfric used in the pastoral letters. What the relation of this MS is to what must have been originally compiled at Worcester it is impossible to say without further investigation. Its connection with Wulfstan's work appears to be limited to this passage and one other sentence, and CCCC 190 has many more parallels.

CCCC 190 begins, according to a rubric at the bottom of p 2, with the Penitential of Theodore.²⁷ Actually the Penitential of Pseudo-Theodore here indicated begins on p. 12 and is interrupted at p. 94 with the insertion of completely irrelevant material. A rubric reading "In Nomine Domini" introduces a short sermon on the necessity of Christian unity and the transitory nature of worldly power.²⁸ The first sentences in it read:

Primo omnium admonemus omnes homines ut super / omnia unum deum omnipotentem toto corde. tota anima / & tota mente diligant & ut fideliter credant unum / deum in trinitate & trinitatem in unitate esse colendam / Deinde ortamus ut proximos suos tamquam se ipsos dili / gant. ac deinde ut certa precepta domini diligenter / custodiant, Petimus quoque. ut predicatoribus sancte dei ecclesie / humiliter obediant. ita ut sit pax & concordia & una / nimitas cum omni populo cristiano

Wulfstan's Homily ix, De cristianitate, 64³⁻⁷, reads:

²⁴ There are the following small scribal variants MS *loquaris* for *loqueris*, *proximum tuum falsum* for *proximum falsum*, and *preceptum moysi* for *moysi preceptum*.

²⁵ "Enige Wulfstantexte," pp. 278-279

²⁶ See Fehr, pp 190-192, and pp 222-227 For contents of the MS, pp x-xrv

²⁷ The rubric reads "Penitenciale Theodori Archiepiscopi." Mr. Neil Ker pointed out to me that "Theodori" has been written over "Egberti." The rubric has no relation to what immediately follows.

²⁸ This homily appears to be made up of passages chosen from different sources, for while it has a certain unity of subject, it has none of style. There is a long *ubi sunt* passage in it, rather poetic in feeling, sentences of which are taken from Defensor's *Liber Scintillarum*, Bk. lxxix (Migne⁸⁸).

Credite ergo, karissimi, patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, unum deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate, et diligite eum semper et colite ex toto corde sed et proximos uestros diligite, sicut et uos metipsos, et prout uultis, ut faciant uobis homines, ita et uos facite illis

These sentences in IX are among the few for which Jost found no source in his study of the homily, and it seems to me clear that Wulfstan was adapting them from this excerpt in MS 190. This is made more likely by his further borrowing from the same short sermon. Two sentences down occurs this passage:

deus pater noster est & ecclesia mater nostra quos debemus / semper honorare & super omnia diligere, A cristo enim / cristiani sunt nominati

Wulfstan IX, 61¹¹⁻¹³, reads:

nam spiritaliter deus pater noster est et aeclesia mater nostra, quos debemus semper honorare,

and the first sentence of IX is, "A Cristo enim cristiani sunt nominati." The first of these sentences Jost found in the Boulogne-sur-Mer MS, but for the second he has no exact source.²⁹

This short homily ends at the top of p. 96 of the MS, after which there is a blank space for a rubric, then an excerpt filling almost two pages which deals with the sin of despoiling the church and cites examples of powerful people who have come to evil by so doing. The first part of it is taken from the third part of *De Pressuris Ecclesiasticis Libellus* of Atto of Vercelli (Migne CXXXIV, 87ff.), though the sentences are rearranged and the whole organization changed. Sometimes the sentences are rewritten entirely, and the latter part of the excerpt has no model in Atto's chapter. The first sentences agree word for word³⁰ with Wulfstan IX, 61¹³⁻¹⁹, "ecclesia enim . . . lacerant ecclesiam."

Further down in the MS is this sentence:

omnis enim qui ecclesiam dei expohat. & eius predia uel do/naria inuadit sacrilegi reus existit.

Wulfstan IX, 61¹⁹⁻²⁰, reads:

Omnis itaque, qui aeccliam dei expohat uel in aliqua re nocuerit, sacrilegi reus existit.

Then follows in the MS citations from the canons of the punishment due those who alienate church property, with examples of evil-doers, and this Wulfstan sums up in the sentence (61^{20-62¹}), "inimicus enim Cristi efficitur omnis, qui ecclesiasticas res iniuste usurpare conatur." Then

²⁹ Pp 277, 279

³⁰ Except that the MS reads "et *ideo*" and the homily "ideoque" (l 14).

comes in Wulfstan's homily the sentence with which this excerpt in the MS closes, "de quo et Gregorius dicit:³¹ si quis aecclesiam dei³² denudauerit uel sanctimonia uiolauerit, anathema sit, ad quod respondentes omnes dixerunt amen." In Homily x, where Wulfstan is translating and elaborating the passages in ix, he quotes Gregory's statement (67²²⁻²⁴) and translates it:

se ðe godes cyrican, he cwæð, rype oððe reafige oððe halignessa grið brece, a he forwyrðe, and Romana witan him andwyrðan sona and anmodlice cwædon, amen, calle

The words "Romana witan," for which there is no source in the Latin, he probably took from p. 96 of the MS which quotes "canon romanus dicit, nemo au/deat nudare ecclesiam cristi." There is no case in which either ix or x stands closer in phraseology to Atto's chapter than does the MS excerpt.

What the foregoing citations show is that almost all the material for ix, 60⁶-62³, is found in these scattered pages (1-2, 94-97) of CCCC 190, inserted without apparent reason at the beginning and into the middle of Pseudo-Theodore's Penitential. Some are the very passages for which Jost did not find an exact source, and they are not mentioned in the index of the MS. It looks very much as if Wulfstan had had added to the substantial large works which he found in the library at Worcester short excerpts of this kind which he planned to use in his sermons, and that the scribe of the MS, who also made the index, not recognizing them and not being able to make anything of them, simply omitted them from the index.³³ The foliation shows them to have been part of the original MS.

Less significant than the other cases but perhaps worth mentioning is the entry in 190, p. 162, 265, p. 3, Nero A 1, f. 126, called in the Corpus MSS "Incipit admonitio spiritalis doctrine" and in Nero A 1 "De pastore & predicatore," which is a collection of patristic and biblical passages, identical with many that Wulfstan uses, on the obligation of priests to teach, rebuke, and urge to repentance.

No one of these borrowings would of itself establish the fact that the original from which all these MSS come served as a sort of notebook for Wulfstan in which he had collected both the large works and small separate items of which he had need as archbishop and homilist; but the number of them is impressive, especially since it is Wulfstan's use of the materials that gives to the entries on pp. 1-2, 94-97, and 139-140 their unity and their meaning.

³¹ 190 has "gregorius quoque ait" ³² 190, "cristi"

³³ This is not the only discrepancy between the index and the actual contents. See Miss Bateson, *E.H.R.*, x, 717

There are two other connections between Wulfstan's work and this group of MSS. Adso's *Libellus de Anticristi*, most popular of all treatments of a popular subject in England in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and one of the sources of Ælfric's statements about Antichrist in the introduction to his first series of homilies (Thorpe I, 2-6), and through that and directly in one place the source of Wulfstan's eschatological homilies, appears in CCC 190, p. 281, as "*Epistola Adsonis Monachi ad Gerbergam Reginam De Anticristo*"³⁴

Finally, among the liturgical material which makes up a large part of the collection in these MSS is a section on the offices for Ash Wednesday which includes a sermon by Abbo of St. Germain under the rubric (190), "*Qualiter Penitentes in Cena Domini in ecclesiam introducuntur.*" The Latin sermon is in CCC 190, pp. 253-259, Nero A 1, f. 159^b; Copenhagen Kgl. S. 1595, ff. 26-30,³⁵ and there is a translation into Old English in CCC 190, pp. 353-359, entitled "*Sermo in Cena Domini ad Penitentes.*" The translation is the most literal rendering of a Latin text into Old English that I have ever examined. It is quite unlike any of Wulfstan's translations of which we have any knowledge, and there is no reason to suppose that he had anything to do with it except to order it made, for he did rewrite the Old English version in the form that appears in Napier xxxii. The case for Wulfstan's authorship of xxxii has never been carefully examined. The homily was attributed to him by Becher in *Wulfstans Homilien* (Leipzig, 1910), pp. 13-18, and by Miss Whitelock in *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (London, 1939), p. 14, "on stylistic grounds." I wish to offer further proof of its authenticity.

A comparison of xxxii with the Old English version in the MS and with the Latin yields evidence of Wulfstan's customary method of dealing with a text. The familiar *leofan men* replaces *mine gebroðru* ða *leofestan* of the OE and *fratres karissimi* of the Latin. In one place in the MS (p. 358, l. 18) *mine gebroðru* is glossed above the line by a scribe who evidently knew for whose use the translation had been made, "I ð men" —the abbreviation for "*vel leofan men.*" Familiar tautological elaborations occur as follows:³⁶

³⁴ The only other pre-Conquest English MS containing Adso's work is also connected with Wulfstan. It is Vespasian D II which contains on f. 28^b Wulfstan's Latin homily on Antichrist (xi), and on f. 29 under the rubric "*De Die Iudicii Sermo*" a shortened form of the same.

³⁵ It is also in Vitellius A 7, f. 65^b. See Fehr's *Hortenbriefe*, p. 248. It has been edited by d'Achery in *Spicilegium*, I, 337, and is in Migne 132, 764.

³⁶ In the comparison of phrases I list the form in Napier's xxxii with page and line number, the OE in 190, and the Latin original from the same MS.

	XXXII	OE in MS	Latin
153			
12	gescop and geworhte	gesceop	fecit
15	lærde and faste bebead	bebead	commendat
16	habban and healdan	to habenne	habere
20	on ealre myrhðe and on ealre mærhðe	ealne wuldor	omnem gloriam
22	næfre he ne swulte ne deað ne þolode ne sar ne sorge næfre ne gebide	næfre he ne swulte	numquam moreretur
154			
4	sarig and sorhful	besarigende and be- hreowsiende	dolens et penitens
17	laþjað and logjað	lædað	mittimus
21	godes lare and lage	godes willan	voluntatem dei

Wulfstan's favorite *georne* occurs without any model in OE or Latin on p. 153¹⁵, 155⁸, 155¹⁶, *swiðe georne*, 155²², 155²⁷. *Oft and gelome*, a very common phrase in Wulfstan's homilies, is on p. 155¹⁰. The customary admonition to virtue at the end of his homilies, usually phrased, *Eala, leofan men, utan do swa us þearf is*,³⁷ as characteristic of his style as his fondness for intensifying adverbs, appears at the end of this homily in this form (155²⁸⁻³¹): *eala leofan men, utan don ealle, swa swa us þearf is, utan helpan ure sylfra, and utan anmodlice eallum mode gebugan to Criste and earnjan his miltse, swa we geornost magon*—every phrase of which can be paralleled in Wulfstan's known work.

Likewise indicative of Wulfstan's authorship is the condensation this version shows as compared with the other, the greater freedom of sentence structure resulting in a more idiomatic English than that of the MS version, which copies Latin structure rather slavishly,^{37a} and the independent conclusion.

Wulfstan's fondness for the first person and direct address appears here also, and there are several cases of *we lærað*, the phrase which introduces the sections of the *Canons of Edgar* (Thorpe, *A.L.*, pp. 395-402).

³⁷ See II, 19¹⁸⁻²⁰, III, 28¹⁹⁻²⁰, V, 40²⁸⁻²⁴, X, 75²¹⁻²², XIV, 90¹⁰⁻¹¹, XV, 94¹⁰ XXXII, 112¹, XXXIII, 166¹.

^{37a} For example, the sermon begins Vere, fratres karissimi, hoc debetis scire unde fuit inceptum hoc exemplum ut episcopi peccatores homines eicerunt de ecclesia in capite ieiunii. The translator renders it Mine gebroðru ða leofestan, ge sculon to soðon ðis witan hwanon wære ongunnen ærest þeos bisne þæt biscopas ut adrifon of cyrcan sinfulle men on þam wodnes dæge þe we hatað caput ieiunii. Wulfstan's more idiomatic sentence is Leofan men, ic wille cyðan eow eallum and þam huru, þe hit ær nystan, hwanan seo bysn ærest aras, þæt biscopas ascadað ut of cyrcan on foreweardan lenctene þa men, þe mid openan heafodgyltan hy sylfe forgyldað.

Since the OE version of the MS is so very close to the Latin it is almost impossible to tell whether Wulfstan worked from the Latin or English version. His vocabulary is not remarkably like the English, but that is not proof that he was not working from the English text. And there is only one clear case of his having taken a word from the Latin text, his use of "paradyso" (153²⁰) instead of OE "neorxnawange," a word never found in his genuine works.³⁸ There is one case in which Wulfstan's diction is less accurate than the MS version. The Latin says, "nos episcopi sumus uicarii domini nostri iesu cristi in hoc mundo," which the English version translates as "we bisceopas beoð ures drihtnes hælendes cristes speliendas on þisum middanearde." Wulfstan says (154¹¹⁻¹²): "bisceopas syndon to þam gesette on þisre worulde, þæt hy georne sculon be Cristes bysene." "Bysene" is not so accurate a word as "speliendas," for it means "model," "example," which is inapplicable here.

Fehr, when editing Ælfric's pastoral letters, became impressed by the amount of material in MS 190 connected with Ælfric, and more especially by the fact that the compilation of material from Isidore, Amalarius, Rabanus Maurus in the liturgical section (pp. 201-264) agrees so closely with Ælfric's compilation from the same sources in the pastoral letters. He decided that Ælfric had made the selections in 190 and had sent them to Wulfstan, who had them incorporated into CCCC 265.³⁹

Fehr may be right. It is certainly true that nearly all the larger works collected here—Pseudo-Egbert's *Excerptiones*, Egbert's *Penitential*, Bede's *Penitential*, Pseudo-Theodore's *Penitential*, and Amalarius' *Regula Canonicorum*—furnished Ælfric with material for his letters, and it is entirely likely that Ælfric, who was by far the more learned man, introduced Wulfstan to these works, as well as to other canons with which the latter was at first unfamiliar. Indeed, it is necessary only to read Ælfric's reply to a personal letter from Wulfstan written early in Wulfstan's episcopacy⁴⁰ to see upon what elementary matters the archbishop needed teaching. Wulfstan's borrowings from Ælfric, moreover, are by no means limited to this legal and liturgical matter, for Homilies II, VII, XIII, and XVI draw upon Ælfric's earlier writings. There is therefore no

³⁸ Wulfstan's use of Paradise to mean the Garden of Eden antedates the first citation in the OED, which is from the *Lambeth Homilies*. The word is used in the West Saxon Gospels, Luke 23, 43, to mean heaven. "To-dæg þu bist mid me on paradiso." Wulfstan makes a distinction between these uses. He takes over "paradyso" in 153²⁰ and 154²⁷, where it means the Garden of Eden, but substitutes "þære heofonlican cynican" for the same Latin word in 154,⁸ where Christ takes Adam to heaven from hell. The MS English version has "neorxnawang" in every case.

³⁹ "Das Benediktiner-Offizium und die Beziehungen zwischen Ælfric und Wulfstan," *Eng. Stud.*, XLVI (1913), 337-346.

⁴⁰ *Die Hirtenbriefe*, pp. 221-227.

doubt that the Abbot of Eynsham contributed a great deal to the training of his superior, and MS 190 may well offer further evidence of his tutoring. Wulfstan's readiness to learn is proved by the diligent study of the canons his own *Canons of Edgar*⁴¹ and *Institutes of Polity* reveal, and by the competent use of Latin models his sermons on the elements of the Christian faith show (Homilies v, vi, and x). The assembling of all the material in these MSS, moreover, shows how Wulfstan worked to provide for himself the necessary guides for his multifarious duties as archbishop.

Though it is hard to say in what relation these MSS stand to each other, it looks as if CCC 190 were closer to the original collection than any other, though at least three of the others can be more definitely located at Worcester. CCC 265 has Wulfstan's name at the beginning, Junius 121 is signed by Wulfgeat, the famous Worcester scribe, and Nero A 1 is generally supposed to have had a Worcester model if it did not originate within that cloister. Volume III of CCC 190 (pp. 365-420) written in one hand is the "scrift-boc on englisc" sent by Leofric to Exeter.⁴² But none of these MSS except Bodley 718, which contains merely the penitentials as they existed at Worcester in the tenth century, antedates Wulfstan's incumbency there, and possibly only the beginning of 265 is contemporary with him. The particular volume that Wulfstan ordered made may be lost, but I believe that we get the best idea of it from 190 because this MS contains the fragments which Wulfstan worked into his homilies. On the other hand, the letters found in 265, the Copenhagen MS, and Barlow 37 must have formed a part of the original collection, and from other evidences of content also it appears that 265 bears a closer resemblance to Nero A 1, the Copenhagen MS, and Barlow 37 than does 190.

Phonology does not help much here, because the question is not the age of this particular MS, though the accuracy with which it represents a collection made before 1016 is somewhat related to date. But it is interesting to see that Anderson in a recent article has placed 190 on linguistic grounds a quarter of a century earlier than Junius 121.⁴³

A careful study of the sources of the *Canons of Edgar* and the *Institutes of Polity* will almost certainly reveal more evidence on how Wulfstan used a collection of this kind, and probably on the relation of these MSS.

⁴¹ If Jost is right that V Æðelred borrows from the *Canons of Edgar*—and the parallel passages indicate that this is true—then *C of E* must have come before 1008, or within five years of Wulfstan's elevation to the archbishopric.

⁴² See James's account.

⁴³ G. K. Anderson, "Notes on the Language of Ælfric's English *Pastoral Letters* in Corpus Christi College 190 and Bodleian Junius 121," *J EGP.*, XL (1941), 5-13.

Until such a study is forthcoming, we may accept these parallels as some evidence of Wulfstan's hand in the ordering of the work.

APPENDIX

There is another MS with the ordering of which Wulfstan has been connected. It is *Vespasian A 14*, which contains laudatory verses to Wulfstan (f. 70) intended to accompany a volume he had had drawn up, and on the basis of which Stubbs says:

"The MS *Vespasian A 14* is a very miscellaneous volume, great part of it consisting of theological scraps, put together under the patronage of Wulfstan, archbishop of York, early in the eleventh century."⁴⁴

This MS is really composed of three volumes, the first containing principally the lives of Welsh saints (ff. 1-105^b), the second selections from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and an essay on the Holy Ghost addressed by the Abbot of Westminster to Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury (ff. 106-113^b), and the third letters of Alcuin, verses and a letter to Wulfstan, and canons of three ecclesiastical synods. It is only with the third volume that Wulfstan could have had anything to do, since the first two deal with people who lived after his death. Even so it is not certain that the verses form a part of the MS for which they were originally intended, though there is nothing to forbid such a supposition,⁴⁵ the same letters of Alcuin found in *Corpus MSS* are present here, and there is also a private letter to Wulfstan as Bishop of London (f. 177) which likewise has to do with these matters. It is written in very florid Latin from some unknown person who styles himself "famulus supplex" and who may have been one of the clerical members of the bishop's *familia* for whose education the bishop was responsible. He is apologizing for not having translated some secret matters into Latin as Wulfstan had asked him to do and pleads his inability in comparison with Wulfstan's skill.⁴⁶ It looks as if Wulfstan had had some experience before he became Bishop of Worcester in directing the very sort of activity MS *CCCC 190* gives evidence of. His relation to *Vespasian A 14* needs separate examination which will probably not be possible until the war is over, but the lines of the poem apply equally to 190:

*Praesule Wlfstano hoc opus est consente paratum.
Pollice quod docto impressit subtilis aliptes*

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⁴⁴ *Memorials of St Dunstan*, p. liv.

⁴⁵ See Whitelock, "A Note on Wulfstan the Homilist," *EHR*, LII (1937), 462-464

⁴⁶ Stubbs printed the letter, with a wrong reference to the MS, *op. cit.*, pp. 404-405

THE ROMANCE DESIDERATIVE *SE*

THE Dantean formulas with desiderative *se* have recently attracted the attention of several reputable scholars and have given occasion to a lively discussion. Nicholson in *Romania*, LXI (1935), 3 ff., proposed to abandon the traditional etymology Ital. *se* < Lat. *sī*, and suggested Ital. *se* < Lat. *sīt*. Among those who accepted Mr. Nicholson's conclusion are: E. C. Armstrong, *MLN*, LI, 68, K. McKenzie, *Italica*, XIII, 70, who closely examined the passages of Dante, and finally Miss Lograsso, *Italica*, xv, 152. He was strongly opposed, on the other hand, by E. B. Place, *Hisp. Rev.*, v, (1937), 259, to whom he replied in the same journal, vi, 250 ff., and finally by L. Spitzer, *Romania*, LXV (1939), 290 ff., who defended the old etymology Ital. *se* < Lat. *sī*. Having read the arguments of both camps, and having arrived at the conclusion that this usage of Dantean *se* cannot be explained either by Lat. *sī* or by *sīt*, I venture to express my opinion on the subject.

G. Nicholson, *Rom.*, LXI (1935), 10, observes with full reason, I think, that Lat. *sī* is not apt to explain Romance sentences¹ like *Deh se riposi mai vostra semenza* [. . .] *solvetemi quel nodo*, Dante, *Inf.*, x, 94, or *oyd mesnadas si vos vala el Criador*, *Cid*, 3128, which are frequent, as we shall see later on.

The explanation of Gaspary, *ZRPh.*, XI (1887), 137 and of Spitzer, *Romania*, LXV (1939), 300, 311,² who compares Plautus, *Miles*, 571 *ne tu hercle, si te di ament, linguam comprimis*, seems weak to me, first because some manuscripts have *amant* instead of *ament*, which changes completely the picture; secondly, because such an expression is totally iso-

¹ For Italian this has been very well pointed out by McKenzie in *Italica*, XIII, 69 *et seqq.*, who writes (p. 70) "So obvious is the inappropriateness of interpreting *se* in the formula of adjuration as 'if,' that some authorities distinguish it from *se* 'if,' and derive it from Lat. *sic*, in spite of the fact that the phonetic obstacle is as great as in the case of *si*. Thus Cappuccini, *Vocabolario della lingua italiana*, asserts that it is an obsolete adverb equivalent to *così*, 'augurando e deprecando,' and derived from *sic*, he quotes *Inf.*, xx, 19. On the other hand, Zingarelli in his *Vocabolario*, after stating that *se* "esprime sempre una condizione, sia in una frase schiettamente dubitativa o ipotetica, sia nella concessione, sia nella limitazione, sia nel desiderio," gives as one definition 'o così fosse,' adding 'si fa risalire a *sic*, ma anche *si* aveva questo uso.' "

Cf. anche Meyer-Lubke, *Gramm. rom.*, I, 539 *et seq.*, §613, 3, 632, §562 ("si avec une voyelle surprenante [i]").

² I can attribute no importance, of course, to the two passages from Italian humanists of the 14th and 15th centuries quoted by Gaspary, *ZRPh.* XI (1887), 137 and by G.-G. Nicholson, *Rom.*, LXI, 11.

lated in the whole Latin language,³ and whatever may be our veneration for the manuscript tradition of Plautus, a slight suspicion as to the authenticity of that *si* can by no means be suppressed (see below).⁴

But Nicholson's idea—that this desiderative *se*, and even the conditional *se*, *si*, *să* of all Romance languages, should represent Lat *sit*—seems quite improbable to me, for the reasons which Spitzer has expressed in his excellent article *Rom.*, LXV (1939), 289 ff, and which I need not repeat here.⁵ I think the problem can be solved only by the method

³ I was fortunate enough to find, in the library of Princeton University, the *Zeitschrift für die Altertumswissenschaft*, XII (1854), 236, which Spitzer was not able to see (*Rom.*, LXV, 300, n. 1). The sentence *si me Deus adiuuet, non habeo nihil* is found in W. Grimm, *Altdeutsche Gesprache*, publ. in *Abh. der Akademie der Wiss.* (Berlin, 1851), p. 238. This text is the Latin translation of some Old High German phrases of the ninth century (see *Abh.* 1849, 415). The German text reads: *sam mir got helfe, ne habem ne tropfon*, so that the correction of *si* to *sic*, proposed by Pott, *Zeitschr. f. Altert.*, XII, 236, is quite obvious.

O H G *sam* (or *sama*) is translated 'so,' 'ebenso,' 'sic,' 'aeque,' 'similiter,' by O. Schade, *Altdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 2d ed., 740.

I may also remark that the passage *se m'anti Iddio* (*io il vi credo*) is not in Brunetto Latini, as Spitzer says (p. 309), but in Boccaccio's *Decamerone* (Giorn. IV, nov. ix, 8).

⁴ The original desiderative meaning of the (conditional) Lat *si* is denied by Blase, *Glotta*, XI (1921), 145 *et seqq.* — *o si* (*o mihi praeteritos referat si Iuppiter annos* Virgil) of course is comparatively frequent (see Blase, *Hist. Gramm.*, p. 134) and has given Italian *oh se*, but this is something quite different.

⁵ I only wish to reinforce Spitzer's criticism on one point.

I do not see great semantic difficulty, as Prof. Nicholson does (*Rom.*, LXI, 6 *et seqq.*), in drawing from the conditional Latin *si* the Rumanian *să* with the sense of purpose (Lat. *ut*), in sentences like that quoted by Meyer-Lubke, *Grammatik*, III, 641 and by Nicholson himself, *Rom.*, LXI, 10. *Duce-mă-voiu țărări într'altă cetate, să propovoduesc cuvântul lui Hs* 'je veux m'en aller de nouveau dans une autre cité, pour annoncer la parole de Dieu.' I completely agree with the explanation which Tommaseo-Bellini, *Dizionario*, s. u. *se*, p. 735, n. 3 gives for quite similar Italian cases. 'Talora innanzi al *se* si lascia per sottinteso il verbo necessario. Ell[issi] evidente e efficace. Fior. S. Franc. 112 (M) *Viene il demonio* [. . .] *per sos pingerlo quindi giuso. Di che Santo Francesco, non avendo dove fuggire* [. . .] *di subito si rvolse con le mani e col viso e con tutto il corpo al sasso* [. . .] *brancolando colle mani, se a cosa nessuna si potesse appigliare* (cioè cercando se . . .), e 147 *Corse* [. . .] *per tutta la città, se per ventura la potesse trovare*, Boccaccio, Giorn. II, Nov. 4, 2. *A quella (tavola) s'appiccò, se forse Iddio, indugiando egli l'affogare, gli mandasse qualche aiuto allo scampo suo*; [. . .] Vit. S. M. Madd. 77. *Pensomi che tornassono un poco dentro alla porta* [. . .] *in luogo più onesto, che si poteva, tuttavia se si potesse vedere o udire alcuna cosa*, Vit. S. Gir. 4. *Andarasi (il leone) discorrendo per la foresta forse se per ventura potesse rinvenire lo compagno suo*. Cf. also the *Dizionario degli Acc. della Crusca*, s. u. *se*, §1, vol. 5, 117.

Before the *se* in all of these sentences we may supply a purpose clause (*per vedere se*); sometimes we might, almost without changing the meaning, substitute a purpose clause for the *se*-clause so e.g. in Vit. S. M. Madd. 77 *per vedere o udire alcuna cosa* (or *per tentare di vedere o udire alcuna cosa*), or in Fior. S. Franc. 112 *per appigliarsi ad alcuna cosa* (or *per tentare di appigliarsi* [. . .]). Similar sentences are also found in Modern Italian, particularly in the familiar speech cf. e.g. Collodi, *Pinocchio*, chapt. 24: *Allora il burattino*

employed by McKenzie in his admirable article: "a collection of examples, as complete as possible, and a careful examination of the material" I therefore take the liberty of treating the problem at somewhat greater length.

The Italian passages have in great part been gathered by Prof. McKenzie.⁶ the first type is that represented by *Deh se riposi mai* [] *solvetemi*, where an imperative follows the desiderative sentence, which constitutes a kind of *captatio beneuolentiae*, usually called the adjuration formula.⁷

I present here his material, amplified by other sources:

Inf, x, 82 *et seq*

E se tu mai nel dolce mondo regge (*redeās*),
dimmi []

Inf, x, 94 *et seq*

"Deh, se riposi mai vostra semenza"
prega' io lui, "solvetemi quel nodo []"

Inf, xiii, 85 *et seqq*

Perciò ricominciò "Se l'uom ti faccia
liberamente ciò che il tuo dir priega
spirito incarcerato, ancor ti piaccia
di dirne come l'anima si lega
in questi nocchi, e dinne, se tu puoi,
s'alcuna mai di tai membra si spiega"

[] *si pose a guardare di qua e di là se per caso avesse potuto scorgere su quella immensa spianata d'acqua una piccola barchetta con un omino dentro*

I should approach very nearly the meaning of the Rumanian sentence quoted by Prof. Nicholson, If I were to say in colloquial Italian *Voglio andarmene di nuovo in un'altra città (per vedere) se annuncio la parola di Dio*

See also Bourciez, *Eléments de linguistique romane*, 279, §254b, 600 *et seqq*, §§508 *et seq*, Meyer-Lubke, *Gramm*, 3, 667, §590.

Rumanian until the sixteenth century had *să* (<*să*<*si*) in the conditional sense (Bourciez, 602, §508) and according to Tiktin, *Ruman Elementarbuch*, 143, §377 has it now in unreal conditional sentences (he quotes an author of the late nineteenth century, Cosbuc, 178, cf. the note at p. 179)

For the other functions of *să* (*se*) in Rumanian, cf. Meyer-Lubke, *Gramm*, 3, §§18, 117-119, 340, 387, 562, 567, 569-570, 573-575; 582, 643-644; 669, 673, 679

⁶ *Italica*, xiii (1936), 69 *et seqq* I add one example from Diez, *Rom. Gramm*, 5th ed., iii, 357, one from Spitzer, *Rom*, lxxv, 309, one from Miss Lograsso, *Italica*, xv, 152, n. 6, two from L. G. Blanc, *Grammatik der italienischen Sprache* (Halle, 1844), p. 585, seven from the *Vocabolario degli Acc. della Crusca* (Verona, 1806), s. u. *se*, v, 117, four from Tommaseo-Bellini (s. u. *aiutare, ajutare, salvare*) The remaining ones which I quote below (and particularly all those of the *Filostrato*) have been indicated to me by the inexhaustible kindness of Prof. McKenzie

⁷ This distinction between 'adjuration' and 'asseveration' (or 'protestation') is quite correctly indicated by McKenzie, p. 70; but then his expression on p. 69, line 5 from the bottom, is not quite exact.

Inf., xvi, 82 *et seqq.*

Però se campi d'esti luoghi bui
e torni a riveder le belle stelle,
quando ti gioverà dicere 'I' fui',
fa che di noi alla gente favelle

Inf., xvi, 64 *et seqq.*

"Se lungamente l'anima conduca
le membra tue" rispuose quelli ancora,
"e se la fama tua dopo te luca,
cortesìa e valor di' se dimora
nella nostra città []"

Inf., xx, 19 *et seq.*

Se Dio ti lasci, lettor, prender frutto
di tua lezione, or pensa per te stesso []

Inf., xxvii, 55 *et seqq.*

Ora chi se', ti priego che ne conte
non esser duro più ch'altri sia stato,
se il nome tuo nel mondo tegna fronte.

Inf., xxix, 88 *et seqq.*

dinne s'alcun Latino è fra costoro
che son quinc'entro, se l'unghia ti basti
etternalmente a cotesto lavoro

Inf., xxix, 103 *et seqq.*

Se la vostra memoria non s'imboli
nel primo mondo da l'umane menti
ma s'ella viva sotto molti soli,
ditemi voi chi siete e di che genti

Inf., xxx, 34 *et seqq.*

"Oh" diss'io lui" se l'altro non ti ficchi
li denti a dosso, non ti sia fatica
a dir chi è pria che di qui si spicchi "

Purg., v, 85 *et seqq.*

Poi disse un altro: "Deh, se quel desío
si compia che ti tragge all'alto monte,
con buona pietate aiuta il mio!"

Purg., viii, 112 *et seqq.*

"Se la lucerna che ti mena in alto
truovi nel tuo arbitrio tanta cera
quant'è mestiere infino al sommo smalto"
cominciò ella "se novella vera
di Val di Magra o di parte vicina
sai, dillo a me, che già grande là era"

Purg., xi, 37 *et seqq.*

"Deh, se giustizia e pietà vi disgrievi
tosto, sí che possiate mover l'ala
che secondo il disío vostro vi lievi

mostrate da qual mano inver la scala
 si va piú corto, e se c'è piú d'un varco
 quel m'insegnate che men erto cala, []"

Pur, XIII, 88 *et seqq.*

se tosto grazia resolvable le schiume
 di vostra coscienza, sí che chiaro
 per essa scenda della mente il fiume
 ditemi, ché mi fia grazioso e caro,
 s'anima è qui tra voi che sia latina, [. . .]

Purg, XXVI, 61 *et seqq.*

Ma se la vostra maggior voglia sazia
 tosto divegna, sí che il ciel v'alberghi
 ch'è pien d'amore e piú ampio si spazia
 ditemi, acciocché ancor carte ne verghi,
 chi siete voi, e chi è quella turba
 che se ne va dietro a' vostri terghi.

Petrarch, Trionfo d'Amore, II [IIA, or IV], 25 *et seq.*:

"Or dimmi, se colui'n pace vi guide,"
 e mostrai 'l duca lor, "che coppia è questa?"

Fazio degli Uberti, Il Dittamondo, in *Manuale della letteratura italiana* of D'Ancona and Bacci (Florence, 1911, 556).

Se quel che tutto regge ancor vi presti
 tanto di grazia per la sua pietate
 che degli antichi onori vi rivesti
 fatemi ancora tanto di bontate
 ch'io oda, come in vostra giovinezza
 foste cresciuta in tanta degnitate [. . .]

Boccaccio, Filostrato (Bari Pernicone, 1937), II, st 110

disse "Deh, Pandaro mio, se in quieto
 stato ti ponga Amore, abbi rispetto
 alquanto a me, non pure al giovinetto."

Scala dei Claustri (o "del Paradiso") in the volume *Trattati morali di Bono Giamboni* (Florence Piatti, 1836), 447.⁸ O anima, dimmi, se Dio ti salvi, or che ti vale, or che ti giova la continua lezione, e che ti giova occupare lo tempo e perderlo, leggendo le Sacre Scritture? (cf. Tommaseo-Bellini, s. u. *salvare*)

Orl Fur, VI, St 30.

Ma non restar però, che non risponda
 chi tu sia, ch'in corpo orrido ed irto
 con voce e razionale anima vivi,
 se da grandine il ciel sempre ti schivi

Orl Fur., XXXIV, St 9

Il duca stupefatto allor s'arresta

* This work is attributed by Francesco Tassi (in the Lezione preceding the text, p. 407) to the "celebre e dotto Frate Agostino della Scarperia, che fioriva sul declinare della metà del secolo decimoquarto." It is an imitation of a Latin treatise *De vita contemplativa* composed by "Guigo Quinto Priore della Certosa Maggiore."

e dice all'ombra: "Se Dio tronchi ogni ala
al fumo sí, ch'a te piú non ascenda,
non ti dispiaccia che 'l tuo stato intenda;

e se vuoi che di te porti novella
nel mondo su, per satisfarti sono "

This use may be due to Aristo's imitation here of Dante. The last example I know is very late (sixteenth century) and quite isolated, it is the translation of the Aeneid (III, 944 *et seqq*) by Annibal Caro (1507-1556), and I owe it to courtesy of Prof. Attilio Momigliano.

Oh, se le stelle
se gli Dei, se quest'aura onde spiramo
generosi e magnanimi Troiani
servin la vita a voi, quinci mi tolga
la pietà vostra, e vosco m'adducete
ove che sia, ché mi fia questo assai [. . .]

In two cases, the imperative (*dimmi*, or the like) is not expressed, the information is demanded otherwise, but the type of construction is absolutely the same (cf. McKenzie, 72 *et seq.*):

Purg., XXI, 112 *et seqq.*

E "Se tanto labore in bene assommi"
disse "[dimmi] perché la tua faccia testes
un lampeggiar di riso dimostrommi?"

Straparola, Notte X, fâv 5, ed. G. Rua, II, 196. Io, se Dio ti salvi ed abbia misericordia dell'anima tua, intenderei volentieri la causa di questa mutazione.

I ask the reader now to compare the following Latin passages.⁹

⁹ No instance of this use of *sic* is found before Catullus, hence it is quite possible that it did not exist in Old Latin. Ch. E. Bennett, *Syntax*, I, 111 considers the *sic*-sentence with future in Terence, H. T., 463 *sic me di amabunt, ut me tuarum misertumst, Menedeme, fortunarum* as desiderative, but this appears to me to be very doubtful, cf. Sjogren, *Zum Gebrauch des Futurums im Alllateinischen*, p. 73—See, however, what is said below on the passage of Plautus, Miles, 571.

On the other hand, we find no examples after Apuleius (2d cent. A.D.), although the temptation is great to correct *si ualeas* to *sic ualeas* in Hist. Apollonii, vii, p. 11, 3 (MS AP) *indica* [*dic* other MSS] *mih, si ualeas, quae est haec causa, quod ciuitas ista in luctu moratur?* Cf. W. Kroll, *Glossa*, VII (1916), 80, Hofmann, *Lat. Gramm.* p. 772, at the beginning of the page. The *Historia Apollonii* belongs perhaps to the sixth century A.D. Cf. also W. Kroll, *La sintaxis científica en la enseñanza del latín* (Madrid, 1935), p. 92 n. 1, who quotes, as proof of the existence of the formula of adjuration *sic ualeas*, the quite vulgar inscription CIL, IV, 6641 (Pompeii) *cacator sic ualeas ut tu hoc locum traseas*[s]. We must never forget how incomplete is our knowledge of Vulgar Latin!

It is also possible that in the sixth century the pronunciation *si* instead of *sic* was so common, that it crept into the text of Hist. Apoll.; *si ualeas* would then represent the spoken form of *sic ualeas* and should not be touched. This pronunciation is attested for the Vth

Catullus, xvii, 5 *et seqq.*

sic tibi bonus ex tuā pons libidine fiat
in quo uel Salisubili sacra suscipiantur,
munus hoc mihi maximū da, Colonia, risus

Horace, Odes, i, iii, 1 *et seqq.*

sic te diua potens Cypri sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera,
uentorumque regat pater obstrictis alius praeter Iapyga
nauis, quae tibi creditum debes Vergilium, finibus Atticis
reddas incolumem, precor, et serues animae dimidium meae

Horace, Odes, i, xxviii, 25 *et seqq.*

at tu, nauta, uagae ne parce malignus harenae
ossibus et capiti inhumato
particulam dare, sic, quodcumque minabitur Eurus
fluctibus Hesperus, Venusinae
plectantur siluae te sospite, multaue merces,
unde potest, tibi defluat aequo
ab Ioue Neptunoque sacri custode Tarenti.

Vergil, Ecl, ix, 30 *et seqq.*

sic tua Cyrneas fugiant examina taxos
sic cytisos pastae distendant ubera uaccae
incipi, si quid habes et me fecere poetam
Pierides, sunt et mihi carmina, me quoque dicunt [. .]

Vergil, Ecl, x, 4 *et seqq.*

sic tibi cum fluctus subterlabere Sicanos
Doris amara tuam non intermisceat undam,
incipi sollicitos Galli dicamus amores [. .]

Vergil, Aen, x, 875

sic pater ille deum faciat, sic altus Apollo,
incipias conferre manum.

Propertius, iii, vi, 1 *et seqq.*

dic mihi de nostrā quae sentis uera puellā
sic tibi sint dominae, Lygdame, dempta iuga.

Tibullus, ii, vi, 29 *et seqq.*

parce, per inmatura tuae precor ossa sororis.
sic bene sub tenerā parua quiescat humo

Tibullus, ii, v, 121 *et seqq.*

adnue, sic tibi sint intonsi, Phoebe, capilli
sic tua perpetuo sit tibi casta soror.

Ovid, Metam, viii, 848 *et seqq.*

sic mare compositum, sic sit tibi piscis in unda
credulus et nullos, nisi fixus, sentiat amos.

century by the grammarian Consentius before following *c-*(people used to say *si custodit*) instead of *sic custodit* G. L. Keil, V, 395, 11 ff., but *hi* for *hic* is already found in Pompeii (CIL. iv, 2048) before 79 A.D., cf. also E. Richter, *Beih. ZRPk*, vol. 82 [1934], 74 note with more material).

quae modo cum uili turbatis ueste capillis
litore in hoc steterat (nam stantem in litore uidi)
dic ubi sit [. . .]

Ovid, *Metam*, xiv, 761 *et seqq* :

[] quorum memor, o mea, lentos
pone, precor, fastus et amanti iungere, nymphe,
sic tibi nec uernum nascentia frigus adurat
poma, nec excutiant rapidi florentia uenti.

Ovid, *Epistulae*, iii, 135 *et seqq* :

nunc quoque—sic omnes Peleus pater impleat annos,
sic eat auspiciis Pyrrhus ad arma tuis—
respice sollicitam Briseida, fortis Achille,
nec miseram lentā ferreus ure morā
aut, si uersus amor tuus est in taedia nostri,
quam sine te cogis uiuere, coge mori

Ovid, *Epistulae*, iv, 147 *et seq* :

tolle moras tantum properataque foedera iunge
qui mihi nunc saeuit, sic tibi parcat amor.

Ovid, *Epistulae*, iv, 167 *et seqq* :

per Venerem parcas, oro, quae maxima mecum est,
sic numquam, quae te spernere possit, ames,
sic [. . .] adsit [. . .] sic faueant [. . .] et cadat [. . .] sic tibi dent
Nymphae [. . .]

Ovid, *Epist*, xv, 280.

parce datum fatis, Helene, contemnere amorem,
sic habeas faciles in tua uota deos.

Ovid, *Tristia*, iv, v, 17 *et seqq* :

quod licet (et tutum est) intra tua pectora gaude
meque tui memorem teque fuisse pium,
utque facis, remis ad opem luctare ferendum
dum ueniat placido mollior aura deo,
et tutare caput [. . .] teque praesta [. . .]
sic tua processus habeat fortuna perennes
sic [. . .] non egeas [. . .] sic aequet [. . .] diligat []
sic iuuenis [. . .] sic natus [. . .] et agnoscat sic faciat [. . .] nec det
[. . .]

Ovid, *Tristia*, v, ii, 51 *et seqq* .:

sic habites terras et te desideret aether
sic ad pacta tibi sidera tardus eas
parce, precor, minimamque tuo de fulmine partem
deme, satis poenae, quod superabit, erit

Ovid, *Tristia*, v, iii, 35 *et seqq* :

fer, bone Liber, opem, sic altera degrauet alium
uitis et incluso plena sit uua mero,
sic tibi iuuentus adsit [. . .] et non taceare [. . .] sic sint [. . .] uacet
[. . .] sic [. . .] uincat [. . .] huc ades et casus releues [. . .]

Seneca, Troades, 691 *et seqq.*

[. .] ad genua accido
 supplex, Vluxe, quamque nullius pedes
 nouere, dextram pedibus admoueo tuis
 miserere matris et preces placidus pias
 patiensque recipe, quoque te celsum altius
 superi leuarunt, mitius lapsos preme
 misero datur quodcumque fortunae datu..
 sic te reuisat coniugis sanctae torus
 annosque, dum te recipit, extendat suos
 Laerta, sic te iuuenis excipiat tuus
 et uota uincens uestra felici indole
 aetate auum transcendat, ingenio patrem
 miserere matris unicum afflictae mihi
 solamen hic est

Petronius, LXI, 2 oro te, sic felicem me uideas, narra illud quod tibi usu uenit
 Petronius, LXXV, 1. "Rogo" inquit "Habinna, sic peculum tuum fruniscaris,
 si quid perperam feci, in faciem meam inspue."

Martial, VII, lxxxix, 3 *et seq.*

[. .] quas tu nectere candidas, sed olim,
 sic te semper amet Venus, memento

Martial, VII, xciii, 8 *et seq.*

sed iam parce mihi nec abutere, Narnia, Quinto,
 perpetuo liceat sic tibi ponte frui.

Silius Italicus, v, 179.

"sic in Apollineā semper uestigia prunā
 inuiolata teras uictorque uaporis ad aras
 dona serenato referas sollemnia Phocho,
 concipe" ait "dignum factis, Aeque, furorem,
 uulneribusque tuis"

Apuleius, Metam, VIII, 201 per fortunas uestrosque genios, sic ad meae senectutis spatia ualidi laetique ueniatis, decepto seni subsistite meumque paruulum ab inferis ereptum canis meis reddite¹⁰

CIL., IV, 2776 (Pompeii, in uentre uasis) presta mi sinceru(m), sic te amet quae custodit ortu(m) Venus

Carm. epigr. 1067:

sic tibi contingat feliciter ire, uiator,
 immatura meo perlege fata loco.

Carm. epigr. 1467 (orig. lost; hesitatingly integrated by Buecheler)

¹⁰ I cannot well understand why Blase, *Hist. Gr.*, p. 134, considers this passage of Apuleius as 'merkwürdig', nor why he says that 'es fehlt der zu erwartende Imperativ und der Wunschsatz ist einem imperativischen Satze koordiniert.' Of course, we must put a comma after *Genios*—as e.g. the edition of Giarratano (Paravia, 1929) and the Loeb do—and join directly *per fortunas uestrosque Genios* with *decepto seni subsistite*, then 'der zu erwartende Imperativ' is *subsistite*, and the whole sentence is identical with the others, and by no means 'merkwürdig.'

sic] tibi praeterito redeat felicior annus
 sem] per et ex facili uita regatur ope
 hos?] durae [?] mortis sacratos laedere Manes
 par]ce: monent leges et leuis umbra rogi
 Carm. epigr. 1468.

sic tibi perpetuo sint, lector, uota secunda
 parce pios Manes sollicitare manu

The case is evidently the same in the three following passages, although the imperative (*dīc* 'tell me') is not directly expressed:

Horace, Sat., II, III, 300 *et seqq.*

Stoice, post damnum sic uendas omnia plures
 [dīc] quā me stultitiā insanire putas? [. .]

Tibullus, I, IV, 1 *et seqq.*

sic umbrosa tibi contingent tecta, Priape,
 ne capiti soles, ne noceantque niues,
 [dīc] quae tua formosos cepit sollertia? certe
 non tibi barba nitet, non tibi culta comast etc

Martial, IX, XLII, 1 *et seqq.*

campis, diues Apollo, sic Myrinis
 sic semper senibus fruarere cygnis
 doctae sic tibi seruiant sorores
 nec Delphis tua mentiatur ulli,
 sic Palatia te colant amentque
 bis senos cito te rogante fascēs
 det Stellae bonus annuatque Caesar.

See, e.g., Blase, *Histor. Gramm.*, III, i, 133

The identity of the Latin and the Italian type is absolute. first the speaker expresses a wish in favor of the interlocutor by the means of a sentence constructed with *sic*; *se* and the present subjunctive,¹¹ then, in exchange, he asks or begs something from the same interlocutor by means of an imperative (or its equivalent: an exhortative subjunctive); very often, a verb meaning "I pray you," "I beg you" is also found (Lat. *orō*, *precor*, *rogō*; Ital. *prego*, *pregai*; the *deh!* of Inf. x, 94 has of course the same meaning). Very frequently (in all cases in Dante, except one) the imperative is a verb meaning "to tell," "to answer," "to speak," "to

¹¹ As Prof. McKenzie (p. 71) correctly observes, *se* with the present subjunctive is extremely rare, we could almost say irregular, in Italian, outside of these formulas of adjuration. The *se mai continga che il poema sacro* [. .] of Par., XXV, 1 *et seqq.* is interpreted as being half desiderative by Prof. Spitzer (p. 303, n. 1) which is probably right (cf. the use of *contingat* in CIL, VIII, 1070, 4-5 [c] *ita tibi contingat quod uis, ut hoc sacrum non uiolēs*; Carm. Epigr. 1067 (Rome) *sic tibi contingat feliciter ire, uiator/immatura meo perlege fata loco*; 1287 *opto meae caste contingat uiuere natae*; Itala, Genesis, 44, 7 [Lugd.] *non contingat pueris tuis facere hoc uerbum* [μὴ γένοιτο LXX])

say," "to inform," "to explain," "to show" etc.¹² (Lat *dīc, incīpe, narrā*; Ital *dī, dimmi, dillo, ditemi*, or equivalent formulas: *non esser duro* [before *ti priego che ne conte*], *solvetemi quel nodo, non ti sia fatica a dir chi è*; *con buona pietate aiuta il mio [desio]*; *non restar che [tu] non risponda, non ti dispiaccia che[io]l tuo stato intenda* etc., etc.)

But similar sentences—with *si, se*, expressing a wish, in one member, and the imperative in the other—are also found in the other Romance languages (I draw my material in part from Diez, Gramm., 5th ed. [1882], III, 357):¹³

Spanish¹⁴ Poema del Cid, 1115, 1646, 3045.

oyd, mesnadas, si el Criador vos salve

Poema del Cid, 3139 (cf Cornu, *Rom*, x, 87):

oyd, mesnadas, si vos vala el Criador

Fern Gonz, 203

oytme, sy Jesucristo vos perdon

Appoll, 173

Dixo "si Dios te faga a tu casa tornar

que me digas el nombre que te suelen llamar "

Bibl de autores españoles, Rivadeneyra, x, 1b (probably fifteenth century).

Abrasmé las puertas, mora, si Alá te guarde de mal.

Provençal: Raynouard, *Choir de poésies*, III, 410:

perdonatz me, sim sal lo filh sancta Maria

Old French. Huon de Bordeaux, p. 106

Car me le di, se t'ame ait ja salu

Am et Am, 3345

Ce dist Gautiers. se Dex vos beneie

Seignor baron, nel me celez vos mie

Erec, 1203:

Mais ce me di, se Dieus t'aït,

Coment as non?

R Charr., LIV, 10

Menez m'i, se Dex vos eist.

Percev, 596:

Biaus amis, se Dieus vos ament,

De vos noveles nos contes.

¹² For Old Italian, this has been pointed out with reason by Prof McKenzie, *Italica*, XIII, 71 *et seqq*. Some of the Old French examples which I quote in the text are of the same kind (Huon de Bordeaux, p. 106, Am et Am., 3345, Percev, 4028, 1490, 596), as are also one Portuguese and one Spanish example (Appoll, 173).

¹³ The connection between the Italian and the French "desiderative" *se*, denied by Foulet, is strongly asserted by Spitzer, *Rom.*, LXV, 309 "une interprétation intra-française est donc exclue et il ne reste que l'interprétation 'interromane' de Diez et de Gaspary."

¹⁴ For Spanish, more material (also of the "asseverative" type) may be found in Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de mio Cid* (Madrid, 1908), I, 372.

Percev , 1490:

Vallet, se Dameldex t'aît,
Se tu me ses dire noveles
Des chevaliers et des puceles [. . .]

Percev , 4028:

Amis, se Dameldex t'aît,
Fait li rois, dy moi venté

Percev , 8974

Car sejoynés, se Dex vos gart,
Hui et demain et plus encore

Portuguese Diez, Ueber die erste port Kunstpoesie, Bonn, 1863, 79, 12

Dizede me, se Deos vos perdon

For Rumanian, where *să* (*se*) regularly introduces all desiderative sentences, cf Meyer-Lubke, *Gramm rom* , 3, 148 et seqq , §§118 et seq , 428, §387, 667, §590

Examples of desiderative *sic*¹⁵ of the asseverative type are rather rare in Latin: I know only the following:

Tibullus I, vii, 53 *et seq* .

sic uenias hodiernae, tibi dem turis honores
liba et Mopsopio dulcia melle feram

("so may you come today, as it is true that I am willing etc.")

¹⁵ I do not include in my enumeration the instances of correlative *sic-ut*, because the type is somewhat different, hence they may not be so well compared with the Italian passages. The examples most nearly resembling the "imperative" type is evidently CIL , iv, 6641 *cacator sic ualeas, ut tu hoc locum traseas* [s] (cf W Kroll, *La sintaxis científica en la enseñanza del latín* [Madrid, 1935], p 92, n 1, compare also, with *ita*, CIL , viii, 1070 *ita tibi contingat quod uis ut hoc sacrum non uoles*).

Instances of the "asseverative" type are

Catulus, xlv, 13 *et seqq* .

"sic", inquit, "mea uita, Septumille,
huic uni domino usque seruamus,
ut multo mihi maior acriorque
ignis mollihus ardet in medullis"

Here the character of "asseveration" is clearly indicated by the translation of F E. Cornish in the Loeb Classical Library (New York, 1914) 55, who considers it necessary to add the words "I swear".

"So, my life, my darling Septimius, so may we ever serve this one master as (I swear) more strongly and fiercely burns in me the flame deep in my melting marrow."

Propertius has (I, xviii, 11).

sic mihi te referas leuis, ut non altera nostro
limine formosos intulit ulla pedes

This usage of *sic* is very frequent in Ovid, whose style is relatively popular
Epist , xv, 25:

[Cytherea] perstat et ut pelagi, sic pectoris adiuuet aestum
deferat in portus et mea uota suos

Metam., viii, 866 *et seqq*.. quoque minus dubites, sic has deus aequoris artes
adiuuet, ut nemo iandudum litore in isto
me tamen excepto, nec femina constitit ulla.

Tibullus, II, v, 63 *et seq.*

uera cano, sic usque sacras innoxia laurus
uescar, et aeternum sit mihi uirginitas

Propertius, xv, 1 *et seq.*:

sic ego non ullos iam norim in amore tumultus
nec ueniat sine te nox uigilanda mihi
ut mihi praetexti pudor est uelatus amictu
et data libertas noscere amoris iter,
illa rudis animos per noctes conscia primas
inhuit, heu!, nullis capta Lycinna datis

(Transl. Paganelli, ed. Belles Lettres [Paris, 1929] "Ah puisse-je ne plus connaître les tourments de l'amour, ne plus passer de nuits à veiller loin de toi comme je dis la vérité (!) j'étais encore revêtu de la prétexte" etc etc)

In the Ibis there is an abundance of these clauses vv 64 *et seq.*, 273 *et seq.*, 315 *et seq.*, 331-337, 339 *et seq.*, 341, 343-348, 421-424, 235 *et seq.* (with *tanquam* instead of *ut*), 469-476, 521 *et seq.*, 549 *et seq.*, 569 *et seq.*, 583 *et seq.*; 591, 601 *et seq.*, 603-606, 621-626 (double) Total 21, in a little poem of 644 verses! More material in the other works of Ovid can easily be found, I believe, with the help of the excellent Ovidian concordance published by Deferrari, Barry, and McGuire (Washington, 1939)

Ital. *così*, Spanish *así*, Old French *sì*, French *ainsi* also are used exactly the same way for Spanish I may quote Cervantes, Quijote, II, 1:

Así Dios me dé ventura
como es el novio galón

More material is in R. J. Cuervo, *Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana*, I (Paris, 1896) s. u. *así* [6], 698 *et seq.*

For Italian, we can read, e.g., Orl. Fur., XXVIII, st. 13.

Così mi sia questo cammin felice
come tornar vo' fra due mesi almanco.
né mi faccia passar d'un giorno il segno
se mi donasse il re mezzo il suo regno

But they are used in optative sense also without the correlative *como*, *come*. For Spanish I may quote the sapphic ode of Estéban Manuel de Villegas (1596-1669) indicated to me by the kindness of Prof. Américo Castro, see Menéndez Y Pelayo, *Las cien mejores poesías de la lengua castellana* (Buenos Aires-Madrid, no date), p. 145:

Así los dioses con amor paterno
así los cielos con amor benigno
nieguen al tiempo que feliz volares
nieve á la tierra.

More material of this type for Spanish may be found in R. J. Cuervo, *Diccionario*, s. u. *así* (5), pp. 699 of s. q., and in the *Diccionario* of the Academia Española, I (Madrid, 1933), s. u. *así* (8) 841, col. 2, for Italian see Tommaseo-Bellini, s. u. *così*, nn. 15 and 18, 1781, col. 3.

For French, see e.g. Godefroi, vol. 1, 181, vol. 7, 415 *seq.* (*sic m'aist Deus* etc., *ainsi m'aist Dieux*) and the *Grand dictionnaire universel* of P. Larousse, I, s. u. *ainsi*, 160, col. 1 (Malherbe, Bossuet, Fénelon, etc.). *ainsi puisse la France être toujours prospère!*

I know of no other cases of desiderative *sic* in the whole Latin language, outside of the two types examined in this paper, the adjurative and the asseverative type (both with *ut* and without *ut*).

Propertius, iv [v], vii, 51 *et seqq* :

iuro ego fatorum nulli reuolubile carmen
tergeminusque canis sic mihi molle sonet
me seruasse fidem si fallo, uipera nostris
sibilet in tumulis et super ossa cubet

Silius Italicus, ii, 301 *et seqq* .

[. . .] haud Tiryntia tecta
—sic propriā luat hoc poenā nec misceat urbis
fata suis—nunc hoc, hoc inquam, tempore muros
oppugnat, Carthago, tuos teque obsidet armis

Silius Italicus, iv, 505 *et seqq*

“at tu, donatā tela inter Martia luce,
infelix animae, sic, sic uiuasque tuoque
des iterum hanc laudem nato, nec fine sub aeu
oppetere in bello detur, cum fata uocabunt
pugnantem cecidisse meum est ” Haec personat ardens

This type also exists in Old Italian constructions with *se*, it is the type of sentence which McKenzie calls of ‘protestation’ or ‘asseveration’: “the *se*-clause,” as he explains very well (*Italica*, xiii, 73), “simply strengthens a statement:” I know of the following examples:

Brunetto Latino, *Il Tesoretto* (Florence: Zannoni, 1824), p. 59, Strassburg, ed. B. Wiese, p. 35, vv. 667 *et seqq*):

E l'om, se Dio mi vaglia,
creato fu san faglia
la piú nobile cosa,
e degna, e preziosa
di tutte creature.

Ibid , p. 13, vv. 42 *et seqq* (ed. Zannoni, p. 103, ed. Wiese, p. 51, vv. 1224 *et seqq*):

Ma rícontar non oso
ciò ch'io trovaí, e vidi,
se Dio mi guardi [porti R], e guidi.

Guittone d'Arezzo (ed. Pellegrini), 15 *et seq* :

Se Deo m'aiuti, amor, peccato fate
se v'allegrate de lo malo meo.

Ibid , 203 *et seqq* .

Eo non posso appagare
a dir, Donna, de voi l'animo meo,
che, se m'aiuti Deo,
quanto piú dico, piú talento dire.

Ibid., 217 *et seqq* :

Amore meo, se Deo m'alongi noia
e gioia in voi me dia,
a la stagion ch'eo foi
talentoso de voi, lo tempo mio
sí picciul era, non m'è viso fiore

amor, che de voi pria
 nulla cosa vedesse
 ni poi, che me tenesse [Val] in tal desio
 de servire e d'amar¹⁶

Dante, Inf, xvi, 127 *et seqq*

ma qui tacer non posso, e per le note
 di questa comedia, lettor, ti giuro,
 s'elle non sien di lunga grazia vote,
 ch'io vidi per quell'aere grosso e scuro
 venir notando una figura in giuso
 maravighiosa ad ogni cor sicuro;

Purg, ii, 16 *et seqq*.

cotal m'apparve, s'io ancor lo veggia,
 un lume per lo mar venir sí ratto
 che 'l mover suo nessun volar pareggia

Purg, viii, 127 *et seqq* :

e io vi giuro, s'io di sopra vada,
 che vostra gente onrata non si sfregia
 del pregio della borsa e della spada.

Par, xxii, 106 *et seqq* :

S'io torni mai, lettore, a quel divoto
 trunfo per lo quale io piango spesso
 le mie peccata, e il petto mi percuoto
 tu non avresti intanto tratto e messo
 nel foco il dito, in quanto io vidi il segno
 che segue il Tauro e fui dentro da esso

Boccaccio, Giornata iv, nov. 2 Io vi diceva ben, frate Alberto, che le mie bellezze eran celestiali, ma, se Dio m'aiuti, di voi m'incresce, ed infino da ora [. . .] io vi perdono

Giornata iv, nov. ix, 8 "Se m'aiuti Iddio, "disse il Cavaliere, "io il vi credo, né me ne maraviglio, se morto v'è piaciuto ciò, che vivo più che ogni altra cosa vi piacque "

Giornata v, nov. 10 Se Dio mi salvi, di così fatte femmine non si vorrebbe aver misericordia.

Giornata viii, nov. vi, 7. Tu mi faresti dar l'anima al nemico: io dico che tu non mi credi, se io non sia impiccato per la gola, che egli m'è stato imbolato.

Giornata viii, nov. vi, 8: Se Iddio mi salvi, questo è mal fatto, se vero è.

Giornata ix, nov. 10: Se m'aiuti Iddio, tu se' povero; ma egli sarebbe mercè, che tu fossi molto più

Giornata x, nov. x, at the end, Canzone, stanza 5:

¹⁶ The Italian paraphrase of the ed Pellegrini, p. 220, reads "Amor mio, se Dio mi tenga lungi ogni danno e mi conceda gioia in voi, io vi attesto [!], o amore, che nel tempo in cui dapprima fui desideroso di voi, la mia età era sí picciola (ero così giovane) che non mi sembra d'aver giammai visto né prima né dopo di voi donna alcuna, che più suscitasse il mio desiderio di servirla e d'amarla."

Se io non sia svisata
pianger farolle amara tal folha

Filostrato, Proemio (Bari ed Pernicone, 1937), 4 Dico adunque, se Iddio tosto
coll'aspetto del vostro bel viso gli occhi miei riponga nella perduta pace, che
poscia che io seppi che voi di qui partita eravate []

Filostrato, II, stanza 39

A cui ella rispose "Non ancora
piú d'un che d'altro, se io non sia morta "

Filostrato, II, stanza 94.

A ciò Pandaro disse "Se ti piace
fa' quel ch'io dico e me poi lascia fare
che, se Amor mi ponga in la sua pace,
io te ne credo risposta arrecare
di sua man fatta [. .]"

Filostrato, III, stanza 56.

tu m'hai d'inferno messo in paradiso
amico mio, se io non sia ucciso

Filostrato, IV, stanza 18

Poscia ch'io seppi la trista novella
del traditor del mio padre malvagio
se Dio mi guardi la tua faccia bella
nulla giammai sentí tanto disagio
quant'io ho poi sentito, come quella
ch'oro non curo, città né palagio,
ma sol di dimorar sempre con teo
in festa ed in piacere, e tu con meco

These expressions may be compared with such Old French sentences
as:

Percev , 9750:

Et il respont "se Dex me gart
autrui n'aloie jou querant "

R Charr , LXXXI, xxvii, 2926-27:

Et cil dist "Se je soie saus
ja mes de toie n'arai pitié
des qu'une foiz t'ai respitié."

Leg., CCLVII, 8

Se Dieu plest n'en mentirai.

Past., CLXXVIII, 101:

Naie, se Dieu plaist,
autrui n'amerai

Ren , v, 18:

Et cilz li dist "Se Diex me voie,
joie aurai je quant je vous voi "

Ren., III, 68.

li autre dist: "Se Dex me saut,
ainz vaut bien quatre a bon marchié."

Material is very abundant and may be found in Diez, *Gramm*, III, 357, Ed. Matzner, *Syntax der neufranz Sprache*, 2d ed (Berlin, 1845), 43 *et seq*, K. Tholle, *Das Betheuern und Beschworen in der altromanischen Poesie*, Diss. Göttingen (Erlangen, 1883), 57, Fr. Bischoff, *Der Coniunctiv bei Chrestien* (Halle a S.), 11, L. Foulet, *Rom*, LIII (1927), 304 *et seqq*; J. Merk, *ZRPh*, Beiheft 41, 267 *et seqq*, Tobler, *Mitt*, 1, 29, Godefroy, *Dict*, vol. 1, 181, col. 2, vol. 7, 415.

In Provençal we have (cf. Meyer-Lubke, *Grammatik*, III, 692):

B Born, XXI, 80
 assi 'm podetz ric far
 e mon dan restaurar
 si Dieus e sains m'ampar

In Spanish we have:

Arcepreste de Hita, Lib. de buen amor (Madrid: Cejador, 1913), I, 181, v. 487
 Dyz la mujer entre dientes "Otro Pedro es aqueste,
 mas garçon e mas ardit, que el primero que ameste
 el primero apost déste non vale más que un feste,
 con aqueste e por este faré yo, si Dios me preste "

ibidem, II, 45, v. 984.

Díxel yo "Estó de priesa, si Dios de mal me guarde."

In Portuguese there is:

Graal 92.

se Deos m'ajude, eu ho vingarey a meu poder

I also find a Genoese example in Rambaut de Vaqueiras (quoted in the *Manuale* of F. Torraca, ed. 1913, I, 11):

Jugar, to proenzalesco,
 s'eu aja gauzo de mi,
 non prezo un genoi.

The sentences in *Inferno*, XVI, 128 *et seq* and *Purg*, VIII, 127 *et seq*. (*ti giuro, vi giuro*) may be directly compared with Propertius IV [v], VII, 51: *iuro ego*, the *se m'avuti Deo*, *se m'arti Iddio* of Guittone and Boccaccio with the Portuguese *se Deos m'ajude* (Gaal, 92) and the Old French *si m'aist Dex* etc. (with *si*, cf. note 15); the *se Dio mi vaglia* of B. Latino and the Spanish *si vos valva el Criador* (Cid, 3139), with Lat. *sic. valeas, sic uiuas* (Sil. It.), *sic te amet Venus* etc.

From the phonetic point of view, it is true that Lat. *sic* has given Old Ital. *sí*, O. Fr. *sí*, Port. *sim*, Rum. *și*. But there is no difficulty in admitting that, with a different meaning and consequently with a different intonation, it has given at the same time *se* (*să*) in the same languages.

The case is exactly the same as with Lat. *magis*, which has given Ital. *ma* and *mai*, Port. *mas* and *mais*. It is, in any case, not more difficult to derive Ital., O. French *se* from *sic* than from *sī*. That *sic* in the Romance

languages was weakening in stress, is proved by the modern forms. Ital. *così*, Fr. *ainsi*, Sp. *así*, Cat. *assí*, Engad. *aschia*, Port. *assim*, Rum. *asa*, Lomb. *mśí*, Prov. *enaisi*, Log. *gar* (= **eccu-hāc-sic*), etc. Cf. the linguistic atlas of Italy by Jaberg, and Jud, map 631.

An exact parallel to this supposed split¹⁷ of Lat. *sic* into the two forms *si(m)*, *se (sǎ)* in French,¹⁸ Italian, Portuguese, and Rumanian,¹⁹ is given by the German *so*, which also has two functions and a different stress in each function: and it is precisely the function corresponding to the Romance desiderative *se (sɪ)* which has the lighter stress (*sǒ*), whereas the function corresponding to *sic (ita)* 'this way' has the heavier (*sō*). The German process has been carefully examined by L. Spitzer (*Rom*, LXV [1939], 309), who quotes *so mir Gott helfe* as well as Schiller: *Hier Schwore ich* [Lat. *uīrō*, Ital. *giuro*], *und so speye die Natur mich aus ihren Grenzen in eine bosartige Bestie aus*, [. . .].

My interpretation of this type of Romance *se* as *sic* seems to be confirmed by the obvious German translation of *se* in all the passages quoted above, which is *so*; cf. e.g. Diez, 4th ed., II, 233: "Daher [Conjunktiv] *salt, conselt* in den gewonlichen Betheuerungsformeln *se dex me salt* 'so Gott mich behute,' *se dex me conseut* 'so Gott mir rathe'." In English, likewise, the obvious translation of *se, sɪ*, in all the passages quoted above would be *so, so may God help you, protect you*, etc., etc., and the Italian word *se* is in effect correctly given in *so* in most English translations of Dante (see McKenzie, *Italica*, XIII, 73, at the end of the page). Spitzer observes the same for German (*Rom*, LXV [1939], 299 *et seqq.*, 309).

From the purely formal point of view, the method of geographic linguistics, codified by Bàrtoli in his well-known *Introduzione alla neolinguistica* (Geneva, 1925), indicates that the Sardinian and Spanish *sɪ* should be older than the Italian and French *se* for two reasons: (1) because both Sardinia and Spain are "aree isolate" with relation to Northern France and Italy, and even to Provence and to Rumania (Bàrtoli, 3 *et seqq.*; 19, cf. also 26, 66); (2) because both of them, being colonies, are "aree seriori" with relation to Italy, which was the metropolis (Bàrtoli, 13 *et seqq.*). And, if, approaching the problem from another side, we apply Grober's "chronological" theory (*ALL.*, I, 211 *et seqq.*), we note that it fits

¹⁷ There is little doubt, I think, that both Old Italian desiderative and conditional *se* are stressless (pretonic). For Old French *se* < *sic*, see Rydberg, *Geschichte des französischen* (Upsala, 1907), I, 855 *et seqq.*; also Gailhéron, *Abeille*, 283 *et seqq.*

As for the fall of final -c, cf. e.g. Fr. *là*, It. *là*, Sp. *allá* < Lat. *illāc*, It. *lì*, Sp. *allí* < Lat. *illīc*. Cf. also note 9, at the end, and note 22.

¹⁸ The oldest Provençal texts show *sí*, not *se*. See Place, *Hispanic Review*, v, 262. Did *se* come later from Northern France?

¹⁹ Old Rumanian has *se*, exactly as Italian, French, and Portuguese, cf. Meyer-Lubke *Gramm. rom.*, 3, 639, §567. Modern Rumanian has *să*, derived from *se*, and thus from **sī(c)*.

perfectly with our case, for the older form *sīc* (or *sī*) is preserved in all the ancient colonies (Sicily, Sardinia, Venetia, Spain, Provence), whereas the more recent colonies (Northern Gaul, Lusitania, Rhaetia, Dacia) and the metropolis, Italy, have the shortened form *'sī* (cf. the just cited linguistic *Atlas*, map 1278). So the Vulgar Latin passage of *sīc* (or *sī*) to *'sī* in Italy must have occurred slightly before Caesar's conquest of Gaul, which ended in the year 50 B C with the organization of Northern Gaul into provinces, Lusitania and Rhaetia became provinces in 15 B C, Dacia in 108 A D. Cf. also Bruch, *Glotta*, 26 (1938), 173 (on the distribution of *auricula* and *ōricula* in the Romance countries).

About the Aragonese, Leonese and Asturian form *se*, see also E. B. Place, *Hispanic Review*, v (1937), 259, 261. As for Catalan, either if we consider it as a Provençal or as an Ibero-roman dialect, its *sī* tallies perfectly with both Grober's and Bàrtoli's theories.

A very interesting detail concerning the Latin use of the *sīc* construction which we have just examined is that it is almost exclusively poetical. Of the prose writers, only two, most characteristic ones, have it—Petronius twice and Apuleius once. It will also be noted that it is more frequent in the elegiac and epigrammatic style than in the epic. W. Kroll explains this in *Glotta*, vii (1916), 80:

Dasz es sich dabei um volkstümliche Ausdrucksweise handelt, zeigt z. B. Catull, xvii, 5 *sic tibi bonus ex tua pons libidine fiat*; CIL. iv, 2776 *presta mi sinceru(m): sic te amet* [. . .] *Venus*. Wir dürfen also ein in der Umgangssprache gebräuchliches *sic ualeas* [cf. Hist. Apolloni 7 S. xi, 3] annehmen, auch wenn es vielleicht nicht überliefert ist.²⁰

It is evident that the presence of this *sīc* in such prose writers as Petronius and Apuleius—and its complete absence in all the others—only confirms Kroll's opinion: it was a popular expression, common in colloquial Latin, but avoided by good authors. As for the coincidence between the poetical and the popular speech in Rome, other interesting examples could be cited.²¹ The psychological reasons for this coincidence are presented, as usual, in a masterful way by Fr. Ruckdeschel in his excellent dissertation *Archaismen und Vulgarismen in der Sprache des Horaz* (Munich, 1910), 5:

²⁰ In *La sintaxis científica* (Madrid, 1935), p. 92, n. 1 he adds CIL. iv (Pompeii), 6641. *cacator sic ualeas, ut tu hoc locum traseas*[s], the vulgar character of which no one would deny. Cf. also with the CIL. viii, 1070, 4-5 (c). *ita tibi contingat quod uis, ut hoc sacrum non uiolēs*.

²¹ E.g. the so-called "poetical plurals" of the type *gaudia* > French *joie*; see Bonfante, *Emerita*, iv (1936), 245, G. Devoto, *Storia della lingua di Roma* (Bologna, 1940), 173; 238. See also the use of *gŷrus* instead of *circulus* (Bonfante, *Emerita*, v [1937], 24 et seq., Devoto, 334, 337).

Selbst in den Oden höheren und höchsten Stils begegnet uns hie und da Volkstümliches und wir dürfen uns daran nicht stoßen. Volks- und Dichtersprache sind eben keine absoluten Gegensätze, sondern stehen einander in mehrfacher Hinsicht nahe. Beide entspringen aus lebhafter Phantasie, aus warmem, oft überquellendem Gefühl, beide denken plastisch anschaulich, lieben daher die bildliche Ausdrucksweise und vermeiden alles Abstrakte, rein Gedankliche. Darum kann man auch bei unseren besten Lyrikern die Spuren der Volkssprache oft genug wahrnehmen.

Like so many other phenomena of popular and vulgar Latin, our *sic*-construction faded away for some centuries from our texts, only to reappear later in the new form of spoken Latin: Romance.

If we consider attentively the material which I have presented above, I believe that we may conclude that in the passage of Plautus, mentioned at the beginning of this paper, Miles, 571: *ne tu hercle, si te di ament, linguam comprimes* (in case we wish to preserve the subjunctive *ament*) the correction of *si* to *sic* is very likely, particularly if we compare (following Hofmann, *Lat. Gramm.*, 771 *et seqq.*) Amphitruo 597: *neque, ita me di ament, credebam*. But the following observation of Hofmann seems to me not to correspond to the facts: he writes:

doch scheint die unmittelbare Gleichsetzung [?] dieses *si* mit *sic* als Einleitungsform von Wunschsätzen (oft seit den Augusteern, s. Kroll, *Glotta*, VII, 80 und *Wiss. Synt.*, 80, dazu *Gnomon*, 2, 760) an der fast regelmässigen [!] Nachstellung dieser *sic*-Sätze zu scheitern.

Cf. also Harper's *Dict.*, 1 (2d ed., 1907), 1691, 3, v, 1.

Now, of the 38 examples quoted above, 19 (Catullus, xvii, 5, Horace, Odes, I, iii, 1, Sat, II, iii, 300 *et seq.*; Tibullus, I, iv, 1 *et seqq.*; I, vii, 53 *et seqq.*; Propertius, xv, 1 *et seqq.*, Vergil, Ecl., ix, 30, x, 4 *et seqq.*, Aen., x, 875, Ovid, Metam., viii, 848 *et seqq.*; Tristia, v, ii, 51 *et seqq.*; Seneca, Troades, 689 *et seqq.*; Petronius, lxi, 2, lxxv, 1; Martial, ix, xlii, 1 *et seqq.*; Silius Italicus, v, 179 *et seqq.*, Carm. epigr. 1067, 1467, 1468) have the clause with *sic* preceding the other sentence; in 12 cases (Horace, Odes, I, xxviii, 25 *et seqq.*, Tibullus, II, v, 63 *et seqq.*; II, v, 121 *et seqq.*, II, vi, 29 *et seqq.*, Propertius, III, vi, 1 *et seqq.*, Ovid, Metam., xiv, 761 *et seqq.*; Epist., iv, 147 *et seqq.*; iv, 167 *et seqq.*; xv, 280; Tristia, iv, v, 17 *et seqq.*; Martial, vii, xciii, 8 *et seqq.*, cii., iv, 2776) the *sic*-clause follows the other sentence; in one case (Ovid, Tristia, v, iii, 35) one imperative sentence precedes (*fer*) and two follow (*ades*, *releues*); in another (Silius Italicus, iv, 505 *et seqq.*) the *sic*-sentence is split by the other one, while in the 5 remaining instances the *sic*-clause divides the other one in two parts (Propertius iv [v], vii, 51 *et seqq.*; Ovid, Epist., III, 135 *et seqq.*, Martial vii, lxxxix, 3 *et seqq.*; Silius Italicus, II, 301 *et seqq.*; Apuleius, Metam., viii, 20). We see, therefore, that in the majority of the instances

the desiderative *sic*-sentence precedes the other one, as is the case in Old Italian, where the *se*-clause precedes the other one in 30 cases, follows it in 7, and splits it in 9

If what I have tried to demonstrate above is true—viz. that *se*, *si* in the Romance formulas of adjuration (and asseveration) comes from Lat. *sic*—I think the strongest pillar of Nicholson's construction is destroyed. Romance *se*, *si* (both adjurative and conditional) may come from an intermingling²² of Lat. *sic* and *sī*, or perhaps even from *sic* alone, but *sī* has nothing to do with the matter.

* * *

The main idea which I defend in the present article was first expressed, I think, by Cornu, *Rom*, x (1881), 87, then by Gaston Paris in the same journal, xii (1883), 628:

"car, malgré ce que dit Diez [trad. fr., iii, 328], dans ces formules [romanes d'invocation et de serment] il faut certainement reconnaître *sic* et non *si*, et les formes italiennes, portugaises, provençales et françaises *se* ne proviennent que d'une confusion postérieure."

Cf. also L. G. Blanc, *Gramm. der Italian. Spr.*, 585, Tommaseo-Bellini, *Dizionario della lingua ital.*, s.u. *se*, xxxiv, 737, Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de mio Cid*, (Madrid, 1908), i, 372 *et seq.*; L. Foulet, *Romania*, LIII (1927), 303. But none of these scholars has examined the problem in detail, although the exact meaning of the latin *sic* in these constructions is correctly indicated by L. Foulet (p. 303) commenting on Horace *sic te diua potens*; "Je fais des vœux pour que Vénus [. . .] les vents [. . .] dirigent ta course, ô navire, *en revanche* amène Virgile [. . .]" (italics mine).²³

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²² The relation between *sī* and *sic* was originally a very close one, cf. e.g. W. Kroll, *La sintaxis científica* p. 91 *et seqq.*, Ernout-Meillet, s.u. *sī*; Hofmann, *Lat. Grammatik*, p. 771 *et seq.* (with bibl.) There were once the same word, *sic* being nothing more than **sī-ce* (**sei-ce*).

In any case, *sic* and *sī* confused largely in late Latin—see on this subject Hofmann, *Lat. Gramm.*, p. 772 at the top of the page, Rydberg, *Geschichte des französischen*, (Upsala, 1907), i, 215 *et seq.*; 236 *et seq.*, with material and bibliography. About the weakening of *sī* to *sī* > *se*, see the same work, i, 224 *et seqq.*, about *sic* > *se*, ibidem, 855 *et seqq.* Then Gilliéron, *Abeille*, p. 283 *et seqq.* and see above notes 9 and 17.

About *sī* > *si* in Latin, see Bourciez, *Éléments de ling. romane*, 3d ed., 282, §257 "il faut observer qu'en latin vulgaire l'*ī* s'y était abrégé dans des combinaisons *sī quis*, *sī quidem* (Ovidé), Fast., 4, 603), d'où une forme romane *se* (sauf en espagnol où le classique *si* a été conservé, et en français où il a été rétabli vers le XVe siècle)." Cf. also Leumann, *Lat. Gramm.*, 102 §87 A 4.

²³ I wish to express here all my gratitude to Prof. McKenzie, who not only gave me excellent advice during the redaction of this paper, but also generously placed at my disposal his Old Italian material, fruit of his patient and personal investigation.

THE FOUR DAUGHTERS OF GOD IN THE *GESTA ROMANORUM* AND THE COURT OF SAPIENCE

THE medieval version of the Four Daughters of God which exerted a wider influence than any other recension of Saint Bernard's famous allegory¹ has been overlooked in literary investigations of the theme.² For the sake of convenience one might refer to this work in Latin prose as the *Rex et Famulus*. At the end of the volume containing one of its manuscripts, an ascription in a hand of the fourteenth century assigns the authorship of the entire collection to one Peter of Poitiers, whom Hauréau identifies as a monk living at Saint-Victor at the beginning of the thirteenth century.³ Since three contemporary medieval writers are known to have borne this name, I shall refer to the supposed author as Peter of Saint-Victor.⁴

I The allegory was transcribed by Hauréau in 1884 from MS Latin 14886 Bibliothèque Nationale,⁵ and again in 1891 from a better text, MS

¹ In *Annunthione B. Mariae*, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* CLXXXIII, 383-390, see especially cols 385-390.

² For previous literary studies see R. Heinzel, "Vier Geistliche Gedichte," *ZfdA*, xvii (1874), 43-56, especially p. 49, W. Scherer, "Die Vier Töchter Gottes," *ZfdA*, xxi (1877), 414-416, L. Bourgain, *La Chaire Française au Deuxième Siècle*, Paris, 1879, pp. 214 ff., Hope Traver, *The Four Daughters of God* (Bryn Mawr, 1907), and Miss Traver's later study, "The Four Daughters of God: A Mirror of Changing Doctrine," *PMLA*, xl (1925), 44-92; C. F. Buhler, *Sources of the Court of Sapience* (Leipzig, 1932), A. Långfors, "Notice des Manuscrits 535 et 10047," *Notices et Extraits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, xlii (1933), 172-182. G. R. Owst mentions the version in a note, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 91, but evidently confuses Peter of Saint Victor with Peter of Poitiers, the Chancellor of Paris, since it is the Chancellor who wrote the *Summa* or Sentencebook, cf. P. S. Moore, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers* (Washington, 1936), pp. 26-27. Jean Rivière in his theological analysis in *Le Dogme de la Rédemption au Début du Moyen-Âge* (Paris, 1934), pp. 342-346, discusses the *Rex et Famulus* as a poetic treatment of doctrine, giving only casual attention to one or two of the literary aspects. This list is selective.

³ B. Hauréau, "Notice sur le Numéro 8299 des Manuscrits Latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale," *Not. et Extr.*, xxxi (1884), 303-304. Despite the ascription, the authorship is obviously uncertain.

⁴ The first Peter of Poitiers was the Prior of Cluny, and is not known to have written any prose, the second was the Chancellor of Paris, and, as a secular, would not have been called Brother, the third, because he was a monk at Saint-Victor, would have been given this title, and for this reason Hauréau favors his identification with the writer of the *Rex et Famulus*. To appreciate the possibilities of confusion, see L. Deslisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1874), II, 221, and F. Bonnard, *Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint-Victor de Paris* (Paris, 1907), I, 122-123. For the best discussion of identity, see P. S. Moore, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers* (Washington, 1936), pp. 21-24.

⁵ *Not. et Extr.* xxxi, 301-303. The exact foliation is not given. Hauréau does not discuss the sources nor the influence of this work.

Latin 5556, folio 64.^a The extent to which medieval preachers, poets, and dramatists used the *Rex et Famulus* leads one to conjecture that numerous manuscripts once existed, some of which might still be found in the inaccessible libraries of Europe. Instead of the text of a manuscript, one regrets the necessity of printing here for readiness in reference Hauréau's transcription of MS 5556 and variant readings from his text of MS 14886. The variant readings are noted just after the text.

Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi, etc. Fuit quidam paterfamilias, scilicet rex quidam potens, qui quatuor habuit filias, quarum prima^a vocabatur Misericordia, altera Veritas, tertia Pax, quarta Justitia,⁷ de quibus dictum est *Misericordia et veritas*, etc. Habebat etiam filium sapientissimum, cui nemo in omni scientia poterat comparari. Habebat etiam famulum suum, quem exaltaverat, quem sublimaverat,^b quem multo honore ditaverat, utpote quem ad imaginem et similitudinem fecerat, etiam nullo suo merito praecedente. Dominus vero, uti mos est hujusmodi dominorum sapientium, voluit mores cognoscere et explorare fidem famuli sui utrum esset famulus fidelis erga se, necne. Dedit ei leve praeceptum vel mandatum, dicens "Die quacumque comederis fructum scientiae boni et mali, morte morieris, istud mandatum si bene^c custodiens, amphori honore donaberis,^d sin autem, morte pessima^e morieris." Famulus, suscepto mandato domini sui haud mora transgressus est id mandatum. Quid plura? quid verborum vos laciniis demorabor? Dominus, transgressio cui non latuit, adfuit et causam transgressionis quaesivit.^f Famulus superbus, turgidus, contumeliosus, inflatus, totam culpam retorsit in dominum suum. Cum enim dixit, "Mulier quam dedisti mihi ipsa me decepit," totam culpam impegit in auctorem. Dominus vero, non tam pro transgresso mandato quam pro illata contumelia offensus, quatuor vocavit tortores saevissimos, uni illorum praeciens ut, ligatis manibus et pedibus, superbum transgressorem incarcerationet, alteri ut vivum^g decoriaret,^h tertio ut eum jugularet,ⁱ quarto ut eum devoraret.

⁶ *Notices et Extraits de Quelques Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, III, 260-263.

⁷ It is not significant that the third daughter is Peace and the fourth Justice, the reverse of the order in the other allegories. This seems to have been inadvertent, for later when the daughters plead, Justice is called "tertia soror," and Peace speaks last, cf. *Manuscrits Latins*, III, 262.

⁸ Literally *decorare* would mean "to skin" or "to peel." Later, when the servant is in prison, the Son "vidit enim eum exoriatum," thus, either "skinned" or "stripped." Some medieval translators therefore interpret *decorare* "to flay" while others interpret it "to deprive or rob of everything." Because of the connotations of *vivum*, I interpret the phrase "to flay alive," although it might also mean "to strip of everything" or "to skin" in the figurative sense.

⁹ The broader meaning "to slaughter" for *jugulare* is preferable to the restricted meaning "to cut the throat" because in some versions the Son takes on himself the same torments inflicted on the prisoner.

Variant readings from MS 14886 ^a una ^b quem sublimaverat, om ^c bene, om.
^d honoraberis ^e pessima, om ^f Demum transgressam non tantum affectu, sed
causam transgressionis quaesivit ^g uni illorum praeciens ut eum incarcerationet alteri
ut vivum decollaret

crudeli poena. Posthac autem, cum occasio se obtulerit, hos quatuor tortores propriis designabo^a nominibus et^b eorundem effrae natam insaniam in caput famuli enucleabo Tortores igitur, sua saevitia domino placere studentes,^c arreptum miserum omnibus poenis afficere coeperunt Has autem famuli poenas audiens una de filiabus regis, scilicet Misericordia, veloci cursu cucurrit ad carcerem et intro aspiciens vidensque famulum incarcerationum^d tortoribus nequam mancipatum, poenis affectum, non potuit non misereri, quia proprium est Misericordiae misereri, et laceratis vestibus et complosis manibus sparsisque^e per colla capillis, ululans et clamans recurrit ad patrem et ingenuculata ante paternos pedes, coepit simplici et gemebunda voce dicere "Heul pater carissime, numquid ego sum filia tua Misericordia et non diceris misericors? Si misericors fueris, famuli tui miserearis, et si famuli tui non miserearis, misericors non eris Si misericors non fueris, me^f Misericordiam filiam non habebis" Taliter illa ante patrem argumentante,^g advenit soror ejus Veritas, et cur Misericordia fleret quaesivit a patre. Cui pater "Ista, inquit, soror tua vult ut ego^h miserear illius superbi transgressoris cui poenam indixi." Veritas, haec audiens, admodum stomachata, torvisqueⁱ oculis intuens patrem, sic ait "Numquid ego sum filia^j tua Veritas et non diceris verax? Nonne verum est quod ei poenam injunxisti et per mortem tormenta promisisti? Si verax fueris, verum persequaris Si verum non persequaris, verax non eris. Si verax non fueris, Veritatem filiam non habebis" Et ecce *Misericordia et Veritas obviaverunt sibi*. Has lites, has contentiones, has rixas, has causas audivit tertia soror, scilicet Justitia, et, clamoribus earum accita, coepit a Veritate causam querelae quaerere, et Veritas, quae non poterat nisi vera dicere, ait. "Ista, inquit, soror nostra Misericordia, si soror dici debet,^k quia nobis non consentit, vult ut pater noster misereatur illius superbi transgressoris." Tunc Justitia, inflammato vultu,^l versans in corde dolorem, sic ait ad patrem "Numquid ego sum filia tua Justitia et non dicens esse justus? Si justus fueris, in transgressorem justitiam excercebis, si justitiam non exercueris, non eris justus. Si justus non fueris, me Justitiam filiam tuam non habebis. Ecce Veritas et Justitia hinc, illinc sola Misericordia;

Et virgo caede madentes,
Ultima coelestium terras Astraea reliquit,¹⁰

scilicet Pax fugit in regionem longinquam^m Ubi enim lis est et contentio ibi non est pax, et quanto major est contentio tanto magis pacis elongatio. Pace igitur amissa et tribus filiabus regis in gravi dissensione positus, quid pater faceret, cui parti tutius cederetⁿ difficillime diffiniebat Si enim Misericordiae cederet, Veritatem et Justitiam offenderet. Si vero^o Veritati et Justitiae cederet, Misericordiam filiam non haberet, et tamen necesse erat ut misericors esset et justus et

¹⁰ Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, lib I, v. 149

Variant readings from MS 14886: ^a Postquam autem occasio se obtulit hos quatuor tortores propriis nominibus vobis designat, eorundem effraenatam insaniam in caput famuli enucleabo
^b nominibus et, om. ^c domino placere, om. ^d incarcerationum, om ^e expansque
^f in me ^g arguente ^h ego, om. ⁱ que, om ^j et filia
^k debeat ^l et Justitia, inflato vultu, ^m scilicet Pax fugit de regione longinqua
ⁿ audiret ^o vero, om.

pacificus et verax Propterea consilio opus erat Advocans itaque filium suum^a sapientissimum, super hoc negotio eum consuluit Cui^b Filius "Committite mihi,^c pater, praesens negotium prosequendum, et ego tibi de transgressore vindictam faciam, et quatuor filias tuas reducta pace tibi restituam." Cui pater ait. "Magna sunt quae promittis, nec vocem facta sequentur Si dictis facta compensas, faciam quod hortaris." Suscepto igitur mandato regali, filius sumpsit secum Misericordiam, sororem suam, et, saliens in montibus et transiliens colles, pervenit ad carcerem, et, respiciens per fenestras, prospiciens per cancellos vidit famulum incarceratum et positum in calamitate praesentis vitae, vidit enim eum excoriatum, jugulatum, devoratum, quia ex quo homo moritur vermibus esca datur, et per ipsum mors intravit in mundum, et quoniam occasio se obtulit, dicamus nomina quatuor tortorum Primus tortor tortorum qui eum incarceravit est carcer et exilium^d praesentis vitae, de quo dictum est "Heu mihi! quia intus la" in Pro. Secundus, qui eum decoriavit,^e miseria est mundi quae nos omnes poenis et miseriis afficit Tertius, qui eum jugulavit, mors est, quae nos omnes jugulat et occidit Quartus, qui eum devoravit, vermis est, quia,^f sicut dixi, ex quo homo moritur vermibus esca datur et vermes ad corrodendum eum suscipiunt Quatuor, inquam, tortores isti, videlicet carcer huius exilii et miseria huius mundi et mors et vermis, isti, inquam, tortores a primo homine usque ad novissimum, per totam successionem, primi transgressoris poenas exigunt. Carcer enim nos detinet, miseria mundi nos curciat, quatenus miseriis omnia mala infert, mors nos jugulat, vermis nos rodit Videns igitur filius patris-familias his quatuor tortoribus famulum suum mancipatum, non potuit non misereri, quia Misericordiam comitem habebat,^g et, intro saliens in carcerem,^h morte sua mortem devicit, et alligato forti, id est diabolo, ejus vasa rapuit et spolia distribuit, et, cum copiosa praeda ascendens in altum, captivam duxit captivitatem deditque dona hominibus et famulum duplicato honore ad patriam reduxit, dans ei stolam immortalitatis.ⁱ Hos videns Misericordia non habebat unde conqueretur, quia vidit famulum duplicato honore reversum, et stola immortalitatis indutum. Veritas non inveniebat causam querelae, quia pater inventus fuerat verax, nam^j famulus omnes poenas exsolverat Justitia, soror, jam nil conquerebatur, quia in transgressore fuerat justitia comprobata, et, si revixit, perierat et inventus in [morte?] Videns itaque Pax sorores suas concordantes, reversa est et eas pacificavit *Ecce misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi, justitia et pax osculatae sunt.* Sic igitur per mediatorem Dei, hominum et hominum et angelorum, scilicet Christum Jesum, pacificatus et reconciliatus est homo et ad ovile Dei ovis centesima reducta est. Ad quod ovile nos perducatur Jesus Christus, cui est honor et gloria Amen.

II. Like most versions of the Four Daughters of God dealing with vicarious redemption, the *Rex et Famulus* was inspired by Saint Bernard's first sermon on the Annunciation.¹¹ Bernard's allegory interprets Psalm eighty-four, verse eleven of the Vulgate, "Misericordia et veritas obvia-

¹¹ P. L. CLXXXIII, 383-390, especially cols 385-390

Variant readings from MS 14886 ^a suum, om. ^b cui, om. ^c mihi, om. ^d car-
cer exilii ^e decollavit ^f et ^g habuit ^h incarcerationem mortis ⁱ honore
reversum, stola immortalitatis indutum ^j jam

verunt sibi, justitia et pax osculatae sunt," as a strife of the four attributes—Mercy, Truth, Justice, and Peace. Mercy and Peace, as two sisters, plead with their father, the King, on behalf of man who has offended Him, their sisters Justice and Truth insist that man be condemned. The four virtues are united when the Son of the King offers to satisfy the demands of each by becoming Himself the redeemer. Thus, at first, *obviaverunt sibi* is interpreted in its hostile sense,¹² and later as a friendly meeting or reconciliation. Since the text of the sermon is easily accessible, and since Miss Traver has already summarized it conveniently, I shall not pause longer over the details.

Jean Rivière, the learned French soteriologist, in making a theological analysis of the Four Daughters of God, has already pointed out several departures of the *Rex et Famulus* from the sermon of Saint Bernard.¹³ When differences of a more literary character are added, the principal points of divergence would be five:

- (1) Bernard mentions the paternity of the King, but does not emphasize it, thus in his allegory each daughter does not protest to the King that she cannot remain his child unless he yields to her request.¹⁴
- (2) In Bernard's version, Peace does not take flight.
- (3) The *Rex et Famulus* represents Adam and God as servant and King, not simply as God and man.
- (4) In Bernard's sermon, Adam does not become an exile nor a prisoner of the King's enemy as he does in the *Rex et Famulus*.
- (5) Bernard does not mention the four torturers described in the later allegory: the first, the Exile of Earthly Life, who casts the servant in prison; the second, the Misery of Life, who flays him alive; the third, Death, who slaughters him; and the fourth, Corruption, who devours him.

Despite these differences, the frequent verbal parallels and the striking similarities in theme make the dependence of the *Rex et Famulus* on Bernard's sermon obvious enough. It seems, too, that the author may have known the version of the allegory by Stephen of Tournai (1128–c. 1203),¹⁵ because the episode of the four torturers appears for the first

¹² The hostile interpretation of this verb was not uncommon. Although Miss Traver says that Bernard did not interpret the word in this sense, the text proves that he even emphasized the vehemence of the debate by exclaiming, "Grandis controversia, fratres." Cf. *P. L.*, CLXXXIII, 388.

¹³ *Le Dogme de la Rédemption au Début du Moyen-Âge* (Paris, 1934), pp. 324–329.

¹⁴ Miss Jessie Murray, *Le Chateau d'Amour* (Paris, 1918), p. 72, says, "En parlant des quatre vertus, ni Hugues, ni Saint Bernard ne les appelle directement les Filles de Dieu, bien que cette relation soit suffisamment mise en évidence par le contexte." I find nothing in Hugo to establish this relationship. In Bernard's allegory one reads, "Aut Misericordia, utquid me genuisti pater citius perituram?" *P. L.*, CLXXXIII, 388.

¹⁵ For a list of the MSS of this allegory see L. Bourgain, *La Chaire Française au XII^e Siècle* (Paris, 1879), pp. 51–52. Rivière makes an analysis from MS. Latn 14935 Bibliothèque Nationale, fol. 6^r–8^r, in *Le Dogme de la Rédemption au Début du Moyen-Âge*, pp.

time in this redaction. Yet, because the torturers in Stephen's allegory are Stupor, Furor, Error, and Dolor, and also because of many other differences, direct dependence seems extremely doubtful. Since the versions of the allegory by Peter of Blois¹⁶ and Innocent III¹⁷ contain no points of contact with the *Rex et Famulus* other than those common to the tradition, their relationship to the history of the motif need not be considered.

Strangely enough, the five differences distinguishing the *Rex et Famulus* from Bernard's allegory are those which characterize nearly all of the later versions. No less than twelve literary recensions show probable direct contact with this source, while several others exhibit the influence of the tradition it established. A number of these recensions are too highly complicated with another major motif to be dealt with satisfactorily here. In a separate study which I am now preparing for publication, it will be possible to reconstruct from literary and historical data the genealogies made by Traver, Buhler, and Långfors,¹⁸ and to prove that the versions by Saint Bernard and Hugo of Saint-Victor owe their origin to two widely different traditions. Without injury to the pattern, two of the less complicated versions, that in the *Gesta Romanorum* and the *Court of Sapience*, can be lifted from the general motif as independent studies.

III. Before considering the sources of the Four Daughters of God in the *Gesta Romanorum*, one should distinguish clearly between the Latin text of the earliest printed editions¹⁹ and the English translation of the fifteenth century in MS. Harley 7333.²⁰ Each is based on a version differing materially from the other, and the failure to recognize this has led to some confusion in the problem of sources. Miss Traver, in speaking of the *Gesta*, has in mind only the Latin version of the *Vulgartext* edited by Oesterley, and does not take into account the English redaction, which in itself would constitute another variant.²¹ Buhler, evidently accepting

354-358. A summary in translation is given in Miss Traver's later study, *PMLA*, xI, 73-74. Rivière dates this work in the last quarter of the twelfth century, *op. cit.*, p. 354, note 3.

¹⁶ *P. L.*, ccvii, cols. 750-755. While this allegory touches on vicarious redemption, it does not properly belong to the type we have been considering.

¹⁷ Sermo I, *Dominica I Adventus Domini*, *P. L.*, ccxvii, 318-320.

¹⁸ For a convenient summary of these conclusions, see the graph at the end of Miss Hope Traver's monograph *The Four Daughters of God*, C. F. Buhler's *Sources of the Court of Sapience*, pp. 22-25; A. Långfors, "Notice des Manuscrits 535 et 10047," *Not. et Extr.*, xlii (1933), 196-205.

¹⁹ Ed. H. Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum* (Berlin, 1872), from the *Vulgartext* containing 181 chapters first printed by Ulrich Zell at Cologne between 1472 and 1475. For the allegory of the Four Daughters, see pp. 350-355.

²⁰ Ed. S. J. H. Herrtage, *Gesta Romanorum*, E. E. T. S. 33 (1879), 132-136. This work will be referred to hereafter as *English Gesta*. See also *The Old English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, ed. F. Madden (London, 1838), pp. 112-115.

²¹ *Four Daughters*, pp. 114-115. See also Miss Traver's later study, "The Four Daughters of God. A Mirror of Changing Doctrine," *PMLA*, xI (1925), 83-90.

Miss Traver's theory of sources for the *Gesta*, and identifying the Latin with the English, does not cite from the Latin text on which Miss Traver based her conclusions, but from the English version, which does not translate it. Because of this he is obliged to make a new classification of types, since such episodes as that of the four torturers are not to be found in Miss Traver's Latin source, and were not, therefore, considered.²²

The tales in the original Latin *Gesta* are generally believed to have been compiled in England toward the end of the thirteenth or at the beginning of the fourteenth century.²³ Finding its way to the Continent, the original Anglo-Latin collection was altered and enlarged. Three editions of the augmented compilation were printed between 1472 and 1475.²⁴ Because of the changes made in the continental version, the printed tales differed greatly from the Anglo-Latin on which they were originally based. Thus the allegory of the Four Daughters of God contained in both compilations represents two entirely different versions.

It is only in the form preserved in the *Vulgar text* or continental version that the *Gesta* is accessible in printed editions today.²⁵ Nevertheless, the tales in the English translation of the *Gesta* which date from the reign of Henry VI were not based upon the *Vulgar text* but on the Anglo-Latin versions thought to have been the original, which now exist in manuscript only. Although I have not seen the allegory of the Four Daughters of God in the original Anglo-Latin *Gesta*, I am certain not only from the translation but from inferences drawn from Madden's notes²⁶ that the author had before him a copy of the *Rex et Famulus*.

²² *Sources of the Court of Sapience*, pp. 22-25.

²³ For detailed discussions of this problem, see Oesterley, pp. 257, 266-269; Herrtage, pp. xvii-xix. More recent studies add nothing new to these conclusions, cf. Miss Ella Bourne, "Classical Elements in the *Gesta Romanorum*," in *Vassar Medieval Studies*, 1923, pp. 345-376.

²⁴ One hundred and fifty or one hundred and fifty-one tales were printed at Utrecht by Ketelaer and De Leempt, a second edition appeared at Cologne. A third edition of one hundred and eighty-one chapters was printed at Cologne by Ulrich Zell, cf. Oesterley, *Gesta*, p. 267. A copy of the Cologne edition in the Quadragesimal type of Robert de Licio (1473) is in the Rare Book Room of the Yale Library. See especially cap. 55, fol. 39-41.

²⁵ It was Oesterley's opinion that the early printed text of the two enlarged compilations not only supplanted the manuscripts, but usurped the place of the original collection in Anglo-Latin, so that the versions altered and printed on the Continent came to be considered the original *Gesta Romanorum*. It is thus that he explained the fact that none of the manuscripts of the original Anglo-Latin *Gesta* were ever printed, and are extant in manuscript only, while no manuscript exactly corresponding to the printed *Vulgar text* has survived, cf. *Gesta*, pp. 266-269.

²⁶ Madden (p. 513) notes only two departures in the translation "to helde him qwyke," for which the Anglo-Latin has *ut vivum excoriaret*, and "yuglythe" for the Anglo-Latin *jugulavit*. Cf. Herrtage, *English Gesta*, p. 470. These forms both occur in the *Rex et Famulus*. If these are the only deviations in the English version, it may be assumed that the transla-

To give a summary of the version as it appears in the English *Gesta* would be only to present in translation the allegory attributed to Peter of Saint-Victor. In the English *Gesta*, the emperor bears the name Agios, the servant is given "a contree" to keep instead of a commandment, and the functions of the tormentors are slightly varied. The explanation in the *Rex et Famulus* is paraphrased in the "Moralitee" of the *Gesta*. Aside from these differences, the translation is almost literal. A fair specimen is offered in the passage describing the feelings of Mercy when she beholds the suffering servant. The English *Gesta* says of her that

he myght not but have pyte,—for hit is þe propirte of mercy to have pite & compassion & so she Rente of the clothinges of hir body, & of hir hede, and pulld of hir heer, and yellid, and cride, and ranne with alle hir myght to hir fadir, the Emperour, and knelid to him, and seide, 'Alas! my dere fadir, am I not thi owter, and art þow not mercyfulle?'²⁷

The corresponding passage in the *Rex et Famulus* reads:

Miseriordia . . . non potuit non misereri, quia proprium est Misericordiae misereri, et, laceratis vestibus et complois manibus sparsisque per colla capillis, ulans et clamans recurrit at patrem et ingeniculata ante paternos pedes, coepit mplici et gemebunda voce dicere: 'Heu! pater carissime, numquid ego sum ia tua Misericordia et non diceris misericors?'²⁸

The version in the Latin *Vulgartext*, on the other hand, although apparently based on the Anglo-Latin copy of the *Rex et Famulus*,²⁹ departs from it to a notable degree. The pleas of Mercy, Justice and Truth are similar to those in the original *Gesta*. Peace has no speech, but takes her ght instead. This continental Latin version is unique, however, in that the human soul is not represented by the servant, but by a beautiful woman who is the daughter of the King of Jerusalem. Another King wooses her to be the wife of his Son. After her marriage, the wife is seduced by the Son's servant (the devil), and, when her unfaithfulness is discovered, he presents her with a bill of divorce and sends her away. Then he sees her reduced to such a state that she is obliged to beg for read, he is moved to compassion and sends a messenger asking her to turn. Through fear she cannot do this and begs him to come himself to give her.

followed his copy faithfully and that any departures from the *Rex et Famulus* were made by the author of the Anglo-Latin version and not by the English translator. Where the translator follows literally the Latin of the *Rex et Famulus*, therefore, the author of the Anglo-Latin *Gesta* must have copied it word for word from this version.

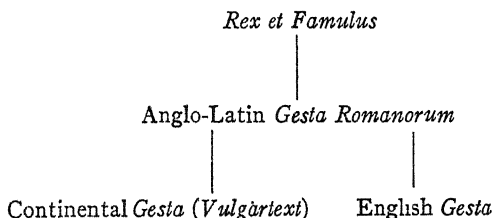
²⁷ Herrtage, *English Gesta*, p. 133.

²⁸ Hauréau, *Manuscrits Latins*, III, 261.

²⁹ It seems that the *Vulgartext* was based on the copy in the Anglo-Latin *Gesta* rather than directly on the *Rex et Famulus* because the explanation at the end resembles the style of the "moralitee" more than the explanation in the *Rex et Famulus*.

When the King hears what has taken place, he calls a council. It is decided that a wise man will be sent to reclaim the wife of his Son, but none who is willing can be found. When the Son himself offers to go, the King consents. Justice is angry and protests that she cannot be his daughter if he does this, since the banishment is just. Mercy and Truth make similar threats, the one in begging compassion for man, the other in urging his condemnation. Truth and Justice draw their swords and demand that the young wife be slain. Mercy snatches the swords away and says that it is time for her to rule. After Mercy has promised the Son that if his wife be penitent she will forgive her even if she should fall again, he goes forth, declares a war on the enemy, conquers, and brings her back. The usual application then follows.

It seems extremely unlikely that this continental Latin allegory in the *Vulgar* text was based on the Anglo-Norman *Le Chateau d'Amour*, for the only points of resemblance which have been pointed out between the two versions are those which both have in common with the *Rex et Famulus*.³⁰ Like the other tales in the printed continental *Gesta*, the allegory of the Four Daughters of God was ultimately based on the Anglo-Latin version. The tale in this Anglo-Latin *Gesta* was certainly a copy of the *Rex et Famulus* as the English translation of the Anglo-Latin plainly shows. Neither the allegory in the continental or English versions is based on Grosseteste's poem as has previously been supposed. Both come in the following order from the *Rex et Famulus*:



So different is the continental version from the Anglo-Latin that the question of departures is an interesting one. When the allusions to the *Canticle of Canticles* are compared, much of the difficulty disappears. In the *Rex et Famulus* when the Son takes his sister Mercy with him to the prison, he hastens over the hills and mountains, and looking through the bars, sees the prisoner. The passage reads:

Suscepto igitur mandato regali, filius sumpsit secum Misericordiam, sororem suam, et, saliens in montibus et transiliens colles, pervenit ad carcerem, et respiciens per fenestras, prospiciens per cancellos vidit famulum incarcerationem.³¹

³⁰ Cf. Traver, *Four Daughters*, pp. 114-115; cf. p. 123.

³¹ Hauréau, *Manuscripts Latins*, III, 262. The italics are mine.

Although in view of the context one would translate *cancellos* "prison-bars," the passage is obviously taken from the Vulgate version of the *Canticle of Canticles* which describes the quest of the beloved. After the pursuit He beholds her through the lattices:

Vox dilecti mei, ecce iste venit *sahens in montibus, transiliens colles . . . respiciens per fenestras, prospiciens per cancellos* En dilectus meus loquitur mihi Surge, propera amica mea, columba mea, formosa mea, et veni ³²

This passage, since it is literally translated in the English *Gesta*, must have been taken over from the *Rex et Famulus* by the author of the Anglo-Latin version. It suggested, no doubt, the alteration in the continental *Vulgartext*. The unique feature of this version is the substitution of the faithless wife for the servant. Commentators very frequently applied the passages on the bridegroom and the bride to Christ and the human soul. Saint Bernard brought this type of exegesis to its highest development. Because the author of the version in the *Vulgartext* refers twice to Bernard, it should not be surprising to find that he elaborated upon those passages which Bernard had greatly enriched.

Conclusive proof for the indebtedness of the *Vulgartext* to Bernard is found in the allusion to the opening verse of the *Canticle of Canticles*, "Osculetur me osculo oris sui. quia meliora sunt ubera tua vino." Bernard in his interpretation says that God, in order to restore peace between Himself and His people, sent His prophets as messengers. The people, dissatisfied, demanded His own kiss instead. Thus, one cried out to the messengers of peace, "Osculetur me osculo oris sui, sicque in signo pacis faciat de pace securum."³³ In the *Vulgartext* when the Son sends the messenger to make peace with the wife, she desires instead "quod veniret dilectus meus ad me et osculetur me osculo oris sui, tunc sum secura, quod recipiet me in gratiam suam."³⁴

The *Vulgartext* contains nothing which cannot be accounted for by the Anglo-Latin *Gesta* taken from the *Rex et Famulus*, and by the commentaries of Saint Bernard which this version suggested. The version in the *Vulgartext* became in its turn the inspiration of Jean Gualohe's dramatized allegory, *L'Amour Divin*,³⁵ which was licensed to be printed at Troyes, July 26, 1601. Its influence is obvious also in the earlier *Moralité de Nature et Loy de Rigueur*.³⁶ The *Rex et Famulus*, therefore, and not Grosseteste's poem was also the ultimate source for these plays.³⁷

³² *Cant cant* II 8-10

³³ *Sermones in Cantica*, P. L., CLXXXIII, 791.

³⁴ Oesterley, *Gesta*, p. 351

³⁵ This play has not been edited. Miss Travers gives a detailed summary from MS fr 9306, Bibliothèque Nationale; cf. *Four Daughters*, pp. 116-119

³⁶ Ed. F. Michel in *Recueil de Farces, Moralités et Sermons Joyeux* (Paris, 1837), III, no.

3 Miss Traver, *Four Daughters*, p. 120, points out the resemblance to the *Gesta*.

³⁷ Miss Traver gives Grosseteste as the ultimate source. *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 123

In so far as *Le Laz d'Amour*³⁸ was dependent on the continental *Gesta*,³⁹ it was also indebted to the *Rex et Famulus*.

IV The anonymous *Court of Sapience*,⁴⁰ first rejected from the Lydgate canon by MacCracken,⁴¹ and later by Spindler,⁴² was written very probably between 1450 and 1475.⁴³ Since Miss Traver and Professor Spindler have both given excellent summaries of the version of the Four Daughters utilized here,⁴⁴ I shall limit this section to the sources of the allegory. Even here, a further limitation must be made, excluding the influence of pseudo-Bonaventure and Guillaume de Deguileville.

Buhler, after accepting Miss Traver's theory of the direct dependence of the *Court* on Grosseteste's poem, aims to show more precisely which passages in the *Court* had been borrowed from *Le Chateau d'Amour*.⁴⁵ The inquiry results in the discovery of fourteen stanzas.⁴⁶ The first, stanza 26, which introduces the "dowtefull prynce," his daughters, and the Son, although common to the tradition, owes its origin to the *Rex et Famulus*. The second, stanza 27, has no parallel in Grosseteste:

'Fowre tormentours the kyng clepyd to hym, 183
Bad oone hym put in bytter pryson sowre,
Another shuld quyk fle hym, lythe and lym,
The thryd kil hym, the fourth shuld hym deuoure .'

One will immediately recognize in these lines a close translation of the Latin version. The same may be said of the next example, stanza 28, which describes the emotions of Mercy on seeing the prisoner:

'She lokyd downe in to the pryson depe, 190
Her louyd seruant she sy sytting there,
For whom her hert gan bothe to blede and wepe,
Dystylling teares disteyneth all hyr chere,
She gan vnase her tressyd sonnysh here,
Naked her brest, and for compassyoun,
Before her fadyr on knees fyll adoune!

This passage, lacking in *Le Chateau d'Amour*, reads thus in the *Rex et Famulus*:

Has autem famuli poenas audiens una de filiabus regis, scilicet Misericordia,

³⁸ This play was "nouvellement imprimé" by Thomas Laisnec in 1500. I have not seen this work, and have been obliged to depend on Miss Traver's summary, cf. *Four Daughters*, pp. 120-123.

³⁹ I suggest an influence conditionally only, because as Miss Traver points out, *ibid*, pp. 122-123, the play is only slightly suggestive of the *Gesta Romanorum*.

⁴⁰ *The Court of Sapience*, ed. R. Spindler (Leipzig, 1927).

⁴¹ H. N. MacCracken, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, Part I, E. E. T. S. Extra Series 107 (1911), xxxiv-xxxv. ⁴² *Court*, pp. 46-88. ⁴³ *Ibid*, pp. 80-83.

⁴⁴ *Four Daughters*, pp. 152-158; *Court of Sapience*, pp. 38-45.

⁴⁵ *Sources of the Court of Sapience* (Leipzig, 1932), p. 18. ⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 19.

veloci cursu cucurrit ad carcerem et intro aspiciens vidensque famulum incarceratum, tortoribus nequam mancipatum, poenis affectum, non potuit non misereri quia proprium est Misericordiae misereri et laceratis vestibus et complosis manibus sparsisque per colla capillis, ululans et clamans recurrit ad patrem et ingenuculata ante paternos pedes ⁴⁷

In the next three stanzas Mercy stresses her grief, thus expanding the passages in the Latin version in the individual manner of the poet. Stanza 32, in which Mercy asks for the prisoner's release, is common property in the tradition and is ultimately derived from the *Rex et Famulus*. Stanzas 33 and 34 represent Truth requesting that her Father explain to her the meaning of Mercy's action. When her Father tells her of her sister's desires, Truth presents her objection. This procedure, lacking in Grosseteste's version, appears thus in the Latin original:

Taliter illa ante patrem argumentante, advenit soror ejus Veritas, et cur Misericordia fleret quaesivit a patre. Cui pater 'Ista, inquit, soror tua vult ut ego miserem illius superbi transgressoris cui poenam indixi.' Veritas, haec audiens, ad modum stomachata, torvisque oculis intuens patrem, sic ait 'Numquid ego sum filia tua Veritas et non diceris verax? Nonne verum est quod ei poenam in iunxisti et per mortem tormenta promisisti? Si verax fueris, verum persequaris' ⁴⁸

Stanzas 35 and 36, expanding the plea of Truth, although common in the tradition, also come from the Latin.

Finally, in stanza 114 which Buhler gives as his last example of indebtedness to Grosseteste, the poet of the *Court* says:

'He knew the cause of hys foure sustres stryfe, 792
And how by sentence man shuld punysshed be.
Furst in the pryson of thys present lyfe,
Reuyd wyth vnheelle, slown wyth aduersyte
Dyed at the last and wyth all crewelte
Suffryd wormes deuoure hym in hys graue,
Hard was this payne, and yche man sholde hit haue.'

The lines translate literally again the passage in the *Rex et Famulus*

Primus tortor tortorum qui eum incarceravit est carcer et exilium praesentis vitae . . . Secundus, qui eum decoriavit, misera est mundi quae nos omnes poenis et miseriis afficit. Tertius, qui eum jugulavit, mors est, quae nos omnes jugulat et occidit. Quartus, qui eum devoravit, vermis est, quia, sicut dixi, ex quo homo moritur vermibus esca datur et vermes ad corrodendum eum suscipiunt ⁴⁹

None of the fourteen stanzas attributed to Grosseteste's influence, therefore, can be found in *Le Chateau d'Amour*.

⁴⁷ Hauréau, *Manuscripts Latins*, III, 261.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 262-263

One might mention also that of the thirteen stanzas which Buhler gives as coming from pseudo-Bonaventure,⁵⁰ three come from the *Rex et Famulus*, and have only a general similarity of theme to the *Meditationes*. These are stanzas 74 and 75, containing the discussion of the difficulty between Sapience and the Son,⁵¹ and stanza 105 in which the Father bids the Son to depart.

Of the fifty-three stanzas given by Buhler as coming from other unknown sources, fifteen are directly derived from the *Rex et Famulus*. In stanzas 72 and 73 Sapience describes the Son as the brother of Mercy, and the Son tells Sapience of his desires.⁵² In stanza 76 the Son gives Sapience the same reasons for his perplexity as the Father gives the Son in the *Rex et Famulus*. In stanza 104 the Son expresses his resolution to the Father. Stanzas 106–111 expand the love of Mercy for her brother; stanza 115 tells how she accompanies him to the prison. Stanzas 126–129, describing the way in which each of the sisters is appeased, give a more literary treatment of what is found in the source:

Hoc videns Misericordia non habebat unde conqueretur, qui vidit famulum

⁵⁰ Buhler, following Miss Traver, does not question the authorship of Bonaventure of Padua, cf. *Sources of the Court*, p. 19, and *Four Daughters*, p. 41. According to Miss Traver, Molanus in his *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1618) first assigned the *Meditationes* to Bonaventure of Padua rather than to the Seraphic Doctor among whose works it had been included. The Quaracchi editors, however, questioned the attribution to either Bonaventure, the Seraphic Doctor or Bonaventure of Padua, and suggested that Joannes de Caulibus was the author, cf. *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia*, ed. Studio et Cura P. P. Collegii A. S. Bonaventurae, Quaracchi, viii (1898), cxii, and x (1902), 25. L. Oliger acted upon this suggestion of the Quaracchi editors and concluded from internal evidence that the author was Joannes de Caulibus of Santo Geminiano, a Franciscan who lived at the beginning of the fourteenth century, cf. "Le 'Meditationes Vitae Christi del Pseudo-Bonaventura'," *Studi Francescani*, N. S. vii (1921), 143–183, viii (1922), 18–47. Dom Wilmart considers Oliger's conclusions probable, cf. A. Wilmart, *Auteurs Spirituels et Textes Dévots du Moyen-Age Latin* (Paris, 1932), p. 509, note 2. Miss Deansley shows that the work was known in England before the time of Caulibus, and had been translated in a metrical version usually attributed to Robert Mannyng of Brunne, cf. "The Gospel Harmony of Joannes de Caulibus or St. Bonaventura," *British Society for Franciscan Studies*, x (1922), 12–18. Mrs. Carleton Brown, influenced perhaps by the desirability of dating precisely the *Southern Passion*, reverts to Bonaventure, the Seraphic Doctor, cf. *Southern Passion*, ed. Beatrice Daw Brown, E. E. T. S., clxix (1927), pp. liv and xc. Finally, on the evidence of the manuscripts, C. Fischer refutes all previous opinions and concludes that the author was an unknown Friar Minor who lived at the beginning of the fourteenth century and who drew upon the *Meditationes de Passione* of Bonaventure the Seraphic Doctor, cf. "Die Meditationes Vitae Christi' ihre Handschriftliche Ueberlieferung und die Verfasserfrage," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, xxv (1932), 3–35, 175–209, 305–348, 449–483. Although Fischer's evidence seems the best advanced thus far, I prefer to await the final judgment of other competent scholars.

⁵¹ In the *Rex et Famulus* the same arguments are presented by the Father to the Son.

⁵² These desires summarize the situation in the *Rex et Famulus*.

duplicato honore reversum, et stola immortalitatis indutum. Veritas non inveniebat causam querelae, quia pater inventus fuerat verax, nam famulus omnes poenas exsolverat Justitia, soror, jam nil conquerebatur, quia in transgressore fuerat justitia comprobata, et, si revixit, perierat et inventus in [morte] Videns itaque Pax sorores suas concordantes, reversa est et eas pacificavit ⁵³

The total number of stanzas in the *Court* showing the influence of the *Rex et Famulus* is thirty-two There is no evidence of indebtedness to *Le Chateau d'Amour*.

V. The attribution of the *Rex et Famulus* to Peter of Saint-Victor is by no means a proof of his authorship. Hauréau thought it possible that the volume ascribed to him may have been a collection of works by various writers This fact takes on new significance when considered in its relation to an explanatory note in the *Court* The four torturers had been introduced in stanza 27, but their function was not interpreted until stanza 114 Since eighty-seven stanzas had intervened between the last appearance of the torturers and the explanation, the poet thought it necessary to recall the subject to his readers "Nota," he says, "*Primo homo torquetur in carcere presentis vite Secundo labore et miseria mundi ex quo quis moritur vermibus esca datur.*" He then adds, "*Hec Lincolniensis super: Misericordia et Veritas obuiauerunt simul*"

No extant manuscript of Grosseteste's poem describes and interprets the four torturers. Moreover, it is certain that the *Court* was based on the *Rex et Famulus* and not on *Le Chateau d'Amour* Was Grosseteste, then, the real author of the *Rex et Famulus*? While one would like to think so, the absence of definite Grossetestean traits of style⁵⁴ makes it apparent that the reference to *Lincolniensis* was only an illustration of the custom of accrediting the best-known writer of a theme with the authorship of the original or its several versions

Nevertheless, against the complete rejection of Grosseteste's authorship we have the lines of the English translator in Ashmole 61 This poet, obviously dependent on Grosseteste, mentions the torturers but does not interpret their function ⁵⁵ If he found the episode in some version of *Le Chateau d'Amour* it seems that at least a few of the extant manuscripts would contain it ⁵⁶ It appears more likely, therefore, that the poet was

⁵³ Hauréau, *Manuscripts Latins*, III, 263.

⁵⁴ Professor S. Harrison Thomson, who has examined all the known MSS of Grosseteste's work, agrees with me in this conclusion

⁵⁵ "De Principio Creationis Mundi," ed. Horstmann, *Allenglische Legenden*, pp. 349-354; see lines 261-270

⁵⁶ Buhler thinks that two different versions of Grosseteste's poem may have existed, one containing the episode of the torturers, and the other omitting it, cf. *Sources of the Court*, pp. 22-23 The episode does not occur in the eleven complete MSS which Miss Murray uses in her edition, nor in the two fragments which she mentions and classifies with a

drawing on the Latin source. He may have thought that Grosseteste was the author of this work also. But we cannot be certain, since the lines

Grosted it made .
All in french out of latyne, 11

probably applied to the metrical work as a whole without reference to this brief episode. The problem of the authorship of the *Rex et Famulus* must be left, then, "à la sagacité des érudits"⁵⁷

Apropos of these considerations, the question of the dependence of *Le Chateau d'Amour* and several other Anglo-Norman versions on the *Rex et Famulus* suggests itself. This problem involves more difficulties than are at first apparent. I have endeavored to solve some of them, nevertheless, in the separate study to which I have previously referred. It is hoped that the results of this investigation will establish a new course of development for the allegory of the Four Daughters of God and illustrate the relation of the theme to another major motif out of which it grew.

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previously analyzed group, cf *Le Chateau*, p. 33, note 1. MS Hatton 99, which Miss Murray had seen but does not use, contains no evidence of the episode, as I have found from an examination of the photostat. Miss Murray had also seen a MS at Brussels for which she does not give the signature, but which Professor Thomson identifies as MS Brussels Bibl. Royale 2306 ff. 255r-269v. Thus far, we can safely say that fifteen MSS do not contain the episode. Because of a happy error the sixteenth can be added, for Långfors in correcting Miss Murray's description of MS Brussels 2306 was not aware that he was examining another MS (Brussels 3357 ff. 228v-240r) the only one which Miss Murray had not seen, cf S. H. Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 153, note 3. Långfors is extremely skeptical of the work of his predecessors (see for example *Not et Est* XLII, 205) yet he points out that the incident of the torturers is not found until its occurrence in *Dieu des Quatre Seigneurs*, a poem generally considered later than *Le Chateau d'Amour*, cf *ibid.*, p. 182. In a separate study I shall discuss the relation of the *Dieu* to the *Rex et Famulus*.

⁵⁷ Rivière, *Le Dogme de la Rédemption au Début du Moyen-Age*, p. 479.

SOME CONTINUING TRADITIONS IN ENGLISH
DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE

ONE of the things that most surprises the student of the sixteenth century is the place held by religious literature even in the realm of vernacular publication. The product of the early English presses is religious to an extent that the modern reader finds quite outside his experience. It has been estimated that more than forty per cent of all English books published between the beginning of printing in England and 1640 belong to the various types of religious literature.¹ That preponderance is easy to explain in the light of the ecclesiastical traditions of learning, and there is no doubt that certain aspects of the earlier body of publication as compared with that of more recent times are to be explained in terms of those origins, but the fact is that even when the machinery of religious life had been gravely disturbed, the relative predominance of the genre persisted.

Of course, there were changes. Everyone is familiar with the tremendous ebullition of controversial writing in the sixteenth century. Often there has been a disposition among modern readers to see in that phenomenon only an unhappy manifestation of the combative spirit in a field where one would have hoped charity would appease it. To judge so is to forget that this was a period when the established and accepted premises of religious life had been challenged on all fronts. It became, therefore, one of the primary necessities of all religious parties to think through and define their positions on the main points at issue. The result is a great age of defining and discriminating, of attack on and defense of intellectual positions. Certain aspects of the religious mind received generous exercise. And so did certain aspects of the imagination and the emotions, especially those that enter into the creative art of denigration. But though the period is one of the great ages of Christian history for certain intellectual activities, there is no question that others suffered. The very attention which the controverted issues received disturbed the balance of the total field of experience. Attention went to those matters on which men disagreed, not to those on which they agreed, by no means a sure guide to the relative importance of religious elements. In the atmosphere of Armageddon, speculation came to seem unreasonable. And other activities than the prevailing intellectual ones of definition and of defense and attack naturally suffered in the claims they could make on the attention.

¹ Edith L. Klotz, "A Subject Analysis of English Imprints for Every Tenth Year from 1480 to 1640," *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, I (1937-38), 417-419.

of men alive to the currents of the time Southwell, for instance, in a letter to Agazario notes the eagerness of the Recusants in England for sermons on current controversy,² this for a group which though under considerable external pressure was in general keeping to positions already established

The danger of this devotion to controversy was early appreciated by men whose combative instincts had not completely destroyed their awareness of other religious values Obviously it was more apparent to those who thought that much of the controversy was unnecessary than to those who thought that the work of reformation must be carried forward Robert Parsons in the preface to his 1585 edition of *A Christian Directorie* reminds his readers of what was clearly his settled opinion, "that our forefathers were most happie in respect of us, who receauing with humilitie one vniforme faith without contention or contradiction, from their mother the holie Catholique Church, did attend onlie to build upon that foundation good workes and vertuous life"³ But the Anglican John Carpenter was clearly of the same opinion with regard to his settlement in *A Preparatiue to Contentation* of 1597, for in the course of his examination of what on his title-page he styled "the wonderfull distractions of men in opinions and straunge conceits," he laments, "Alas, why is it then, that now men waxe wearie of prayer? wearie of Gods service? wearie of the word of God? wearie of true obedience? wearie of peace and quietnesse? wearie of goodnesse? wearie of God?"⁴ It was time that the clergy asked that question, for there must have been a good many common men who sympathized with the complaint of the Capper in the famous *A compendious or brieue examination of certayne ordinary complaints, of diuers of our country men in these dayes*, now usually ascribed to John Hales, which was published by Thomas Marshe in 1581. That sturdy artisan warns the Doctor in the dialogue that if he were of the Queen's Council, he would "set you to the Plough and Carte: for the deuill a whit of good yee doe with your studies, but set men together by the Eares, some with this opinion and some with that, some holding this way, and some an other, and that so stiffly as though the troth must be as they say that have the vpper hand in contention."⁵

But some of these far-seeing men did more than complain about the

² Catholic Record Society, *Unpublished Documents Relating to the English Martyrs*, Vol 1, 1584-1603, col and ed John Hungerford Pollen, S J (London, 1908), p 318

³ Robert Parsons, *A Christian Directorie guiding Men to their Saluation* ([n p], 1585), p. 6.

⁴ John Carpenter, *A Preparatiue to Contentation. Conteyning a display of the wonderfull distractions of men in opinions and straunge Conceits* (London, 1597), p 9

⁵ *A Compendious or brieue examination of certayne ordinary complaints, of diuers of our country men in these our dayes* (London, 1581), sig. B2.

dangers of the existing situation. They set about making a real effort to restore the balance, to see that the claims of feeling, of imagination, above all of will were not lost sight of in the intellectual battle. The result is a growing body of protest against the destructive over-emphasis of controversy, a conscious pioneering in the direction of moderation of controversial ardor, and the development of other aspects of religious enterprise, particularly in the personal religious life.

Among other resources of the pre-Reformation Church in England rather lost to sight in the middle third of the century, when questions of authority and government and dogma held the field, there was an abundant literature of private and personal religious instruction and devotion. Some of this was very ancient, some relatively modern, some of it foreign, some of it thoroughly English in its origins, and much of the rest of it quite English in the form in which it had been translated and become acclimated. Some of this material was highly original and at times ingenious. But much of it was classic, even conventional in its form and spirit, with all the poise and assurance and it should be added, undisturbing quality, of the long-accepted and established. Little effort had been made to bring it up to date, because the immemorial processes of the spiritual life were not regarded as in need of such modification. But there were signs of a realization that the new age presented certain new challenges as regards classes of men, if not generic human nature. One of the most interesting evidences of this is to be found in a little book which Henry Bradshaw prepared especially for merchants and which Richard Pynson published in 1521.⁶ This effort to provide for the devotional needs of merchants must be one of the earliest of sixteenth-century recognitions of the arrival of a new class, and the forerunner of a vast literature of provision for the devotional needs of that aggressive group of laymen. But in the light of the very apposite, not to say shrewd, appeals which later devotional writers, particularly of Puritan tendencies, were going to make to this group of worldlings, the monk of Chester's notion of what would appeal to the stirring merchant of the time does more credit to his optimism than to his understanding of the problems of a mercantile life. For what he offers to one of the most alertly modern of that most contemporaneous of the genres of men is a very charming but thoroughly traditional and quite unworldly life of a nun, Saint Werburge. It is not surprising that Bradshaw's cause was lost to men who knew more about the leaders of the new age.

For the saint's life was one of the types that was soonest to be eliminated by the main tendencies of the Reformation, especially the saint's life so obviously designed to increase the number of clients of a particu-

⁶ Bradsha[w], Henry, *Holy lyfe and history of saynt werburge* (London, 1521), sig. s2.

lar cult. One may say as absolutely as one may ever say anything of so complicated a matter that that type disappeared from the English scene. If in the literature of the next century one comes across a life of Saint Catherine of Siena or of Saint Wenefride, one may be sure that it will bear the address of Doway or Paris or Saint Omer or some other of the great Recusant publishing centers. The only other type that disappeared as completely as this is the contemplative book, like, Richard Rolle's *Of the drede and loue of God*, or Walter Hylton's *Scala Perfectionis*, *The Ladder of Perfection*, to name two of the glories of the contemplative literature of medieval England. And the book of contemplation disappeared for very similar reasons. Just as the cult of the saints, of which the saint's life had been the literary expression, had been the foundation of the whole system of shrines and offerings and pilgrimages against which the Reformers inveighed, so the book of contemplation was the literary expression of that type of religious activity which found its institutional embodiment in the monasteries. The protest against the monasteries like the protest against the cult of the saints was by no means simple. There were economic and social, not to say political, elements in the motivation of the attack on the monasteries. But there was also an unquestioned failure of that general faith that will alone sustain a type of activity which the average man very little understands. Just as the more speculative and the more imaginative elements of religious life are somewhat attenuated in the middle years of the century in England, so one is conscious of a revulsion against what was popularly taken to be contemplation and very little appreciation of what contemplation as a technique of access to God may mean.⁷ That is why so many of the ancient devotional favorites of England like the works of Hylton and Bonaventura which play so large a part in the output of the early English presses vanish from sight. Again, if one seeks for their continuance in the language, one must turn to the Continent, and there they are to be found in the flood of literature that presently poured from the Recusant presses. And they are to be found, too, in those lists of books confiscated at ports and seized in raids on booksellers and suspected Catholics that enable us to follow the fashions of Recusant devotion. These, then, are the two clearest casualties of the English reformation.

In view of the social and economic and political circumstances that reenforced the religious assault upon the institutions with which they were associated, one would have thought that their disappearance would have been absolute and final. And that all the more so because the hero-

⁷ There are exceptions, of course, like the publication of Antony Marten's translation of John Barnarde's *The tranquillitie of the minde* (London, 1570), but there is no evidence that this book exercised any influence.

worshipping and devotional instincts to which they appealed seemed to be so admirably provided for in the popular English versions of the Scriptures of the time. There is, I think, no doubt that those who most vigorously promoted the destruction of the old devotional literature believed that they would so be satisfied, and this was clearly one at least of the motives for the widespread propaganda on behalf of Scripture reading not only as an informative and instructional activity but as an inspirational and devotional one as well.

Yet the Scriptures did not suffice. And they did not suffice for two reasons. It is true that one of the most passionate desires of the reformers of the time was to get back to the beginnings of things. But it is equally true that no man was ever more present-minded than those very primitivists. The very circumstances of their position, fighting for the dominance of their view of things, drove them to a realization that the battle between what they conceived to be truth and error was not something over once and for all in the long ago, but something of their own day, and that their own day and presently the recent past afforded as dramatic evidences of the constancy of the faithful and the oppression of the enemy and the benevolence of Providence as anything in Scripture. In other words, the witness of the martyr was something too precious to be rejected. So that aspect of the condemned *Golden Legend* was revived, both in the commemoration of early Christian martyrs and in the proud discovery of contemporary realizations of those ancient prototypes in the victims of the Henrician and Marian persecutions. Especially was the testimonial value of the firmness with which the martyr met his fate precious in an age which looked to the believer's death as the final evidence of the correctness of his views, provided always of course that he died on the right side.

The result is a growing body of records and more or less fugitive accounts of martyrs' lives, that culminates in John Foxe's famous book of 1563.⁸ But there is another reason for the martyrology, apparent also in Foxe. In answer to the common gibe of his adversaries, "Where was your Church before Luther?" Foxe had appealed to a continuous tradition of witnessing from Scriptural days to the present.⁹ Such a tradition was, of course, one of the values of the *Golden Legend* which the Reformers had repudiated. But for their purposes of indictment there was available the tradition of heresy, not any one heresy, nor any coherent succession of doctrines, but all the heresies that had the common denominator of protest against the Catholic Church or repudiation by it.¹⁰ This common center of trouble with Rome was the unifying principle of what might be

⁸ John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of these latter and perillous dayes* (London, 1563)

⁹ *Ibid*, sig. C4 ff

¹⁰ *Ibid*, sig. I16 ff

described as the United Front of Foxe's book. It provided a tradition of martyrs as a background for the martyrs of Henrician and Marian days, just as the *Golden Legend* was to provide the more remote background for the Catholic martyrs of Elizabethan days. To the central business of controversy it afforded a very effective dramatic technique. And in the accounts of the past lives of these martyrs it began to perform something of the function of providing heroic examples of the Christian life which the *Golden Legend* had performed. For the burgeoning of Protestant saints' lives is really not to be found until the middle of the next century, with books like Clark's on the Puritan side¹¹ and Walton's on the Anglican.¹² But the magnetism of martyrdom was too abundantly demonstrated in the sixteenth century for its literary advantages to be neglected.

Just as the need for bringing the witness of Scripture down to the crucial present, led to the development of the Protestant martyrology, so did the necessity of applying the materials of Scriptural precept and inspiration to the necessities of contemporary life lead to the vogue of the Protestant guide to the religious life. Again, this was not so much an innovation as a recovery and adaptation of an old type. Indeed, in one category of the type, the old books still held their own, that of the *Ars Moriendi*. One of the most popular of all sixteenth-century books was Thomas Becon's *The Sicke mannes Salve*, first published in 1560.¹³ The famous *De contemptu mundi* of Innocent III was still one of the popular and influential books of aid to the dying, perhaps because the problem of dying had not changed so much in the intervening centuries.¹⁴ But the conditions of living had changed a good deal, and the necessity of a clear meeting of those conditions had long been apparent to the spiritual guides of the new dispensation. Here Richard Whitforde with his alertness to the possibilities of the new reading public had seen the need for books more directly concerned with the actual problems, say of the young married man living in his family. And in his *A werke for housholders* which Wynkyn de Worde published in 1530 he had tried to meet those needs. But though his good will and his good sense are apparent, his book shows very little of that sense of the life actually lived in its practical contingen-

¹¹ Samuel Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie . . . Whereunto are added, The Lives of Sundry Modern Divines, Famous in their Generations for Learning and Piety*, etc. (London, 1651)

¹² Walton, Izaak, *Lives*, of Donne, 1640, Wotton, 1651, Hooker, 1665, Herbert, 1670, Collected, 1670, Dr Sanderson, 1678

¹³ In *The seconde parte of the booke, which Thomas Becon hath made* (London, 1560, etc.)

¹⁴ The translation which H. K. dedicated to Anne, Countess of Pembroke, and Henry Bynneman published in 1576 under the title of *The Mirror of Mans Lyfe* makes no mention of the author's name but notes that the book was written three hundred and sixty years past, sig. ¶2.

cies from hour to hour that the books, say, of Thomas Becon show. It is clear and sound on classic lines, but it does not have the immediate persuasiveness and excitement of Becon's books, another example of the momentum of the new dispensation in any period of radical change. For this genre of the guide to daily life was to offer one of the fields of richest development of the century, and one of the most influential. Especially there was to be an enormous elaboration of types within the genre, particularly in the direction of books for special groups of men and even women, and men and women in special circumstances, of which probably the most characteristic and the most influential were those destined for merchants. Thomas Becon's work, notably in *The Flower of godly prayers* of 1551, is an example of a growing class-consciousness in the field of the religious guide, one instance among many of his grasp of the practical problems of the situation of his day.¹⁵ The vogue of his work is one illustration of how the old type of general spiritual guide yielded to one more specifically adapted to the various classes of the day and to the needs of the time of the religious groups. This development is to continue throughout the next century in multiplication of number of books and circulation of books.

Something of the same thing takes place in the field of books of prayers for the layman. In this field the old prymer had performed a double function. It had in the Little Office of the Virgin afforded the layman a means of taking part in a common devotional exercise in the church, and in the selections from Scripture, and the various rearrangements of Scriptural materials like the Psalter of Saint Jerome, and in the collections of prayers for various occasions and needs usually added thereto, it had provided him with aids to private devotion. From the first point of view, then, the prymer afforded the foundation for the development of vernacular services of congregational prayer, a development that moving through the First Prayer Book of Edward VI in 1549, the Second in 1552, and Queen Elizabeth's revised version of the latter, the Prayer Book of 1559, was to culminate in the Book of Common Prayer, the liturgical treasure house of Anglican observance. But the need for the book of extra-liturgical prayers that could be used in the private closet persisted,¹⁶ and it received its answer in Elizabeth's *Primer* of 1559.¹⁷ This book, a revision

¹⁵ Thomas Becon, "The Flower of godly prayers," in *The seconde part of the booke, which Thomas Beacon hath made*, sigs 3F3-3H2v.

¹⁶ Authority was probably encouraged to meet this need by the availability of the distinctly traditional prymer in *An vniforme and Catholyke Prymer in Latin and Englishe*, published according to Queen Mary's "letters patentes" in 1555.

¹⁷ *The Primer set forth at large, with many godly and devout prayers, Anno, 1559* (Parker Society, 37).

of Edward's prymer of 1546, was a modification of the traditional prymer with its emphasis on the type of prayer or Scriptural arrangement suitable for private devotion. This two-fold development was possible because the old prymer had been in itself, outside of certain fixtures, a very flexible instrument of devotion. The Reformation had carried away the heart of the fixtures, the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin. And the Marian prayers had, of course, vanished, as well as the prayers most intimately associated with the ancient rites. But the arrangements of Scripture like the Psalter of Saint Jerome had remained. And so to a surprising extent had the occasional prayers, especially the acknowledgments of remorse for sin and the petitions for forgiveness, but little changed with the changing times.

The motive of such a book as this was, of course, to provide an effective and yet, from the point of view of the new settlement, safe substitute for the old book. But there were other developments, often of some one feature of the old prayerbook, again of several. The psalters are a case in point. The selection and arrangement of verses from the psalms to meet specific devotional needs, the adaptation of sections of Scripture to particular purposes, and the culling of whole prayers out of the text of Scripture because they apply to contemporary emergencies, all of these rearrangements of Scripture for special purposes are very ancient. The Psalter of Saint Jerome is a famous example. But this was no merely traditional memorial. The process was a living and continuous one. The *Jesus Psalter*, ascribed to Whitforde, which was so popular on the eve of the Reformation and afterward carried through for a good many years among the Recusants on the Continent is a conspicuous example of this sort of thing.¹⁸ When therefore Thomas Berthelet, the King's Printer, in 1544 printed his famous "Psalmes or Prayers taken out of holie scripture," better known as *The King's Psalms*,¹⁹ he was but carrying out an old tradition, perhaps even in the number of his synthetic psalms, fifteen, reminiscent of the number of the gradual psalms, one of the fixtures of the old prymer. It bears the same relation to the materials of the Book of Psalms that Saint Jerome's Psalter did, a plastic reshaping of the materials of Scripture in the service of new themes and new occasions.

Closely allied to this synthetic psalm type is the series of prayers or meditations likewise quarried out of scripture but with a wider range of source and a still more flexible handling of material and a more sustained development of theme and occasion like *The Queenes prayers or Medita-*

¹⁸ *Sixe Spirituall Bookes, Full of Merveilous Piete and Deuotion. And First, Certaine Deuout and Godlie Petitions, Commonlie Called, The Iesus Psalter* (Doway, 1618).

¹⁹ As in the edition bound up uniformly with the H. Wykes' edition of *The Queenes prayers* (1568).

tions, printed by H Wykes in 1568. But the most interesting and perhaps the most influential of these early recastings of scriptural material is that collection known as *Prayers of Holy Fathers, Patriarches, Prophetes, Iudges, Kynges, and renowned men and women of eyther testamente*, which Richard Grafton printed in 1544. This use of Scriptural prayers for timeless and contemporary human emergencies was nothing new. A limited number of such prayers so used were a regular feature of the old prymer, prayers offered in time of crisis by such dramatic figures of the Old Testament as Jonah, Susanna, Manasses, and Judith.²⁰ But here the selection was more extensive and the resulting collection was more systematically organized under appropriate headings like "Praiens for the synnes of the people," and "Prayers in tyme of aduersite, and for a mannes owne synnes," than ever before.²¹ But it still remains true that a good many of these selections and even the applications had already been made in the prymer. Perhaps the most dramatic example is the selection from and rearrangement of the psalms traditionally attributed to Saints Ambrose and Augustine and a common feature of all the primers as a portion of the Matyns of Our Lady.²² In other words, the disposition of these editors was to keep as much as they could of the ancient devotional materials, eschewing, of course, the praises of the Virgin and the prayers for the intercession of the saints that had been so striking a feature of the traditional prymer. And this is true of their many successors, like the editor, say, of the *Treasure of Gladnesse* of 1568.

And this remained true even of later developments of this modified prymer tradition. For this material passes into the Bull-Middleton prayer books and so into the Daye prayer books, both the earlier form of 1569 often referred to as *Queen Elizabeth's Prayerbook*,²³ and the much-altered form of 1578 which was to prove so popular.²⁴ The very format of these Daye prayerbooks with their border ornaments of designs of Scriptural and allegorical significance, including a Dance of Death very closely following the designs found for instance in the Paris 1527 edition of the *Hore Beatissime virginis Marie* already referred to, is reminiscent of the ancient book of the layman's private devotion. And the materials, particularly in the *Christian Prayers* of 1578, are more so. There are, for in-

²⁰ See *Hore Beatissime virginis Marie ad legitimum Sarisburiensis Ecclesie ritum* (Paris, 1527), sigs. P3-8v.

²¹ *Prayers of Holy Fathers*, etc. (London, 1544), sigs. 04v-P4v.

²² Compare *Thys prymer in Englyshe and in Laten* (Paris, 1538), sigs. E6-7 and *Praiens of Holy Fathers*, sigs. F3-4v.

²³ *Christian Prayers and Meditations in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greeke, and Latine* (London, 1659).

²⁴ *A Booke of Christian Prayers, collected out of the auncient writers, and best learned in our tyme* (London, 1578).

stance, the seven penitential psalms of the prymer, in a fresh rehandling. There are prayers "taken out" of the preceding psalms, and prayers out of Scripture, often the very same selections, often selections made on the same principles as the old ones. There are some very interesting survivals of ancient prayers, like the "O Bone Iesu," "O Bountiful Lord Iesu" of Saint Bernardine of Siena.²⁵ But the most interesting examples of unexpected survival are to be found in a series of prayers to Christ of a warm personal character not to be expected in this period when there was a general reaction in Protestant devotion against the often luxuriant floriation of emotional and imaginative prayer that had preceded the Reformation. They are in substance the famous *Fifteen Oes* which Caxton first published in the year 1491. Their basic plan is quite simple. They follow up the opening invocation which gives them their name with a simple and fairly dramatic image in which some aspect of the rôle of Christ in the redemption of the race is presented symbolically and then the devotee asks that in an analagous fashion he may follow that example in his own life. In that movement of revival of the ancient devotional treasures of the national Church that was one of the features of English religious activity in the middle of the last century, these were reprinted by Stephen Ayling with a very moving appreciation of the spirit of sincere devotion which breathed through their imaginative petitions, and with the suggestion that this was the first book of prayers in English issued by the followers of Wickliffe.²⁶ The only trouble with this Lollard ascription is that they are found in early sixteenth-century English prymer, of the most orthodox type, the editors of which were quite aware of the issues of the time, and as such usually ascribed to Saint Brigit of Sweden.²⁷ And though any woman so enterprising as Brigit of Sweden was doubtless called a good many things by her harassed superiors, I doubt if she was ever called a Lollard. At any rate, the authors of the sixteenth-century Anglican prayerbooks that reprinted these prayers were under no such illusions. For they omitted some and expurgated others, particularly with regard to references to the Virgin and to the Passion and to the Eucharist, in a fashion that shows that they were quite aware of the traditional character of these prayers.²⁸

As for the ancient books of devotion as distinguished from the collec-

²⁵ Compare *Thys prymer in Englyshe and in Laten* (Paris, 1538), sig. Z8 and *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (London, 1578), sigs. R2-3.

²⁶ *The Fifteen O's, and other Prayers* (reproduced in lithography by Stephen Ayling, London, 1869), sig. 3v.

²⁷ For example, *Hore beatissime virginis marie* (Antwerp, 1525), sigs. T1-5, *Hore Beatissime virginis Marie* (Paris, 1527), sigs. 2a1-5, *Thys prymer in Englyshe and in Laten* (Paris, 1538), sigs. M3-8v.

²⁸ See for instance, *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (London, 1578), sigs. X3-Aa1.

tions of prayers, their fate was a curious one. Some, as the works of Bonaventura, disappeared quite completely. Others, as the works of Augustine, survived in hardly diminished popularity, and this is true not only of the genuine Augustinian book of meditations like the volume of selections out of his *De essentia diuinitatis* which William Hill printed in 1548,²⁹ but also of the pseudo-Augustine like *The Glasse of vaine-glorie*.³⁰ Perhaps the most curious of these survivals is to be found in some of the rehandlings or adaptations of Saint Augustine. *A pretious booke of holie meditations*,³¹ for instance, is in reality a mosaic of selections from the great Doctor's works, especially from the *Confessions*, not so far as I know available in English translation until 1620.³² And it should be added, that if the elimination of Bonaventura should over-emphasize the admitted antipathy of the age to the mystical element, some of the selections included in this work represent some of the most mystical passages of the *Confessions*, notably selections from the famous sixth chapter of the tenth book.³³ It would, therefore, seem correct to say that while the age had pretty definitely repudiated contemplative literature, there were some notable exceptions.

Of these easily the most remarkable is the survival of the *Imitation of Christ*. At first sight, this would seem the most monastic of works, the very epitome of the *devotio moderna* with its emphasis on individual, inner, even subjective piety, with its strong though muted emotional coloring. Its popularity was well established before the Reformation, for it had in whole or in part run through about fifty Latin editions before the end of the fifteenth century.³⁴ The English translations begin with that of William Atkinson (the first three books), printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1502 and Pynson in 1503. With the addition of the Lady Margaret's translation of the fourth book, first published in 1504, this version ran through some half dozen editions in the first quarter of the century. Then about 1531 the translation of our old friend, Richard Whitforde, took the field, likewise running through half a dozen editions in the next twenty-five years. Then there is a dearth of English editions of the *Imitation* between the significant years of 1556-1567. The next

²⁹ *Certain Places Gathered Out of S. Austens Boke intituled de essentia diuinitatis* (London, 1548)

³⁰ *The Glasse of vaine-glorie Faithfully translated (out of S. Augustine his booke, intituled Speculum peccatoris) into English*, by W. P. (London, 1585)

³¹ *A pretious booke of holie meditations*, trans. T. Rogers (London, 1581) See especially chaps. 18 and 31

³² Ascribed to Tobie Mathew, *The Confessions of the Incomparable Doctour S. Augustine* (St. Omer, 1620)

³³ See especially the eighteenth and thirty-first chapters

³⁴ See Augustin de Backer, *Essai Bibliographique sur le Livre de Imitatione Christi* (Liège, 1864) This work needs to be corrected for the English translations

appearance of Whitforde's book in 1585 bears neither place of publication nor name of printer. It is clearly a Recusant publication, probably Continental. Then comes the third great English version of the *Imitation*, Edward Hake's 1567, and in 1580 the best-known of all the English translations of the period, Thomas Rogers', which was to run through some fourteen editions in the next sixty years.

Hake faced the key problems of the pre-Reformation classic with resolution. The fourth book of Thomas, that on the Eucharist, with its untransmutable dependence on the repudiated doctrine of transubstantiation, he completely omitted, without any explanation, adding "as springing out of the same roote," *A short and pretie Treatise touching the perpetuall Reioyce of the godly, euen in this lyfe* to round out the volume. Dubious or dangerous passages in the other books he annotated in the margins with warnings or with explanations that the author was not to be understood to have meant what he clearly said.³⁵ Rogers likewise contented himself with the first three books in his first half dozen editions, but when in 1592 he published what was at least the seventh edition of his version, he solved the problem of the unassimilable fourth book by adding to the first three a translation of the *Soliloquium Animae* ascribed to the same author under the title of *The sole-talke of the Soule, Or, A Spiritual and heauenlie Dialogue betwixt the Soule of Man and God*, with the title-page addition, "Which, for the great affinitie it hath with other bookes of the Auctor published heeretofore in our natue tongue, is now entituled, *The Fourth booke of the Imitation of Christ*." And he justified this substitution as well as other necessary deviations from his author in an address to the reader that admirably sums up the spirit of many of these translators of the devotional classics of the past. He begins by pointing out that he has altered his author only where he has himself "varied from the truth of God, and, I doubt not, would haue redressed, had hee lived in these daies of light, as he did in the time of most palpable blindnes." Indeed, as Rogers hastens to remind us, the author had himself prayed God to reveal to him or some other any errors he might make. So Rogers' corrections may piously be regarded as an answer to that prayer. And anyway though Thomas à Kempis lived "in a Popish time," yet was he "in hart no Papist."³⁶ A charitable principle that doubtless did much to rescue ancient light from out the darkness of the past.

Some such principle must also be invoked to explain the surprising use of contemporary Catholic devotional works in thoroughly orthodox Protestant works of devotion. Some of this at least had its start in that transitional period when one reformer looked to another, never doubting

³⁵ *The Imitation or Following of Christ*, trans. Edward Hake (London, 1568), p. 18.

³⁶ *The Imitation of Christ*, trans. Thomas Rogers (London, 1592), sigs. A3v-4v.

that his enthusiasm for reform or for the deepening of spiritual life would carry him out of the ancient fold as it had the English translator. A famous and widely influential example is to be seen in the inclusion in Bradford's prayers of translations of daily prayers by the Spanish humanist Vives.³⁷ Vives' prayers for the daily round of the devout Christian obviously spring from the traditional morning and evening prayers of the prymer, but they have a certain actuality and immediacy characteristic of the new time. It is not surprising, therefore, that Bradford made them his own without any sense of strangeness. That is one of the characteristic phenomena of the time. Bradford recognized a kindred spirit at certain key points and assumed that that was true of all. So did a good many other Englishmen with regard to other Spanish and Continental writers then and later,³⁸ this appropriation of devotional material across the lines of battle is evidence of the fact that the degree of continuity in certain non-controverted areas was so great that it outweighed the misgivings of a new orthodoxy.

But the most interesting example of this sympathetic appropriation is to be found in the history of the book to which perhaps the most dramatic of sixteenth-century English penitents, Robert Greene, credited his conversion,³⁹ and to which in the next century the saintly Richard Baxter was to attribute his moral awakening, "the booke of Resolution."⁴⁰ The English story of this work, which in its various incarnations was to prove one of the most popular of all the devotional books of the time, begins with an already "improved" version by one James Sancer published in Paris in 1579 under the title *The Exercise of a Christian Life*. The author of the original work, if a book of selections arranged to meet the daily and occasional needs of the devout has any claims to originality, was an Italian Jesuit, Gaspare Loarte. Under the form which the first known English translator gave the book it had enjoyed a good deal of popularity, when Robert Parsons came upon it. Whether Parsons actually found it incomplete as he said or whether he saw in it larger possibilities than the original author had realized it is not possible to say, but the

³⁷ John Bradford, *Private Prayers and Meditations, with Other Exercises*, in *The Writings of John Bradford* (Parker Society) v, 230-242.

³⁸ Luis de Granada is another notable example. See, for instance, *Granados Devotion*, trans. F. Meres (London, 1598), *Añ Excellent Treatise of Consideration and Prayer* (London, 1599), *The Sinners Guyde*, "digested into English" by F. Meres (London, 1598), and *Granadas Spirituall and Heauenly Exercises*, trans. F. Meres (London, 1598).

³⁹ Robert Greene, "The Repentance of Robert Greene," *Life and Works of Robert Greene, M.A.*, ed. Alexander Grosart (London, 1881-86), xii, 165 ff.

⁴⁰ Baxter, Richard, *Reliquiae Baxterianae: or, Mr. Richard Baxter's Narrative of the most Memorable Passages of his Life and Times*, ed. Matthew Sylvester (London, 1696), p. 3.

fact is that when he was through his work of expansion and reorganization, the resulting book was between three and four times the size of the original. The first book of this expanded version Parsons offered to the English-speaking world probably at Rouen in 1582 as an antidote to the superfluity of controversy of the time and a book of direction for "matters of life and spirit."⁴¹

Apparently the book enjoyed a good deal of popularity in Protestant circles, for two years later, in 1584, Edmund Bunny published a "corrected" edition of it with an address to the Archbishop of Canterbury in which he explained the pains he had taken to relieve the good it might do of any possibility of doing harm, and an accompanying treatise to persuade the Recusant who had got so far as to read a good book like this" to join with us likewise in the truth of Religion."⁴² Bunny is generous in his approval of the worth of the author's labors, but there are a few things that he must correct. Parsons uses Our Lord for The Lord, iustice for righteousness, poenance for repentance, merit for good works, or the service of God, and so on. Then there were passages involving opinions "wherin we dissent from them, and they (no dowt) from the truth it selfe." Those he left out, and with the more confidence because, as he suggests in this preface to the reader, he suspected that they had been added by the licensing authorities rather than by the author himself, whom he pays the compliment of supposing to be of a better mind.⁴³

But, sad to say, this delicate compliment was not appreciated. For the very next year Parsons published *A Christian Directorie*, of which the first book was the aforesaid *Book of Resolution*. And in a preface dated from Saint Omer in Artois Parsons launched a spirited "reprofe of the corrupt and falsified edition of the booke lately published by M. Edm. Bunny," the burden of which was that Bunny had made him speak like a Protestant.⁴⁴ Parsons cited chapter and verse and delivered himself of his indignation in some vigorous sentences in which the more temperate terms of sixteenth century religious controversy, "ridiculous," "absurd," and "wicked" figured with effect.⁴⁵ Bunny was not so quick as Parsons in the uptake, but when in 1589 he got round to *A Briefe Answer, unto those idle and frivolous quarrels of R. P. against the late edition of the Resolution*, he defended himself with equal spirit, pointing out that all he

⁴¹ Robert Parsons, *The first booke of the Christian Exercise, appertayning to resolution* ([Rouen?], 1582), p. 2.

⁴² Edmund Bunny, *A Booke of Christian Exercise, appertayning to Resolution by R. P. Perused, and accompanied now with a Treatise tending to Pacification* (London, 1584), sigs. *2-2v.

⁴³ *Ibid*, sigs. *5-7.

⁴⁴ Robert Parsons, *A Christian Directorie* ([Saint Omer], 1584), fols 10v-11.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, fol 12.

had done was to put Parsons right and if Parsons could not see it, what more evidence could you ask as to what was the matter with him⁴⁶ But the book, whatever the shortcomings of its author, established itself in the favor of what the publisher of the 1590 London edition of the second part called, "all indifferent iudgements," for it was "written by a Iesuit beyonde the Seas, yet an English man"⁴⁷

By the end of the century, then, for all the fighting words like *merit* and *transubstantiation* it was possible for a good many of the members of the Church of England to recognize something of a common ground with their ancestral adversaries in the realm of inner and private devotion. That is due primarily to the fact that in the field of devotional literature so many specific works and component elements had passed through the successive crises of the sixteenth century and made good their place in what was coming to be an established tradition. The context of public religious life was greatly altered, the directions and emphases of private devotion more delicately modified, but the enduring and continuing elements were more numerous and more influential than has always been appreciated. The fact is important for our understanding of the personal psychology that met not only the changes of the sixteenth century but made possible the developments of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, developments in the work of men like Herbert and Donne of quite as much consequence for literature as for religion.

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⁴⁶ Edmund Bunny, *A Briefe Answer, vnto those idle and friuolous quarrels of R P against the late edition of the Resolution* (London, 1589), pp. 53-55

⁴⁷ Robert Parsons, *The Seconde parte of the Booke of Christian exercise* (London, 1590), sig. ¶3

LIII

SPENSERIAN ARMOR

IN the first edition of the *Faerie Queene* appeared a woodcut of the Red Cross Knight in combat with the Dragon. The Knight is clad in armor of the sixteenth-century type. In particular the iron skirt, or tonnlets, of the rider are like those in a suit of armor given by the Emperor Maximilian to Henry VIII in 1515.¹ The artist, however, may not have been very familiar with armor, for the plates over the knees and elbows are not accurate. The plumes of knight and horse are suitable for pageantry rather than for serious combat. The knight's shield, with its red cross, is wholly unfitting, since shields were not worn with such armor in service, and shields such as were used in some types of jousting were of different shape. The horse wears armor on the head and neck, but not on the body, though the body is covered with cloth housing.

Spenser is presumably not to be held for what the illustrator did, yet his references in the poem to some extent support the drawing, though in other ways they depart from it. It must be remembered that Spenser's knights are usually on active service, and often apparently unaccompanied by a squire able to assist in putting armor on and off. In a few instances they engage in formal tournaments. There is not an absolute line between armor intended for battle and that for tournaments; yet the latter was generally more elaborate and required more aid in assuming it. Sometimes armor suitable for battle was adapted to jousting by adding further plates for protection for the head, neck, breast, and arms. Battle armor was obliged to sacrifice security to mobility.

The helmet of a Spenserian knight might have an elaborate crest:

His haughtie helmet, horrid all with gold,
Both glorious brightness, and great terrour bred,
For all the crest a Dragon did enfold
With greedie pawes, and over all did spread
His golden wings. his dreadfull hideous hed
Close couched on the bever, seem's to throw
From flaming mouth bright sparkles fierie red,
That suddaine horror to faint harts did show,
And scaly tayle was stretcht adowne his backe full low (1 7 31).

Knights seem actually to have gone to battle in such crests in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, though in the early sixteenth these were abandoned even for the tournament.² Since this is a helmet for

¹ Laking, *A Record of European Arms and Armour*, III, figures 1003, 1016, 1017, 1017A.

² Laking, II, 165.

serious combat, Spenser is archaizing, or following the precedent of the romances, in the *Orlando Innamorato* we read of Marfisa·

E per cimier nel più sublime loco
Un drago verde che gettava foco

Ed era il foco acconcio di maniera,
Che da l'impeto acceso arde del vento,
E quando in mezzo a la battaglia ell' era,
Un lampeggiar facea pien di spavento (189, 10) ³

The helmet worn by some of the faery knights had a movable ventail, which when raised showed the face ⁴ This indicates a basnet with movable parts, or some later type of close helmet such as appears in the picture of the Red Cross Knight The most general indication given about the helmet is that it has lacings to be unfastened If the word *unlace* is to be taken literally, and not in the general sense of *unfasten*, it would seem to apply only to the form of helmet which fitted over another protective head-covering, such as a hood of mail, since only such helmets seem to have had lacings ⁵ Late models even of this type were fastened by metal pieces hinged to the helmet, and, still later close helmets were fitted over flanges on the gorget. ⁶ Large helmets for tilting were also carefully laced to a padded hood within them, ⁷ and their adjustment required the aid of a skilled attendant This lacing is also mentioned by Ariosto: Brandimarte has unlaced the front fastenings of the helm of Agramante and intends to remove it to free passage for his dagger; Marfisa has her squire attend to the lacing of hers ⁸

Several times a Spenserian knight unlaces the helm of his adversary to behead him or otherwise kill him, ⁹ in these instances the poet neglects any other covering for the head, such as the coif of mail. Such a coif, to be covered by the helmet when jousting, appears on English brasses as late as 1306. ¹⁰ In the *Morte Darthur* the coif is mentioned more than once, ¹¹ though it was not worn in Malory's time, the references to it are translated from his source, *La Queste del Saint Graal*, assigned to about the year 1220. ¹² By keeping this detail, he showed himself more

³ For other elaborate crests see 26 12, 46 38, 49 18, 62.34. ⁴ 3 2 24 3; 5 8 12 5

⁵ Ashdown, *British and Foreign Arms and Armour*, pp 106, 114, 184, Laking, I, 57, 276; II, 176 For helmets of this type illustrated in the manuscripts of romances, see Eugène Vinaver, *Malory* (Oxford, 1929), plates facing pp 38, 58, 98

⁶ Laking, II, 102 ff; Ashdown, pp. 223, 266, etc., Laking, IV, 90

⁷ Laking, II, 137-138

⁸ *Orlando Fur*, 41 98, 27.88 Cf also, e g, Tasso, *Gerusalemme Lib.* 11.75, Bojardo-Berni, *Orlando Inn* 26.8. ⁹ E g., 2 8 52.8

¹⁰ Herbert Druitt, *A Manual of Costume as Illustrated by Monumental Brasses* (London, 1906), p. 149. ¹¹ Book 13, chap. 17; bk. 17., ch 1.

sensitive to historical accuracy than did Spenser more than a century later. This neglect of any covering for the head except the helmet is especially striking in a narrative of Britomart.

Her glstring helmet she unlaced,
Which doft, her golden lockes, that were up bound
Still in a knot, unto her heeles downe traced,
And like a silken veile in compasse round
About her backe and all her bodie wound (4 1 13)

Here, if the passage is taken literally, she unlaces her own helmet, as sometimes do other knights in the *Faerie Queene*. The effect is that Spenser has in mind not the laced helmet but a later type that would carry its lining with it,¹³ so that when it was removed the head would be quite uncovered. Since the incident is modeled on Ariosto,¹⁴ perhaps Spenser's attention was first of all on the specific situation and its development, rather than on literal consistency.

After 1400, armor of iron plates rather than of linked chain mail prevailed, though a mail skirt appears on the suits of English nobles of the sixteenth century and mail was used at the armpits and at other points where plate was not adequate. The armpit was recognized as a weak point in early plate armor, though in mail it would be as strong as any other part. Spenser was apparently conscious of this, for he writes of Campbell that he

Stroke him, as he his hand to strike upreard,
In th'arm pit full, that through both sides the wound appeard (4 3 33 8-9).

The wounded Triamond's armor here may have been like that early plate worn by the Germans at the battle of Benevento, where the Italians defeated them by thrusting at their unprotected armpits.¹⁵ When Ariosto describes a similar scene, he is careful to make clear that the victim was not wholly undefended:

Pria che 'l braccio scenda al duro effetto,
Gli caccia sotto la spada pungente,
E gh fa nella magha ampla finestra,
Che sotto difendea l'ascella destra (30.57).

This refers to fifteenth-century battle armor.¹⁶

¹² *La Queste del Saint Graal*, ed. Albert Pauphilet (Paris, 1923), pp. 56, 196 "la coife de fer" ¹³ Laking, IV, 123-124 ¹⁴ *Orlando Fur*, 26 28

¹⁵ Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War, The Middle Ages* (New York, 1898), p. 486

¹⁶ For an illustration, see Laking, III, 179. This figure shows the use of a plate to strengthen the mail defense of the armpit. For a knight struck just as Spenser describes, see an illustration in the *Miroir historial de Jacques, duc de Nemours*, reproduced in R. Chantelauze, *Mémoires de Philippe de Commines* (Paris, 1881), p. 27. Tasso tells of a knight killed in battle in this way (*Gerusalemme Lib*, 6 44).

Spenser's knights sometimes appear to be clad in plate, like the Red Cross Knight, who when resting by a fountain is "Disarmed all of iron-coted plate" (1.7.2.8). Among Spenser's villains the Soudan wears a "cote of plate, burnisht with bloudie rust" (5.8.29.1-2), and Grantorto is "armed in a cote of iron plate" (5.12.14.3). If he stands for wrong in Ireland, he is not armored like the ancient Irish galloglass, who had "a long shirt of mayle downe to the calfe of his legg", he was rather like the "armed footeman that nowe weareth a corslett."¹⁷ In one instance, Spenser may intend to signify something of the exotic by mail, for the pagan Sans-joy is armed in "woven mail" (1.5.4.2).

Other references to mail are, however, more abundant than those to plate, especially if the habergeon and hauberk are always to be interpreted as indicating mail, as they do in some instances,¹⁸ for example Arthur's hauberk has a "linked frame" (2.8.44.7), and Radigund wears a "mayled habergeon" (5.5.2.9). If references to mail are an indication, Spenser's knights are archaic in their equipment, for the habergeon of mail alone is not later than the fourteenth century. Two of them wear ancient armor, Artegal that of Achilles (3.2.25.6), and Britomart that of Angela the Saxon queen (3.3.58.8), "foiraine armes and straunge aray" (4.6.9). Britomart's habergeon is twice alluded to, but elsewhere she wears plate (3.1.6.3), and her "shoulder plate" is struck (5.7.33.2).¹⁹ If this passage is to be pressed for consistency, it may be that Spenser has reference to the shoulder plates or ailettes worn with mail.²⁰ Plate is also associated with Artegal (4.6.15.8, 5.5.20.9).

More than once Spenser associates the two types of armor: for example, "neither plate nor mayle" (4.3.15.4) could sustain the stowre of the axes. Perhaps this is not to be taken too literally, but means merely armor. At least it appears in Ariosto: "Sacripante non ha piastra nè maglia."²¹ If it must be taken as exact, it may refer to fourteenth-century

¹⁷ *View of the Present State of Ireland* (London, 1934), p. 93. In Gough's edition of the Fifth Book, Spenser's "iron plate" (5.12.14) is interpreted as mail.

In this context in the *View* Spenser is usually thought to have been mistaken about Sir Thopas' "shecklaton." It seems, however, that Spenser did know what a hacqueton is, namely the "quilted jack" "worn in war under a shirt of mail." If so, probably the word in *Faerie Queene* 2.8.38.7 is a slip of the pen for *habergeon*.

¹⁸ According to the *NED* the hauberk is always of mail. For the belief that it sometimes indicates plate armor, see *Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, ed. by J. M. Manly (New York, 1928), the note on Sir Thopas, p. 633, lines 2050-58, and F. M. Kelley and R. Schwabe, *A Short History of Costume and Armour* (New York, 1931), I, 81.

¹⁹ Arthur wears a habergeon of mail (2.8.44.6) but elsewhere a "curat" (5.8.34.8).

²⁰ Ashdown, pp. 101-110.

²¹ *Orlando Fur*, 27.78. Cf., e.g., 6.80, 26.84, 30.59, 31.21, 45.75. Likewise, Bojardo-Berni, *Orlando Innamorato*, 16.28.35, 18.18, and many other passages, Tasso, *Gerusalemme Lib.*, 6.48.

armor, in which mail and plate were combined, for example a breast-plate was worn over a mail shirt. Spenser gives no indication of an exact knowledge of this, though perhaps Ariosto does. At least he writes:

Grosso l'usbergo, e grossa parimente
Era la piastra, e 'l panziron perfetto
Pur non gli steron contra, ed ugualmente
Alla spada crudel dieron ricetto ²²

In one instance Berni seems interested in this combination of armor on the forearm. The shield of Rinaldo is cut across, and then

Sott' esso era la piastra del bracciale
Sopr' un cuojo di bufolo guarnita
Nè di maglia la manica gli vale,
Che gli fece nel braccio aspra fenta ²³

The sleeve of the mail shirt is strengthened by plates for the arm, as was usual in the armor of the transition from mail to plate.

With improvement in armor, the shield disappeared from the service equipment of the mounted knight. About 1360 is the last instance of a knight wearing a shield as shown on his monumental brass. ²⁴ It is, however, apparently invariable in the equipment of faery knights, being mentioned some two hundred times in the poem. Some of the shields are obviously archaic, being the "three square" shields of the early fourteenth century. ²⁵ The "sevenfold" shield that occurs three times is classical. ²⁶ For fighting on foot certain warriors used shields until long after Spenser's day, as in the English combination of sword and buckler. Such shields were held on the arm or even by the left hand alone, and could be freely moved about, as Artegal is able to raise his shield above his head (5.12 21 6). The heavy shields of early mounted knights were supported by a strap over the shoulder, ²⁷ so that the left arm could be free for the

²² *Orlando Fur*, 24 64. Similarly

Gli passo la corazza e il soprappetto,
Ma prima un ben ferrato e grosso scudo (19 82)

See F. M. Kelley and R. Schwabe, *A Short History of Costume and Armour*, I, 60. In each instance Ariosto mentions the mail first, does he indicate the plate as worn under it? See Charles Oman, *History of the Art of War, Middle Ages*, p. 514, for the belief that plate was so used. The passage seems to mean that the plate is penetrated last, but it may be that the poet is not mentioning the exact order of layers as pierced by a spear.

²³ *Orlando Inn*, 23 44. See, e.g., Drutt, *Costume*, frontispiece.

²⁴ Drutt, *Costume*, p. 159. ²⁵ 1 6 41 8, 3 1 4 4, 3 4 16 3.

²⁶ *Iliad*, 7 220, *Aeneid*, 12 925, Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 13 2, Bojardo-Berni, *Orlando Inn.*, 65 5, Tasso, *Gerusalemme Liberata*, 20 86.

²⁷ For this in the illustrations of the MSS of romances see Eugène Vinaver, *Malory*, plates opp. pp. 58, 98.

bridle or for a two handed weapon But Spenser, on the other hand, sometimes represents his knights as fastening their shields to their wrists.²⁸ Of this I have no other instance, unless this custom is indicated when we are told of Orlando, on foot, that "dal braccio lo scudo si dislaccia" (*Orl Inn*, 33 48) Such fastening seems as obvious a device for the buckler man as the fastening of a sword by a chain²⁹ Is it possible that Spenser is here drawing on the customs of the sword-and-buckler men of his own time? Such fastening seems reasonable for a shield held only in the hand, but hardly needed for one held on the arm as well. In the importance given to the shield, Spenser is at one with the Italian romantic poets, and archaic as well, even with a touch of the classical

Of armor for the sake of pageantry, such as could be seen in the entertainments of Spenser's time,³⁰ there is little in the *Faerie Queene* Yet Artegal appears at a tourney

In queynt disguise, full hard to be descide
For all his armour was like salvage weed,
With woody mosse bedight, and all his steel
With oaken leaves attrapt, that seemed to fit
For salvage wight (4 4 39 3-7)

Apparently he also goes on his adventures in the same fantastic trappings (4 6.4.9). Perhaps such equipment was also used at the jousts at the spousals of Florimel (5.3 4 4-5).

Armor for the horse is mentioned but once in the *Faerie Queene*, Guyon's horse had "goodly gorgeous barbes" (2.2.11 7). In other instances horses injured in combat seem clearly not protected, as the horse of Pyrocles, struck by a glancing blow on the neck just in front of the saddle and completely beheaded (2 5 4) If Mr. Laking is right in saying that armor for horses was little used in warfare, Spenser is correct in this matter. Usually the horses of romantic poetry are, it seems, unarmored, but Berni twice writes of a horse as "coperto di piastra e maglia"³¹

What opportunity would Spenser have had for learning of armor? In an age when it was still used, he must have seen a good deal of it actually worn, or in armories intended to supply combatants That would have stimulated his eye for differences between modern and old-fashioned equipment. In addition he could have examined a great many artistic

²⁸ 1.5.6.3, 2 8 22 7, 3 9 22 8; 5.6 28 9.

²⁹ *Orlando Fur.*, 26 123, 41.96, *Orlando Inn*, 54 14, etc., Sidney, *Arcadia* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 457. Laking, iv, 45.

³⁰ Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth*, II, 312 Cf. Sidney, *Arcadia*, pp. 285, 454, 455, 462 In the latter instances fancy armor is worn in serious combat Cf. also Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveler*, in *Works* (London, 1910), pp. 271-278

³¹ *Orlando Inn*, 22 55; 36 14. In 11 29 Bajardo is spoken of as "bardato."

representations, in illuminated books, in paintings, and on funeral monuments For example, knowledge of fashions in armor can be gained from such monumental brasses as remain to us, in Spenser's day there were many more than now Students of costume were well aware of the value of such monumental effigies, at any rate in Italy, as can be learned from Cesare Vecellio Writing on the *Armato Venetiano all' uso antico di già 400 anni*, he says:

Havendo noi di sopra fatto mentione, de' soldati Romani, & delle loro armi, non sarà fuor di proposito il mostrar a' curiosi, quali fussero l'arme usate anticamente da' Venetiani Et se di questo ci possono far fede alcuna le sepolture antiche, io, che ne sono stato diligentissimo investigatore, sarò ancora fedelissimo testimonio di quel, che in questa matena ho potuto raccorre Si vede adunque per gli annali intagliati nella sepolture, che intorno al 1200 per la venuta de' Gothi (& così riferisce Olao Magno) andavano armati in questo modo ³²

The illustration shows a man in a coat of mail with long sleeves, his head is covered by a mail coif, and his legs are protected by plates.

It may also be asked how exactly Spenser's language is to be taken Does *mail*, for example, mean literally that, or is it sometimes hardly more than armor? Did Spenser generally intend to be accurate and consistent, or is he willing to be as vague in military terms as in the geography of Faerie Land, or in the dating of the "antique world" of which he writes? It would seem that in the equipment of his knights he was satisfied with a general suggestion of "antique history" and did not make an attempt to find a norm to which the outward appearance of a cavalier must conform In other words, there is no indication that he carefully visualized the details in the armor of his heroes, indeed he has less feeling for the niceties of armor than his Italian predecessors in romantic poetry.

To say that he was archaic comes to the same thing as to say that he followed the precedent of Ariosto and the other Italians Ariosto and Berni were three quarters of a century before him, and Malory still further, yet all were archaic in their time Since there seem to be but few passages in which Spenser took anything from the decadent chivalry of his own age or from any of its military customs, the conclusion apparently must be that he adopted the formulas of earlier romance without criticism and without considering exactness or consistency. The obvious vigor of his single combats is not the result of minute or historical realism.

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³² Cesare Vecellio, *Habitu Antichu et Moderni* (Venice, 1598), p. 43 The preface, written for an earlier edition, is dated 1589.

HOW GREAT WAS SHAKESPEARE'S DEBT TO MONTAIGNE?

EDWARD CAPELL in his *Notes and Various Readings* (1781)¹ pointed out a parallel between Montaigne's essay "Of the Cannibals" (Florio's translation) and *The Tempest*, II, 1, 118, ff., where Shakespeare follows the wording of Florio so closely that his indebtedness is unmistakable. Since this discovery various attempts have been made to prove further the influence of Montaigne upon Shakespeare. In 1871, G. F. Stedefeld published the first extended study of the relationship between the two writers,² and from that time on there have appeared from time to time books and articles on the subject, some of which make extravagant assertions in regard to the extent of Montaigne's influence upon the dramatist. For example, J. M. Robertson in *Montaigne and Shakespeare* (1897), after gathering numerous parallels from the *Essays* and from Shakespeare, made the sweeping claim that much of the growth of Shakespeare's mind was due to the influence of Montaigne.³ G. C. Taylor in *Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne* (1925) makes almost as large claims as this. He "proposes to demonstrate" by means of parallel passages "that Shakespeare was beyond any doubt, profoundly and extensively influenced by Montaigne, definitely influenced in regard to vocabulary, phrases, short and long passages, and, after a fashion, influenced also in thought."⁴ In an article published shortly after Robertson's book appeared, Miss Elizabeth Hooker, after citing numerous parallels, comes to the more guarded conclusion that Shakespeare used the *Essays* as a store-house of material only.⁵ Conservative students of the literature of the Renaissance have questioned the soundness of assigning definite sources, especially for material of common knowledge, on the basis of parallel passages. A. Brandl, in his review of Robertson's *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, warns against assigning to Montaigne sources which were common to both writers, such as Plutarch,⁶ and C. R. Baskervill, in his review of Taylor's *Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne*, states the same objection, and says that most of the

¹ I have not had access to this work. A. H. Upham, *The French Influence in English Literature* (New York, 1908), p. 282, cites the parallel as pointed out by Edward Capell, *Notes and Various Readings* (1781), pt. iv, p. 63.

² *Hamlet ein Tendenz-drama Shakespeares* (Berlin, 1871).

³ This reference is to the edition of 1909, *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, p. 37.

⁴ *Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne*, p. 5.

⁵ "The Relation of Shakespeare to Montaigne," *PMLA*, x (1902), 347.

⁶ *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, xxxv (1899), 313-314.

parallels cited by Taylor may be due to a common inheritance of Renaissance thought shared by the two writers.⁷ Pierre Villey believes the passage in *The Tempest* is the only instance of Shakespeare's borrowing from Montaigne. After reading the exhaustive parallels cited by Robertson and others, he concludes that "cent zéros additionnés ensemble ne font toujours que zéro."⁸ Yet, in spite of the skepticism of the more conservative scholars, parallels are still cited to prove a direct relation between the two writers. Miss Suzanne Turck has brought together numerous passages which she believes show unmistakable influence of the *Essais* on *Hamlet*.⁹ J. Dover Wilson cites Montaigne frequently in his notes to his recent edition of *Hamlet*.¹⁰ And Joseph E. Baker, in his essay "The Philosophy of Hamlet," says that in *Hamlet* "direct echoing [of Montaigne] seems very probable."¹¹

Those who have attempted to show that Shakespeare's borrowing from Montaigne was extensive have failed to take sufficient account of the wide currency in the Renaissance of ideas common to the two writers. For most of the passages in the *Essays* and in Shakespeare which reflect on the same problems, both writers probably drew upon sentences, similitudes, and philosophical generalizations to be found in popular classical authors and in *loci communes* gathered from them. Shakespeare probably knew the Latin forms of many of the *loci*. He had no doubt learned to search out the "places" in school authors by the methods then in vogue in the schools. He had perhaps gathered them from the treatises of Cicero, from the letters and essays of Seneca, and from some Latin version of Plutarch—writers who are prominent among Montaigne's avowed sources. In these, in other Latin works, and in the enormously popular anthologies of quotations, such as Erasmus' two great collections—the *Adagia* and the *Apophthegmata*—and the *Polyanthea* of Mirabellius, would have been found *loci communes* from Greek and Latin writers, on a vast number of subjects. The moral precepts in *Catonis disticha* and in *Mimi Publani* were universally familiar, and so were those in short collections by Seneca (or St. Martin)—*De remediis fortuitorum*, *Liber de moribus*, and *De formula honestae vitae*. Early translations into English from the Latin books of precepts and aphorisms and from moral works such as Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes* and *De officiis* and Seneca's letters and treatises are cited below, as well as popular books of apho-

⁷ *Modern Philology*, xxiii (1925-26), 499-500

⁸ "Montaigne et les poètes dramatiques anglais du temps de Shakespeare," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, xxiv (1917) 390

⁹ *Shakespeare und Montaigne ein Beitrag zur Hamlet-Frage* (Berlin, 1931)

¹⁰ *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1934)

¹¹ *Essays in Dramatic Literature* (Princeton University Press, 1935), p. 468

risms from classical sources originally compiled in English—Elyot's *Bankette of sapience* (1539, with four later editions), Baldwin's *Treatise of moral philosophy* (1547, with fourteen editions by 1600), Ling's *Politeuphuna*, or *Wits Commonwealith, Part I* (1597, with twelve editions by 1630), Meres' *Palladis Tamia*, the second part of *Wits Commonwealith* (1598), Cawdrey's *A treasure or storehouse of similies* (1600), and Bodenheim's *Belvedere, or Garden of the Muses* (1600)¹² A large number of the parallels in the special studies which have been cited from the *Essays* as sources for Shakespeare, especially those from *Hamlet* and *Julius Caesar* with parallels from Florio's "That to Philosophie, is to learne how to die" (I, 19), are reflections embodying the Stoic view of the ideal attitude toward death and fortune. Shakespeare would have found precepts on this theme scattered through the books of aphorisms mentioned above and in numerous popular English adaptations from Stoic works, such as E A's *Defence of Death* (1577), Lord Berners' *The golden boke of Marcus Aurelius* (1534), North's *Diall of Princes* (1557), and Thomas Twyne's translation of Petrarch's *De remedius utriusque fortunae* as *A Phisicke against fortune* (1579).

The list given above of works in English accessible to Shakespeare, which drew on the same classical sources as Montaigne used, will serve to point out the danger of assigning to one source to the exclusion of others aphorisms of classical provenance adapted in his plays. Even this partial list of English works containing sentences, examples, apophthegms, and similitudes derived from the classics indicates how early and how completely the precepts of the ancients which point the way to wise conduct found their way into English, and how wide the currency of these aphorisms must have been. Montaigne and Shakespeare have in common exactly the sort of sententious matter to which this kind of book gave currency.

The citations below demonstrate that Shakespeare, Florio, E A., the compilers of the English precept books, and many others expand, adapt, and fuse in much the same fashion the *loci communes*, which in classical works or in quotation books derived from them, gathered together the pronouncements of the ancients on a vast number of subjects, and passed them on to succeeding generations. To *loci communes* under such head-

¹² My citations from Baldwin are from the edition of 1564, representing Paul Freyman's third revision. I cite from the 1630 edition of Ling, and from the 1634 edition of Meres. My citations from Elyot, *Bankette of sapience* (1539) and from Whittinton's translations from St. Martin—*The Forme and Rule of honest lvyng* and *The Myrrour or Glasse of muners*—are from photostat copies of the originals in the British Museum. Of the *Polyanthia* I cite the edition of 1608, of the *Adagia* the Froben edition, 1533. My citations from E A's *The Defence of Death* are from a film reproduction of the original in the British Museum.

ings as "Mors," "Vita," "Homo," "Constantia," etc., are due, quite certainly, most of the correspondences which appear to be so striking in Montaigne's *Essays* and Shakespeare's plays. The *loci* were accessible to Shakespeare as well as to Montaigne in classical writers and in such collections of quotations as the *Adagia* and the *Polyanthea*. Shakespeare could have found them adapted by Baldwin or Ling or Meres or Cawdrey, under headings such as "Of man," "Of mans life," "Of death," or under less general ones, such as "Of education" or "Of custom." He was probably familiar with many of the well-known Latin "places" on popular subjects. He may frequently have found, however, that the more formal "classics" either in the original or in translation, or the Latin collections of aphorisms, were less suited to his needs in dramatic composition than the English precept books, where there lay ready to hand such sentences, similitudes, and classical commonplaces as he cared to use without particular effort. It is hardly to be argued that any one of these books is the specific source of any particular passage in his plays—the supposition that he may have been acquainted with several of them is reasonable. It is certain, however, that he would not have needed to go to Florio's Montaigne for this sententious matter.

We turn now to the citations. Since the space at my disposal is limited, I give full texts of probable classical originals and of typical English variants for only a few of the commonplaces, indicating others by footnote references or in tabular form. I have chosen from the special studies those parallels from Montaigne and from Shakespeare which in my judgment show the closest correspondence in wording and also a definite relation in thought. Since writers of these studies hold that *Hamlet* and *Measure for Measure* show Montaigne's influence more clearly than other plays of Shakespeare, I cite most frequently from them.

"OF LEARNING"—"OF IDLENESS"

Taylor has pointed out a striking correspondence between Florio and Shakespeare in the use of the similitude likening the idle mind to an unweeded garden.¹³

Montaigne, *Essays* I, 39¹⁴ "Of Idleness":

As we see some idle-fallow grounds, if they be fat and fertile, to bring forth store and sundrie roots of wilde and unprofitable weeds, and that to keepe them in ure we must subject and imploy them with certaine seeds for our use and service . . . So is it of mindes, which except they be busied about some subject, that may bridle and keepe them under, they will here and there wildely scatter themselves through the vaste field of imaginations

¹³ *Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne*, pp. 15 and 24-25.

¹⁴ References to Montaigne are to *The Essays of Montaigne done into English by John Florio*, The Tudor Translations (London, 1892).

Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, I, ii. 133-137:

How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable,
Seems to me all the uses of this world'
Fie on 't! oh fie, fie! 'Tis an unweeded garden,
That grows to seed, things rank and gross in nature
Possess it merely

Antony and Cleopatra I ii 113-114:

O, then we bring forth weeds
When our quick minds lie still

Othello, I, iii, 321-329:

Virtue! A fig! 'tis in ourselves that we are thus or thus. Our bodies are our gardens, to the which our wills are gardeners, so that if we will plant nettles, or sow lettuce, set hyssop and weed up thyme, supply it with one gender of herbs, or distract it with many, either to have it sterile with idleness, or manured with industry, why, the power and corrigible authority of this lies in our wills.

Shakespeare need not have gone to Florio for this similitude. It was one of the familiar commonplaces on Education, and is to be found in the works of those great favorites, Cicero, Seneca, and Plutarch. It frequently occurs in the translations and adaptations from these authors, often in the English precept books. We find in North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, at the beginning of the life of Coriolanus, and marked by a marginal note, "Coriolanus wit," the following passage, which may be compared with the lines cited above from Shakespeare:

This man also [Coriolanus] is a good prooffe to confirme some mens opinions. That a rare and excellent wit untaught, doth bring forth many good and evil things together as a fat soile that lyeth unmanured bringeth forth both hearbes and weeds¹⁵

—*The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans* (ed. of 1579), p. 237

Meres is undoubtedly adapting this similitude, from Plutarch or at second-hand from North, in the following:

As a field untilld, doth not only remaine unfruitfull, but also doth bring forth many weeds. so youth capable of reason, except it be exercised in honest precepts doth not onely not become good, but runneth into many vices. *Plutarch.*

Wits Commonwealth, pp. 128-129 under "Education."

¹⁵ Cf. *II Henry IV*, iv, iv 54-56, where the King, lamenting over the riotous life of Prince Hal, says,

Most subject is the fattest soil to weeds,
And he, the noble image of my youth,
Is overspread with them

Cawdrey has

As the earth when it is not tilled, or trimmed, dooth breede and bring forth bryers, brambles, nettles, and all noysome and unprofitable things So Idlenesse in man, doth breed and broode in him, ungodly thoughts, and wicked cogitations of all sortes

—*A treasure or storehouse of similes*, p 409, under "Idleness"

Meres includes this same precept under "Youth," Ling under "Of Schools" (*Politeuphona*, p 77). It is to be found also in Lord Berners' *Golden boke of Marcus Aurelius* (edition of 1553), sig Kvi Seneca's Epistle 34 was a popular source of commonplaces on Education, and Cicero's precept, ". . . ut ager quamvis fertilis, sine cultura fructuosus esse non potest, sic sine doctrina animus," *Tusculanae Disputationes* II, 13, was constantly quoted

"OF AMBITION OR VAIN GLORY"

Taylor matches Shakespeare's lines on ambition in the second scene of Act II in *Hamlet* with a passage in Florio describing vain glory Montaigne, *Essays*, II, 352, "Of glory":

He that first bethought himselfe of the resemblance betweene shadow and glory did better than he thought of They are exceeding vaine things It also often goeth before her body, and sometimes exceeds by much in length

Essays, I, 296:

Fame . . . is a dreame, dreames shadow¹⁶

Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, II, II 263–270:

Gul Which dreams indeed are ambition, for the very substance of the ambitious is merely the shadow of a dream.¹⁷

Ham A dream itself is but a shadow.

Ros Truly, and I hold ambition of so airy and light a quality¹⁸ that it is but a shadow's shadow

Ham Then are our beggars bodies, and our monarchs and outstretch'd heroes the beggars' shadows

The similitude here involved in Florio and in Shakespeare may go back to Cicero's comparison of glory to a shadow: ". . . gloria . . . virtutem

¹⁶ Taylor, *op cit*, p 14

¹⁷ The comparison between transitory and vain things and a shadow seen in sleep is frequently met in the literature of the Renaissance Montaigne here quotes Tasso The figure is to be found in Pindar (Pythian Hymns VIII), where it is used to describe the slightness and evanescence of man's life Erasmus' quotation of the similitude from Pindar (*Adagia*, II, III, 48, under "Homo bulla") no doubt gave currency to this figure I cite part of Erasmus' paraphrase from Pindar below, for the Duke's speech in *Measure for Measure*

¹⁸ Cf. Seneca *Ep.* CXXIII, 16.

Gloria vanum et volucre quiddam est auraque mobilis

tamquam umbra, sequitur"—*Tusc Disp*, I, 110, or to Seneca: "Gloria umbra virtutis est"—*Epistulae morales*, LXXIX, 13. The idea expressed in Shakespeare's lines, emphasizing the vanity of ambition, or the desire of false glory, may be compared with a passage in *Tusculans* (III, 3), which distinguishes true glory from false. It is rendered thus by Dolman. All men nevertheless do greedelye desyre the prayse of the common sorte, and sunge therein after true and unfayned honesty are foulye deluded and mocked. For they do not obtayne any perfect picture of vertue, but the shaded image of glorye. For, true glorye is a sounde and perfect thyng and no colored shadowe.¹⁹

—*Those five questions*, sig Niif

The *Polyanthea*, under "Gloria," quotes from Plutarch a similitude which introduces the figure of the lengthened shadow as representing the emptiness of (false) glory suggested in these parallel passages from Florio and from Shakespeare. The quotation from Plutarch is given in Latin, as follows:

Uti sol, si immineat hominis vertici, aut prorsum tollit umbram aut minimam reddit: sic ingens gloria extinguit invidiam. *Plut in Moralibus*²⁰

Plutarch is the source of this similitude in Meres:

When the Sun-beames are perpendicular over a mans head they either altogether take away his shadow, or make it very little: so exceeding great glory doth quite extinguish envy. *Plut* —*Wits Commonwealth*, pp. 384–385, under "Glory,"

and probably in Cawdrey:

As the more directly the Sunne lieth upon us, the lesse is the shadowe of our bodie, as at noone wee may see by experience, and a little before and after. Even so the lesse that we arrogate and ambitiously boast of our selves, the greater gifts and graces of God are wee endued withall.²¹

—*A treasure or storehouse of similes*, p. 23, under "Ambition."²²

"OF THE SOUL"—"OF REASON"

Hamlet's speech praising the beauty and order of the universe has been traced to Montaigne.

Montaigne, *Essays*, II, 141:

Let us now but consider man alone without other help. Let us see what hold-fast, or freehold he hath in this gorgeous, and goodly equipage. Who

¹⁹. ad quam [i.e., populari gloriam] fertur optimus quisque, veramque illam honestatem expetens, quam unam natura maxime inquit, in summa inanitate versatur consecaturque nullam eminentem effigiem virtutis, sed adumbratam imaginem gloriae. Est enim gloria solida quaedam res et expressa, non adumbrata.

²⁰ I have not traced this quotation in the *Moralia*.

²¹ Cawdrey gives a reference to 1 Cor., 4:7, but he is probably following Plutarch here, not St. Paul.

²² Other English versions of this similitude may be found in Meres under "Wisdom," and in Cawdrey under "Vertue."

hath perswaded him, that this admirable moving of heavens vaults, that the eternal light of these lampes so fiercely rowling over his head, that the horror-moving and continuall motion of this infinite vaste Ocean, were established, and continue so many ages for his commoditie and service? Is it possible to imagine any thing so ridiculous, as this miserable and wretched creature, which is not so much as master of himselfe, exposed and subject to offences of all things, and yet daeth call himselfe Master and Emperour of this Universe?

Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, II. ii. 309–315:

Hamlet . this goodly frame, the earth, seems to me a sterile promontory, this most excellent canopy, the air, look you, this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, why, it appears no other thing to me than a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours . . .

The passage from Florio's translation of "The Apology of Raymond Sebonde" which is quoted above has been cited again and again as the source of Hamlet's speech praising "this goodly frame, the earth."²³ J. Dover Wilson, in his edition of *Hamlet*, remarks that a parallel was noted by G. B. Harrison (*Shakespeare at Work*, pp 277–278), who quotes from W. Parry's *Travels of Sir Anthony Shirley* (pub. Nov., 1601): "Those resplendent and crystalline heavens over-canopying the earth." Professor Wilson concludes, however, that "Montaigne seems the more likely source."²⁴ But descriptions of the beauty and order of the universe as contemplated by the mind of man including details which appear in these parallels, are a set piece in classical works popular in the Renaissance. These conventional pieces were no doubt models for the many descriptions of the heavens which occur in the literature of the sixteenth century, often as commonplaces proving the existence of God and the divine origin of man's soul. Such commonplaces occur in classical treatises amplifying the Stoic view that the marvel of the creation points to God as creator, as opposed to the Epicurean notion that the universe is merely a "concourse of atoms," without design. Cicero, in the second book of *De natura deorum*, puts into the mouth of the Stoic Balbus, who is arguing against the Epicurean Velleius to prove that the world could not have been created by chance, several descriptions of the beauty of the heavens²⁵ quite like those just quoted from Montaigne's *Essays* and from *Hamlet*.

²³ Feis, *Shakespeare and Montaigne*, pp 81, ff., J. M. Robertson, *op cit*, p 53, Miss Turk, *op cit*, p 50, and J. Dover Wilson, as noted below, all cite this parallel.

²⁴ *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, ed by J. Dover Wilson (1934), p 175. Professor Wilson refers here to Florio's Montaigne, Bk. III, ch. 12—no doubt an error for Bk. II, ch. 12, in which the passage in question occurs.

²⁵ See *De natura deorum*, Bk. II, sections 4, 15, 90, 98, ff., etc., especially the elaborate account of the beauty and order of the world in sections 98 ff. For one passage (II, 95), which argues from the perfection of the universe that the gods exist, Cicero quotes Aristotle, the lost dialogue, *De Philosophia*. In Plato's *Timaeus* the contemplation of the revolutions of the heavenly bodies is described as the highest function of the soul of man (para-

Similar passages are to be found in Seneca, *De otio* (v, 3, ff) and *De providentia* (i, 2), in Cicero's *Tusculans*, in Plutarch's *De tranquillitate animi*, and elsewhere. *De natura deorum* was not translated into English in the sixteenth century, nor were Seneca's treatises just referred to. But other classical works which may have served as models for this commonplace were accessible to Shakespeare in English. Compare with Hamlet's speech, the following passage from Dolman's translation of *Tusculanae Disputationes* v, 69:

What ioye, then, must the minde of this wise man needes dwell in, daye and nyght, with such pleasaunt thoughtes? When he shall also beholde the motions and turnings of the whole woulde, and shall see innumerable starres fastened in the skyes, and turned, onelye by the motion of the same. And other some, to have motions, & courses of theyr owne, distante the one from the other, cyther in hyghnes or lowenes. Whose wanderinge motions kepe neverthelesse, a stedfast and certayne course . . .

—Those fyve questions sig Ccii

A passage on this theme from a sixteenth century translation of Petrarch's *De Remedius utriusque fortunae*, a work which makes much use of popular commonplaces from the classics, is of interest as an elaboration of the conventional description of man's contemplation of the universe not unlike that in Shakespeare's lines in *Hamlet*. Reason exhorts Sorrow as follows:

What shall I neede to speake of . . . the most glorious and bryght spectacle of all, whiche is the circumference of the starrie Firmament, that continually turneth about with incomprehensible swiftness, wherein are fastened the fixed Starres? Lykewyse the wanderyng lyghtes, which you call the seven Planettes, and especially the Sunne and Mone, the two most excellent lyghtes of the worlde, as Virgil tearmeth them, Or the most glorious beauteie of Heaven, as Horace speaketh of them . . . Hereunto, moreover, there is geven unto you a bodye, which although it be frayle and transitorie, yet notwithstanding in shewe is imperious and beautiful, fashioned upryght, and convenient in contemplation to beholde the heavens²⁶ . . . he, who by this marveyulous and mercifull vouchsafeing preferred you before the Angels, set Angels also over you, to keepe and

graphs 47 and 90, Jowett's translation) Quite possibly these passages in Plato were a main source of the various descriptions in later classical writers of the response of man's soul to the ordered beauty of the universe

²⁶ Cf Seneca *De otio*, v, 4

[Natura] in media nos sui parti constituit et circumspectum omnium nobis dedit; nec erexit tantummodo hominem, sed etiam habilem contemplationi factura, ut ab ortu sidera in occasum labentia prosequi posset et vultum suum circumferre cum toto, sublimis fecit illi caput et collo flexili imposuit. . . .

defend you, that by all meanes he myght declare your excellencie above all other creatures ²⁷

—*A Phisicke against fortune*, Thomas Twyne (1579), folios 281–282

“OF VOLUPTUOUSNESS”

Montaigne, *Essays*, III, 67, Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, III, iv, 144–149 Seneca, *De tranquillitate animi*, II, 11–12, and *De ira*, I, xvi, 3 *Polyanthea* under “Voluptas”, Cawdrey, p 146, under “Continuance of Sinne.”

“OF ADVERSITY”

Montaigne, *Essays*, II, 28 and 110–111, Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, I, III, 20–40, *Timon of Athens*, I, I, 10–11, *Coriolanus*, IV, I, 2–10 *Defense of Death*, sigs GIV, v, HII, iii—from Seneca, *De providentia*; Cawdrey, p 572, under “Patience in Affliction.”

“OF OLD AGE”

Montaigne, *Essays*, I, 69, and II, 536, Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, II III 96–101 Seneca, *Ep Mor*, CVIII, 26, and *Ep. LVIII*, 32–33, *Polyanthea*, under “Mors ” “Similitudines”, Meres, p 140, under “Youth”, Cawdrey, p 771, under “Unwilling to die.”

“OF CUSTOM”

Montaigne, *Essays*, III, 29, 265, 347, Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, III. iv 161–168 Seneca, *Ep xxxix*, 6, *Polyanthea*, “Consuetudo”, Elyot, *Bankette*, under “Maners of men,” Baldwin (ed of 1556), fol cvii, Whittinton, *Myroure or Glasse of maners*, sig. A8, Ling, p. 181, “Of Labour ”

“OF COVETOUSNESS”

Montaigne, *Essays*, II, 343, Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, III, I, 21–23 Seneca, *Ep LXXIII*, 2, Elyot, *Bankette*, under “Ingratitude”, E A., *Defence of Death*, sigs E1, EII See also Alciati, *Emblemata*, LXXXVI, “In Avaros”, Whitney’s *Choice of Emblemes* (ed by H Green, 1866), p. 18, “In Avaros”; *Polyanthea*, under “Avaritia”, Baldwin (1564), fol. 12, Cawdrey, p 140, under “Covetousness ”

“OF DEATH”

Perhaps no lines in Shakespeare except the passage in *The Tempest* referred to at the beginning of this article have been so frequently traced to Montaigne, and so consistently matched with the same passage in Florio as the familiar speech of Hamlet just before the duel with Laertes,

²⁷ Cf with the Senecan passage in the preceding footnote and with the lines from Twyne’s translation of Petrarch, the latter part of Hamlet’s speech on the beauty of the universe

What a piece of work is a man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculty! In form and moving how express and admirable! In action how like an angel! In apprehension how like a god! The beauty of the world! The paragon of animals!

—*Hamlet*, II iii. 315–320

where he expresses an attitude of fatalism in regard to the outcome of the duel. From the early studies of Stedefeld and Feis to J. Dover Wilson's edition of *Hamlet* in 1934, the following parallel has been cited.

Montaigne, *Essays*, I, 78, 84, 87:

It is uncertaine where death looks for us, let us expect her everie where why should we feare to lose a thing, which being lost, cannot be moaned? Moreover, no man dies before his houre. The time you leave behinde was no more yours, than that which was before your birth, and concerneth you no more

Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, v, ii 230-235:

Hamlet Not a whit, we defy augury . If it be now, 'tis not to come, if it be not to come, it will be now, if it be not now, yet it will come the readiness is all Since no man has aught of what he leaves, what is't to leave betimes?²⁸

J Dover Wilson says that this whole speech is "a distillation of Montaigne," the essay entitled in Florio, "That to Philosophie, is to learne how to die." He cites for Hamlet's speech the passage from the *Essays* quoted just above,²⁹ the various parts of which are taken from the nineteenth chapter of the first book Upham cites the Montaigne parallel, and remarks that it "goes a long way toward clearing up a doubtful line in the folio"³⁰ He refers to the line "since no man has aught of what he leaves, what is't to leave betimes?" The citations below show, however, that Shakespeare would have had no more need to turn to Florio for Stoic commonplaces on death such as those in Hamlet's speech just cited than for those expressed in other plays which are thought to be indebted to Montaigne The nineteenth essay of the first book, which has been cited more often than any other of the *Essays* as Shakespeare's source, has been shown by the editors of Montaigne to consist in large part of adaptations of Latin—chiefly Senecan—aphorisms, separated by comments on these aphorisms.³¹ Senecan and other commonplaces on how the "wise man" meets death and fortune were probably familiar to Shakespeare in the original. There are English variants of consolatory precepts such as he has adapted in *Hamlet* and in the Duke's speech in *Measure for Measure* to be found among the commonplaces in Ling, Baldwin, Elyot, and elsewhere I have selected as typical the adaptations from Seneca in E A's *Defence of Death* (1577). Compare with this speech of Hamlet's the following:

²⁸ Feis, p 111, Hooker, p 320, Turck, pp 61-62

²⁹ *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark* (Cambridge University Press, 1934), p 249

³⁰ *The French Influence in English Literature*, p 283

³¹ See citations of Montaigne's sources for "que philosophe c'est apprendre a mourir," I, xx (in Florio, I, xix), *Les Essais de Michel Montaigne* (Bordeaux, 1920), tome 4 (by Pierre Villey), pp 41-47 See also comment on the sources of this essay, *ibid.* p. 45 "On remarquera que bien souvent les sentences en français qui séparent les citations latines ne sont guère que des commentaires de ces citations"

... No man knoweth where death waiteth for thee, watch thou therfor for it in al places.

—*The Defence of Death*, sig Evi, from *Ep* xxvi, 7.

. . what greater folly can there be then to wonder, that the thing dooth sometime happen which is in danger dayly to come to pass? Our bounds are limited in place where the inexorable destinie hath planted them, and yet can no man tell how nere they are Let us therefore frame our mindes as if we were at the end of them, let us not defer the time For he who dayly setteth the last hand to his life hath nothing to doo with time (Cf "If it be not now, yet it will come the readiness is all")³²

—*The Defence of Death*, sigs Fvi, verso, Fvii, recto.

it skilleth not when we suffer, for as wel one day we must suffer It skilleth not how long thou livest so thou livest wel & unto good life many times long life is hurtful³³ . feare not therefore to tarry the appointed houre, which will take thee from hence Whatsoever thou seest about thee account it as moovables and baggage of hostries [hosteltries] and that thou must go forwarde Nature abaseth men at their departure, as at their comming in We carry away no more then we bring with us (Cf "since no man has aught of what he leaves, what is 't to leave betimes?")³⁴ Let death find us redy disposed, and nothing slack³⁵ (Cf "The readiness is all")

—*Ibid*, sigs Fvii, verso, Gi, verso.

The Duke's speech, *Measure for Measure*, III, 1 1-44

Those who have sought to demonstrate by means of parallel passages a marked influence of Montaigne on Shakespeare have looked upon *Hamlet* and *Measure for Measure* as being especially important in indicating this debt Robertson says, "The real clue to Montaigne's influence on Shakespeare beyond *Hamlet* . . . lies . . . in *Measure for Measure*"³⁶ He says of the Duke's speech to Claudio in this play, "It is difficult to doubt that Montaigne is for Shakespeare the source of the stimulus,"³⁷

³² Quid autem stultius quam mirari id ullo die factum, quod omni potest fieri? Stat quidem terminus nobis, ubi illum inexorabilis fatorum necessitas fixit, sed nemo scit nostrum, quam prope versetur terminum Sic itaque formemus animum, tamquam ad extrema ventum sit Nihil differamus . Qui cotidie vitae suae summam manum imposuit, non indiget tempore —*Ep* ci, 7-8

³³ [Excutienda vitae cupido est discendumque] nihil interesse, quando patiaris, quod quandoque patiendum est Quam bene vivas refert, non quam diu, saepe autem in hoc est bene, ne diu

—*Ep* ci, 15.

³⁴ prouinde intrepidus horam illam decretoriam prospice Quidquid circa te iacet rerum tamquam hospitalis loci sarcinas specta, transeundum est Excutit redeuntem natura sicut intrantem Non licet plus efferre quam intuleris .

—*Ep* cii, 24-5.

³⁵ Depone onus, quid cunctaris

—*Ep* cii, 26

³⁶ *Op cit*, p 182

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p 87.

and "the very ground for surmising that he had Montaigne's writing in mind when he penned the Duke's exhortation to Claudio is that he has there framed a catena of stoical comments on life and death, and that such a catena is found repeatedly in Montaigne."³⁸ Robertson quotes the Duke's speech entire, with parallels from the *Essays*.³⁹ Collins quotes it in refuting Robertson, and conceded that it is here that "we have a typical illustration of the way in which Shakespeare may have been influenced by Montaigne."⁴⁰ Miss Hooker quotes it almost entire with some rather close parallels from Montaigne. She says that this speech "seems to collect many of Montaigne's remarks upon the paradoxical and unsatisfactory nature of human existence."⁴¹

The correspondences to the Duke's speech which have been pointed out in Florio are, like others cited above, more likely to be due to a common knowledge on the part of Shakespeare and Montaigne of classical aphorisms which were current as *loci communes* than to a direct relation between the two writers. The Duke's speech is, as Robertson says, made up of Stoic comments on life and death. Most of these were universally familiar as commonplaces of consolation against the fear of death. There are in this passage the conventional charges against life for its shortness and insecurity, and against the shifting sense of values in the mind of man; against the frailness and the base origin of the body, against old age, with its impotency, its susceptibility to disease, its peculiar fault—covetousness—and its unreasonable desire for longer life. Those who sought *loci communes* on these themes would have found them in many places. Among these are the famous consolatory passage against the fear of death in Lucretius' *De rerum natura*, Book III,⁴² certain *loci* in Seneca and in Marcus Aurelius; Pliny's *Nat. Hist.*, Book VII, which deals with man, his life and death, and in which chapters 1 and 50 are popular sources for *loci* on these themes; and gatherings of the *loci communes* in such comprehensive collections as the *Polyanthea*, under "Homo," "Mors," "Vita," "Senectus," etc., and the *Adagia*—especially, in this last-mentioned work under "Homo bulla," where Erasmus has gathered together the most beautiful classical imagery on the fragility and the swift passing of human life. Shakespeare had probably searched

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 274

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 87–91.

⁴⁰ J. Churton Collins, *Studies in Shakespeare* (London, 1904), p. 291

⁴¹ "The Relation of Shakespeare to Montaigne," *PMLA*, x (1902), 326

⁴² Lucretius' great poem may have been quite frequently the source of consolatory precepts among the commonplaces, especially Book III, the Discourse of Nature. It is less frequently quoted for commonplaces of consolation, however, than other classical writers, especially Cicero and Seneca, the reason being no doubt largely that the definite rejection of the doctrine of personal immortality in his poem (III, 417 ff.) is in direct conflict with Christian teaching.

out, in grammar school, the Latin "places" in some of these sources. But before his plays were written, this material, like that on the various subjects noted above, was represented quite completely in English, in such translations and adaptations as I have cited, and especially in the English collections of sentences and similitudes. No one passage which I cite can be pointed out definitely as Shakespeare's source—indeed in this speech he has adapted, fused, and compressed his material more perhaps than in any of the passages from his plays quoted above. It is made clear by the citations, however, that he would not have needed to depend upon Florio for the Duke's speech, and that Seneca's commonplaces are probably a main source for this passage. The lines which have been cited from the *Essays* for this passage are the least convincing of all the parallels in the special studies. Striking correspondence to the Duke's speech are scattered through the English commonplace books under "Of mans life" and similar headings. They occur in Baldwin, Elyot, Ling, Cawdrey, Meres, and E. A. I cite most frequently E. A.'s *Defence of Death*.

"OF MAN"

Montaigne, *Essays*, II, 327:

Is it our senses that lend these diverse conditions unto subjects, when for all that, the subjects have but one? as we see in the Bread we eate it is but Bread, but one using it, it maketh bones, blood, flesh, haire, and nailes thereof.

Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, III, i 13-21:

Thou are not noble,
For all the accommodations that thou bear'st
Are nurs'd by baseness. Thou'rt by no means valiant,
For thou dost fear the soft and tender fork
Of a poor worm.
. Thou art not thyself;
For thou exist'st on many a thousand grains
That issue out of dust.⁴³

The citation from Montaigne does not seem at all close to Shakespeare's lines, which express the conventional charges against the base origin and earthy sustenance of the body common in exhortations of consolation such as the Duke's speech. The English books of common places contain much the same matter under headings such as "Of man," "Of mans life," etc. Compare Baldwin,

Thou shalte knowe thy selfe accordinge to gods commaundemente, if thou consider, what thou arte, what thou wast, & what thou shalte bee. . . . Thou knowest thy body shal putrifie and become earth, than was it earth before it

⁴³ Hooker, *op cit*, p. 328

was thy bodye, for looke whereinto anye thing ceaseth thereof bee sure it hadde the beginning . . . And therefore thy growing & sencible moving life that came of the earth, remaineth so with it, that by putrifaction plants & wormes do engender therof which encrease, move & feele as thou didst . . . —*A treatyce of morall philosophy* (1564), fol 76, under "Of man and what he is"

Conventional consolation in the Renaissance emphasized not only that in the very nature of things man's life is short and fleeting, and his body fragile and subject to disease and planetary influences, but that his disposition is fickle, and his judgments, which are under his own control, are unreliable. Stoic teaching in particular, the chief source of consolatory commonplaces, insisted that it is man's own passions only which disturb the calm of his mind and cause his sense of values to be shifting and uncertain.⁴⁴ Passages in Stoic works were constantly put under contribution for "places" on this popular theme. Montaigne's *Essays* were only one of many sources accessible to Shakespeare for sentences on it, and for similitudes with which to "amplify" it. Seneca's prose was more often sought for consolatory precepts than the works of any other classical writer. A somewhat detailed comparison between the separate aphorisms in the Duke's speech and several passages in E.A.'s translation of commonplaces from Seneca shows interesting correspondences

Shakespeare has

A breath thou art,
 Servile to all the skyey influences,
 That dost this habitation where thou keep'st
 Hourly afflict
 Thou art not noble,
 For all the accommodations that thou bear'st
 Are nurs'd by baseness.
 Thou art not thyself;
 For thou exist'st on many a thousand grains
 That issue out of dust.

Compare the suggestion of the transitoriness of life in "this habitation where thou keep'st" with Seneca's comparison of life to an inn:

Man is never more heavenly then when he considereth his mortall nature, and knoweth that he is borne a man, to die, assuring him self that this body is not his owne house but an Inne, & such an Inne as he must shortly parte from.⁴⁵

—*The Defence of Death*, sigs G1, verso, G11, recto

⁴⁴ My forth-coming monograph, *Shakespeare's Treatment of Passion*, analyzes in some detail the Stoic doctrine which undoubtedly influenced Shakespeare.

⁴⁵ Quod numquam magis divinum est, quam ubi mortalitatem suam cogitat et scit in hoc natum hominem, ut vita defungeretur, nec domum esse hoc corpus, sed hospitium, et quidem breve hospitium, quod relinquendum est. . . .

Compare with the "skyey influences" which "afflict" the body, Seneca's reflections on the inconvenience of inclement weather.

[Winter brings cold, and we must shiver] Dooth the summer bring heat? We must not be without heat Dooth the distempered aire hinder our helth? We must be sick ⁴⁶

—*Defence*, sig. G1, verso

Compare also Shakespeare's reflections that "all the accommodations that thou bear'st Are nurs'd by baseness," and that "thou exist'st on many a thousand grains That issue out of dust" with E A, the same passage from which I cited just above:

It is a great token of an hautie minde to account these places where he is conversant, bace, & straight, and not to fear to depart from them For in that he knoweth and remembreth from whence he commeth, he knoweth also whither he must return ⁴⁷

—*The Defence of Death*, sig. Gi, recto

Robertson cited⁴⁸ a passage from Montaigne's "Of Experience" which suggests the charges against life, especially against old age, expressed in the Duke's speech:

Looke on an aged man, who sueth unto God to maintain him in perfect, full, and vigorous health . . . Is it not folly? . . . The gowt the stone, the gravell and indigestion are symptomes or effects of long-continued yeares . . . Thou art seene to sweate with labour, to grow pale and wanne, to wax red, to quake and tremble, to cast and vomit blood, to endure strange contractions, to brooke convulsions . . . Even now I lost one of my teeth . . . That part of my being, with divers others, are already dead . . . Death entermeddleth, and everywhere confounds it selfe with our life.

—*Essays*, III, 359, 361, 375–376.

Montaigne probably depends here upon the same Senecan passages⁴⁹ which are quite certainly back of similar charges in the Duke's exhortation against the inconveniences and unsatisfactory nature of life: that man's "complexion shifts to strange effects," that we are dying even while we fear death, that man's body is subject to disease Shakespeare's

⁴⁶ Hiems frigora adducit algendum est Aestas calores refert aestuandum est Intemperies caeli valetudinem temptat aegrotandum est.

—*Ep* CVII, 7.

⁴⁷ Maximum . . . argumentum est animi ab altiore sede venientis, si haec, in quibus versatur, humilia iudicat et angusta, si exire non metuit Scit enim, quo exiturus sit, qui unde venerit meminit.

—*Ep* CXX, 15.

⁴⁸ *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, p. 89.

⁴⁹ Compare with these lines citations from the Epistles below, especially the passages from *Ep* CXX, 16, cited in the next two footnotes.

list of diseases, which include those especially assigned to the period of old age—. . the gout, serpigo, and the rheum—may be compared with E.A.'s translation of Seneca's list of the disturbances of the body:

Se we not how many discommodities we overpasse, and how unfit this body is for us? Somtime we complain of our bellyes, of our brest, or of our throte Othertimes our sinews or our feet do greeve us, Otherwhiles some flux [flux] or Rheume molesteth us ⁵⁰

—*The Defence of Death*, sig Gii, recto

Meres adapts this commonplace in Seneca thus:

As they that have their feet under other mens Tables, and dwell in other mens houses, are vexed with many discommodities and doe alwayes complaine of one thing or other so the soule doth now complaine of the head, now of the feete, now of the stomache, now of one thing, now of another, signifying that shee is not in her owne house, but that shee must goe hence very shortly *Seneca*

—*Wis Commonwealthe*, p 108, under "The Soule "

Shakespeare's charge,

Thou are not certain,
For thy complexion shifts to strange effects
After the moon,

and his reference to the insecurity of "this habitation where thou keep'st," may be compared with E A , the sentence which follows immediately the last one quoted above:

Otherwhiles we have to much blood, and otherwhiles to little We are tempted and tossed from place to place. Thus are they ordinarily used which dwel in other mens houses. . . ⁵¹

Compare also Shakespeare's charge of covetousness:

Happy thou art not,
For what thou hast not, still thou striv'st to get,
And what thou hast, forget'st.

with E.A , a passage which continues his translation of Seneca's Epistle: Thus are they ordinarily used which dwel in other mens houses, and yet becing furnished of such vilanous bodyes we do heer propound to our selves eternall matters and as far as mans age can extend we doo through hope promise our

⁵⁰ Non videmus quam multa nos incommoda exagitant, quam male nobis conveniat hoc corpus? Nunc de capite, nunc de ventre, nunc de pectore ac faucibus querimus. Alias nervi nos, alias pedes vexant, nunc delectio, nunc destitutio . . .

—*Ep.* cxx, 15-16

⁵¹ . . aliquando superest sanguis, aliquando deest, hunc atque illuc temptamur et expellimus, hoc evenire solet in alieno habitantibus.

—*Ep.* cxx, 16.

selves all things We are not content with any welth or authoritie. Is there any-thing more shameless and foolishhe ⁵²

—*The Defence of Death*, sig Gi.

Finally, compare Shakespeare's

. . . Merely, thou are Death's fool,
For him thou labour'st by thy flight to shun
And yet runn'st toward him still

with the following lines in E A., which occur immediately after those in the last quotation above from the *Defence*

We are made to dye, and yet at our death nothing seemeth sufficient for us For dayly we draw neerer the last point, and every houre driveth us to the place from which we cannot escape beholde then the blindenes of mans understanding ⁵³

"OF THE FEAR OF DEATH"

The adaptations of Senecan aphorisms on the fear of death cited just above from E A , and the passage quoted above from *The Defence of Death* for *Hamlet*, v, ii. 230-235, are typical versions of commonplaces on this theme. Compare also the following:

Montaigne, *Essays*, II, 330-331:

And when we doe foolishly feare a kind of death, when as we have already past, and dayly passe so many others . . . The flower of age dieth, fadeth and fleeteth, when age comes upon us, and youth endeth in the flower of a full growne mans age Child-hood in youth, and the first age, dieth in infancie and yesterday endeth in this day and to day shall die in to morrow And nothing remaineth or ever continueth in one state.

Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, III, i. 38-41:

What's yet in this
That bears the name of life? Yet in this life
Lie hid moe thousand deaths, yet death we fear,
That makes these odds all even ⁵⁴

Montaigne here follows Amyot's Plutarch, "Que signifioit ce mot 'Ei'?" These lines from Montaigne and from Shakespeare state popular com-

⁵² At nos corpus tam putre sortiti nihilominus aeterna proponimus et in quantum potest aetas humana protendi, tantum spe occupamus, nulla contenti pecunia, nulla potentia. Quid hac re fieri impudentius? Quid stultius potest?

—*Ep* cxx, 17.

⁵³ Nihil satis est morituris, immo morientibus, cotidie enim propius ab ultimo stamus, et illo, unde nobis cadendum est, hora nos omnis impellit. Vide in quanta caecitate mens nostra sit!

—*Ep*. cxx, 17, 18.

⁵⁴ Robertson, *op. cit.*, p 88, Hooker, *op. cit.*, p 330.

monplaces on death: that there are many kinds of death constantly lying in wait for us, and that death, when it comes, relieves us from further fear of it, which is the thought in Shakespeare, and that all life is death, since each period of our life must die before the next one is reached, which is the idea expressed by Montaigne. Shakespeare's sources for this passage are probably Senecan. The citations below from E. A.'s adaptations from Seneca and from his translation of de Mornay's *Excellent discours*—which itself depends to a great extent upon Seneca—are closer to Shakespeare's lines than the passage from Florio which has been matched with them.

. . The time neerest hand dooth alwaies escape from him that liveth in hope, & he is so covetous of life that with the feare of death he becommeth miscialle, and though the dout thereof lameth him of one hand and of one leg, of one thigh maketh him crooked, and loseneth all his teeth, yet so long as life continueth it maketh no matter, all is wel, such a miserable thing dooth death seeme unto him. He wisheth his paines more extreme, and that which is hard to be abidden he desireth to prolong and maintain a great while, and for what reward or wages? even to obtain longer life. But what is this long life? as long a death. Is there any who wold languish in torments and perish member after member that had not⁵⁵ rather cast away his life by little & little then to cast it away all at once? Deny me then that the necessitie of death is not a great benfit of nature⁵⁶

—*The Defence of Death*, sig. Fvii.

De Mornay apparently adapts this same Senecan commonplace on the miseries of long life and the unreasonableness of man's desiring it, in a passage in the *Excellent discours* which E. A. renders thus:

. . They had rather languish perpetually in the pain of the Goute, the Sciatica, the stone or such like, then at once to die of a sweet death, which comprehendeth

⁵⁵ The negative is an error in translation.

⁵⁶ . in spem viventibus proximum quodque tempus elabitur subitque aviditas et miserrimus ac miserrima omnia efficiens metus mortis. There follows the prayer of Maccenas, which Seneca calls "the most debased of prayers"—"turpissimum votum"—and which E. A. translates in part. I cite the part which he adapts.

Debilem facito manu, debilem pede coxo,
Tuber adstrue gibberum, lubricos quate dentes,
Vita dum superest, benest . . .

Usque adeone mori miserum est?

Optat ultima malorum, et quae pati gravissimum est extendi ac sustineri cupit, qua mercede? Scilicet vitae longioris. Quod autem vivere est diu mori? Invenitur aliquis, qui velit inter supplicia tabescere et perire membratim et totiens per stilicidia emittere animam quam semel exhalare?

Nega nunc magnum beneficium esse naturae, quod necesse est mori

—*Ep.* ci, 10-14

the least sorow in the world they had rather to die member after member, & as ye would say, to over live their sences, moovings & actions⁵⁷ then altogether to die to the end to live eternally

—*The Defence of Death*, sig Dviii, recto.

The citations have shown that aphoristic matter which Montaigne and Shakespeare have in common was easily accessible to Shakespeare in other sources than the *Essays*. Certainly Shakespeare could have had from the popular commonplaces from the classics the type of material which he shares with Montaigne—in many instances indeed he could have found there the specific sentences and similitudes which occur with similar wording in Florio and in his plays. Whether he knew the Latin form of these commonplaces or not—and he probably knew many of them in the Latin—he must have been familiar to some extent at least with the vast body of precepts and similitudes from the ancients which had been assimilated into English long before his time in the books of aphorisms, under convenient headings, for the use of all who sought it. This

⁵⁷ This passage probably depends not only upon the Senecan commonplaces cited above from Epistle cxx, 16 and Epistle ci, 10 f, but for the charge that old people who fear to die prefer to cling to life even though they lose their "senses, moovings, & actions," upon a much-quoted commonplace in Pliny which describes the miseries of old age

. tot periculorum genera, tot morbi, tot metus, tot curae, toties invocata morte, ut nullum frequentius sit votum. Hebescunt sensus, membra torpent, praemoritur visus, auditus, incessus, dentes etiam ac ciborum instrumenta. Et tamen vitae hoc tempus annumeratur,—Pliny, *Nat. hist.* lib vii, Cap 50 (51)

This commonplace was given wide currency by Erasmus' inclusion of it among the quotations under "Homo bulla," *Adagia*, II, iii. 48. It is constantly adapted in the literature of the English Renaissance. Jonson translates it literally in a passage in *Volpone* (I, v. 144 ff.)

So many cares, so many maladies,
So many fears attending on old age,
Yea, death so often call'd on, as no wish
Can be more frequent with 'em Their limbs faint,
Their senses dull, their seeing, hearing, going
All dead before them, yea, their very teeth,
Their instruments of eating, failing them.
Yet this is reckon'd life

Probably the closing lines of Jaques' description of the last age in the seven ages of man

Last scene of all,
That ends this strange eventful history,
Is second childishness, and mere oblivion,
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything.

—*As You Like It*, II, vii. 163–166,

owes something to this popular commonplace. But the description of old age in the Duke's speech is clearly Senecan for the most part.

material, arranged for the most part as *loci communes*, would have been most useful in dramatic composition, and there is no doubt that English collections of the sentences and similitudes may often have furnished matter for the drama of the period, including Shakespeare's plays.

That Shakespeare read Montaigne's "Of the Caniballes" is certain, from his borrowing from this essay in *The Tempest*. And it is quite possible that he received from the *Essays* suggestions which he may have used elsewhere in his plays. But, as the parallels cited above show, to build up an elaborate theory of literary "influence" upon the evidence of parallel passages alone is unsound, unless coincidences in idea and wording are unmistakable, and unless such agreements in thought and phraseology are not to be found in other accessible sources than the supposed "influencing" author. In its broader implications, the present essay has served to underscore the danger of "influence grafting" still regrettably prevalent in literary criticism. Ordinarily, to assign "sources" and to trace "influences" on the evidence of correspondences in thought and expression is especially unsafe in the Renaissance, and particularly for matter presumably of classical provenance. The wise sentences and fitting similitudes of the ancients were in every one's mouth. Essays, sermons, treatises, the interminably long moral disquisitions so popular in the period, abound in them. The learned no doubt sought this material in the original sources. But educated and half-educated alike could help themselves from those reservoirs of ancient wisdom which were known to all, the books of commonplaces. Certain striking correspondences between Montaigne and Shakespeare do not prove that Montaigne formed Shakespeare's style, nor even that the dramatist used the *Essays* as a store-house of material. Nor does the occasional similarity between sententious passages in Chapman and in Shakespeare prove that Chapman had a hand in composing Shakespeare's plays. Indeed it is quite possible that a very large number of the parallels by which recent criticism has attempted to prove indebtedness of one author to another in this period are due wholly to the universal knowledge of the "places."

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THE EVOLUTION OF *THE TAMING OF THE SHREW*

MOST Shakespeare scholars have believed that an earlier form of *The Taming of the Shrew* once existed, whether it was *The Taming of a Shrew* or some other version. There are scholars also who hold that an earlier form of *The Taming of a Shrew* must be postulated. Some have suggested a theory of a common source.

I

As early as 1889 Arthur H. Tolman declared, "If we suppose *A Shrew* to have been stolen from an early play of Shakespeare, and that this early play became, after revision, *The Shrew*,—we have, indeed, a bold hypothesis, but it is one which meets our difficulties in a remarkable manner."¹

In 1850 Samuel Hickson argued for what virtually amounted to a theory of a common source. "I think I can show grounds for the assertion that *The Taming of the Shrew*, by Shakespeare, is the original play, and that *The Taming of a Shrew* . . . is a later work, and an imitation."² Hickson, however, felt forced to qualify his thesis with the admission, "I think it extremely probable that we have it only in a revised form the play which Marlowe imitated might not necessarily have been that fund of life and humour that we find it now."³ Hickson has offered no further characterization or description of the earlier form of the play from which he suggests that both *The Shrew* and *A Shrew* derive, his evidences of imitation in *A Shrew*, however, constitute what many scholars have thought proof that *A Shrew* derives from *The Shrew* or from an earlier play similar in some respects to *The Shrew*.

Mr. Peter Alexander accepts Hickson's argument that *A Shrew* is an imitation, but, instead of adopting Hickson's suggestion that the author of *A Shrew* may have imitated an earlier form of *The Shrew*, he insists that *A Shrew* derives from the folio text and not from any earlier and unrevised version. "It has been suggested," writes Mr. Alexander, "that although *A Shrew* is a 'bad Quarto,' it derives from an unknown version (say, X) which was also the original of *The Shrew*."⁴ Rejecting this theory of a common source, whether suggested by Hickson, Tolman, or another, Mr. Alexander asserts positively: "That the Quarto writer had the Folio

¹ "Shakespeare's Part in the *Taming of the Shrew*," *PMLA* (1890), v, 201-278, see p. 228. Tolman credits the theory to Bernhard ten Brink (pp. 227-229), and recurs to the theory in *The Views about Hamlet and Other Essays* (Boston, 1904), p. 302.

² "The *Taming of the Shrew*," *N&Q* (March 30, 1850), i, 345.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 347.

⁴ "The *Taming of the Shrew*," *LTLS*, Sept. 16, 1926, p. 614.

text in mind when making his compilation is placed beyond dispute." He sums up his thesis. "that the Quarto is derived from a comedy by Shakespeare and that this comedy is preserved for us in the Folio, although somewhat imperfectly, by Heminge and Condell"⁵ I have an uneasy feeling that the phrase, "although somewhat imperfectly," may be a joker, Mr Alexander's thesis, nevertheless, amounts to a denial of any revision in the folio version subsequent to the alleged derivation of *A Shrew* therefrom.⁶

The exact opposite to Mr Alexander's theory—the view that *A Shrew* was the source of *The Shrew*—has been so long and so widely held that it would seem superfluous to review the supporting arguments here. The theory has been endorsed by eminent scholars.

There are scholars, also, who have held a theory of an intermediate version of the play—a version intermediate between *A Shrew* and *The Shrew*. The successive stages in the making of the folio text, according to this school, may be outlined as: (1) an original play, (2) *A Shrew*, (3) an unrevised version of *The Shrew*, and (4) the folio text of *The Shrew*.⁷

The theory of a so-called unrevised or intermediate version of *The Shrew* would seem to have been derived, as is generally recognized, from R. G. White's thesis of 1857 that three hands are traceable in *The Shrew*.⁸ F. J. Furnivall, when reviewing F. G. Fleay's paper "On the Authorship of *The Taming of the Shrew*"⁹—a paper read (apparently *in absentia*) at a meeting of The New Shakspeare Society on April 24, 1874, quoted White: "In *The Taming of the Shrew* three hands at least are traceable, that of the author of the old play, that of Shakespeare himself, and that of a co-labourer."¹⁰ As Brinsley Nicholson phrased it while commenting on Fleay's paper, "we have the old play, then the recasting by a second author. . . . then the alterations by Shakspeare."¹¹ What had been but stated in general terms by White and the earlier J. P. Collier,¹² cited by Fleay, became in Fleay's paper an attempt to prove by methods thought to be scientific which lines of *The Shrew* were to be credited to Shakespeare and which to another.¹³ Of the five members of the society who discussed Fleay's paper, only two, Furnivall¹⁴ and "Dr. 'E. A.'"

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 614.

⁶ B. A. P. van Dam supports Alexander's theory, which would date *The Shrew* as of 1592, or earlier, in *English Studies* (Amsterdam), x (1928), 97-106. Van Dam suggests that actors, during a surreptitious and improvised performance of *The Shrew* in 1592, deliberately altered both the plot and the names of the characters (*ibid.*, p. 106).

⁷ R. W. Bond, *The Taming of the Shrew* (London, 1904, 1929), pp. xxxi-xxxii, xliii.

⁸ *The Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. Richard Grant White (Boston, 1857), iv, 390.

⁹ *New Shakspeare Society Transactions* (London, 1874), pp. 85-101; discussion, pp. 102-125.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

¹² *The History of English Dramatic Poetry to the Time of Shakespeare* (London, 1831), iii, 78.

¹³ *Trans. N. S. S.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-114.

Abbott,¹⁵ thought his arguments valid; the other three, namely, Richard Simpson,¹⁶ Alexander J. Ellis,¹⁷ and Nicholson,¹⁸ were apparently unconvinced. Fleay, nevertheless, has had a considerable following—a following, however, which is steadily diminishing with the growing recognition of the elusiveness of his evidence¹⁹

Mr R. Warwick Bond has declared himself largely in accord with the critics who “question the necessity of postulating an intermediate play or ‘third hand,’ considering that the signs of Shakespeare’s handiwork are so numerous and evident throughout that we may as well assign him sole credit for the adaptation”²⁰

I dare say that Mr Bond and some other scholars would have rejected entirely “the hypothesis of intermediate work”²¹ had they not accepted without question an argument by P. A. Daniel to the effect that certain “speeches of Tranio” in *The Shrew* “should be in the mouth of Hortensio,”²² and concluded therefrom that Shakespeare was thereby convicted of carelessness or that there had been a revision of the play subsequently to its adaptation from *A Shrew*.²³

Daniel’s rock of stumbling seems to have been the lesson scenes, the employment of Hortensio wherein as “Licio” prevented him from continuing his public rivalry for the hand of Bianca. Daniel failed to perceive that Shakespeare had a double for Hortensio in Gremio, by whom the rivalry with Tranio (as Lucentio) is carried on while Hortensio (as “Licio”) is engaged in the more intriguing and amusing direct wooing of Bianca in actual competition with Lucentio similarly disguised as “Cambio.”²⁴ I quote further from Daniel’s statement:

The fact is, all these speeches of Tranio, of and to Petruchio, should be in the mouth of Hortensio, who is really Petruchio’s familiar, but this wonderful plot of his, of disguising himself as Licio,—when there was no need for it,—has not

¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp 119–123

¹⁶ *Ibid*, pp 114–115

¹⁷ *Ibid*, pp 116–119

¹⁸ *Ibid*, pp 123–125

¹⁹ See Ernest P. Kuhl, “The Authorship of *The Taming of the Shrew*,” *PMLA*, xL (Sept., 1925), 551–618, Bond, *The Shrew*, *op cit*, p xxxii and note, George Lyman Kittredge, *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* (Boston, 1936), p 325. Florence H. Ashton, in “The Revision of the Folio Text of *The Taming of the Shrew*,” *PQ*, vi (April, 1927), 151–160, presents certain bibliographical evidence for a revision of the subplot of *The Shrew* which I evaluate in “Strata in *The Taming of the Shrew*,” *SP*, xxxix (1942), 291–302.

²⁰ Bond, *The Shrew*, *op. cit*, p xxxii.

²¹ *Ibid*, pp xxxiii, xxxvii

²² “Time-Analysis of *The Taming of the Shrew*,” *New Shakspeare Society Transactions* (1877–1879), pp. 164–165

²³ Bond, *The Shrew*, *op cit*, p xxxv and p 77, note on TS III ii 24, 25 See also C. H. Herford, *Works of Shakespeare* (London, 1899, 1901), II, 7–8.

²⁴ See “The Integrity of Shakespeare’s *The Taming of the Shrew*,” *JEGP*, xxxix (April, 1940), 222–229, wherein, in opposition to Daniel, I point out Shakespeare’s provision for such a doubling.

only silenced him as an open competitor for the hand of Bianca, but also as the friend of Petruchio

Note that in the old play Polidor [= Hortensio] does not disguise himself as the musician, and it is in his mouth that the speeches which are the equivalent of Tranio's in this scene are placed ²⁵

What, moreover, had thus been stated by Daniel as a logical inconsistency or a mere dramatic inexpediency in *The Shrew* became, in the hands of his disciples, a mark of a revision and grounds for postulating an intermediate version between *A Shrew* and *The Shrew*

Daniel seems to have argued that the rôle of Hortensio was bungled when *A Shrew* was rewritten as *The Shrew* ²⁶ Mr John Dover Wilson, misled by Daniel, but not believing with Daniel that *The Shrew* derives from *A Shrew*, would seem to argue that Shakespeare bungled while rewriting "a pre-Shakespearian form of the play" ²⁷ Shakespeare's version—according to Mr. Wilson ²⁸—existed in two copies in 1592 the one, the halograph, becoming the original of *A Shrew*, the other, a transcript, becoming the original of the folio text of *The Shrew* ²⁹

The fatal defect in Mr. Wilson's "bad Quarto" origin for *A Shrew*—a theory taken over from Mr Alexander ³⁰—consists in the lack of any certain knowledge of the nature of its alleged source, whereas Mr Alexander has specifically argued that this source was the folio version of *The Shrew*, Mr. Wilson thinks it to have been something else ³¹ Mr Wilson suggests, but fails to prove, three stages both in the development of *The Shrew* and of *A Shrew* (1) "a pre-Shakespearian form of the play," in which the interludes were present and in which Hortensio appeared in his rôle of a rival for the hand of Bianca, (2) a Shakespearean version of the play in which Hortensio, by the assumption of the disguise of "Licio," eliminated himself from the public competition for Bianca, and (3a) the quarto of 1594, which lost the element of rivalry, and (3b) the folio version, which lost the interludes.

In accordance with my theory that *A Shrew* and *The Shrew* derive from a common source—though not such a common source as Mr. Wilson imagines—I have drawn up a chart in which I have placed in parallel

²⁵ "Time-Analysis," *op cit*, p. 165 It may be worth noting that some scholars have similarly objected to the employment of Valeria as the lute teacher in *A Shrew*.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 162.

²⁷ *The Taming of the Shrew* (Cambridge, 1928), edited by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson, pp. 124-125.

²⁸ Wilson, *The Shrew*, *op cit*, pp. 122-126. Cf Bond's suggestion of an "intermediate play," which was "already perhaps a year or more old" in 1594 (Bond, *The Shrew*, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvii).

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 120.

³⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 109-110, 120-124. See above and note 4.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 124.

columns the corresponding texts of *A Shrew*³² and *The Shrew*,³³ together with a suggested reconstruction of the original form of the play,³⁴ with indications of order, chronology, and subject-matter.³⁵ For this hypothetical earlier form of the play I have used the line numbers of *A Shrew*.

A COMPARATIVE CHART

<i>The Shrew</i>			<i>A Shrew</i>			No	Original Form			Subject Matter
Folio Page	Globe Divisions	Day	Day	Boas' Divisions	Furn Scene		Quarto Sign	Boas' Divisions	Day	
208a	Ind i 1-138	Th	Sat	Ind i 1-89	i	1	A2r	Ind i 1-89	Th	Induction
209a	ii 1-147			ii 1-60	ii	2	A3v	ii 1-60		Elevation
210b	ii 1-105			iii 1-29	iii	3	A4v	iii 1-29		Sisters
211a	106-253			30-99	iv	4	B1r	30-99		Disguises
212b	254-259					(5)				Interlude
212b	ii 1-282	Fri	Fri	100-129		6	B2r	100-129	Fri	Tamer
214b	ii 1-114					(7)	C1r	276-323		Teachers
215b	115-142			130-141	v	8	B2v	130-141		Dowry
215b	143-166					(9)	C1v	ii 1-55		Lute
216a	167-333			142-275		10	B3r	ii 142-275		Betrothal
217b	334-413					11				Bidding
				276-323		(7)				
				324-331		(5)	C1v	324-331		Interlude
				ii 1-55	vi	(9)				
218a	iii 1-81	Sat	Sun	56-85		12	C2v	ii 156-85	Sat	Wooring
218b	82-92	Sun	Sun	86-94	vii	13	C3r	86-94	Sun	Dressing
218b	ii 1-129			95-164		14	C3r	95-164		Groom
				ii 1-53	viii	15	C4v	ii 1-53		Servants
219b	130-150					16				Father
220a	151-185					17				Wedding
220a	186-254			54-108		18	D1v	54-108		Departure
				109-128		19	D2r	109-128		Father
						(20)	E4r	iv 1-1		Interlude
220b	iv 1-181	Tu	Tu	iii 1-36	ix	21	D2v	iii 1-36	Tu	Supper
221a	182-214			37-53		22	D3r	37-53		Method
221a	ii 1-58			ii 1-30	x	23	D3v	ii 1-30		Suitors
221b	59-120			30-34		24	D4r	30-34		Father
223a	iii 1-52			iii 1-46	xi	25	D4r	iii 1-46		Meat
223b	52-58	Th	Th	47-54		26	D4v	47-54	Th	Visit
			Sat	iv 1-65	xii	(29)				
223b	59-170			v 1-55	xiii	27	E2r	v 1-55	Sat	Apparel
224b	171-198			56-72		28	E2v	56-72		Visit
225a	iv 1-72					(29)	E1r	iv 1-65		Forgery
225b	73-110					30				Elopement
225b	v 1-25					(31)	E4r	iv 1-2-18	Sun	Moon
226a	26-79					(32)	E4v	19-55		Maid
227b	v 1-7		Sun	vi 1-77	xiv	33	E3r	iii vi 1-77		Brides
				78-79		34	E4r	78-79		Interlude
				iv 1-1	xv	(20)				
				2-18		(31)				
				19-55		(32)				
226b	8-62			ii 1-44	xvi	35	F1r	iv ii 1-44		Discovery
227a	63-64			45-53		36	F2r	45-53		Interlude
227a	65-146			54-125		37	F2r	54-125		Pardon
227b	147-155			126-132		(38)				Reduction
227b	ii 1-48					39				Supper
228a	49-189			v 1-161	xvii	40	F3v	v 1-161		Wager
						(32)	F3r	iv ii 126-32		
				Epi 1-24	xviii	41	G2r	Epi 1-24		Epilogue

³² I cite *A Shrew* in *The Shakespeare Classics*, edited by F S Boas (London, 1908)

³³ I cite *The Shrew* in the spelling and punctuation of the folio of 1623, but in the Globe divisions of the text as reproduced in Kittredge, *Works of Shakespeare*, op cit, pp 327-359

³⁴ See W G Boswell-Stone's suggestive comparison of the plots and his list of corresponding characters in *The Old Spelling Shakespeare The Taming of the Shrew* (London, 1907), pp. xv-xxv, 1.

³⁵ I give also the scene divisions adopted by Furnivall in *The Taming of a Shrew The First Quarto, 1594* (London, 1886), together with the signatures of the quarto and the pages numbers of the folio, with the columns of the latter indicated by the letters a and b.

II

There are, I hold, evidences of order and of chronology within the first part of *A Shrew* which throw light upon the nature of the earlier form of the play lying behind *A Shrew*.

1 The deranged order of certain scenes in *A Shrew* suggests that *A Shrew* is a corruption of an earlier form of the play in which the order of the scenes corresponded to that of *The Shrew*.

(1) The derangements in order which I trace in *A Shrew* involve, among other scenes, the lute lesson (*AS* II. i. 1-55) and the interlude of *AS* I. i. 324-331. Although students of the play have noticed that the lute lesson does not occur in the same order of scenes in the quarto and the folio, and although they have adjudged the order of *The Shrew* to be the better, their comparative studies of the two versions have apparently hitherto failed to demonstrate which of the two orders is the more original. I call attention to evidence in the text of *A Shrew* itself which may solve the problem.

The lute lesson (II. i. 1-55) would seem to be improperly placed after the first interlude (I. i. 324-331) in *A Shrew*. The concluding lines of the interlude refer to the imminent entrance of two fine gentlewomen, presumably Emelia and Philema:

Lord My Lord heere comes the plaiers againe
 Slie O brave, heers two fine gentlewomen (I. i. 330-331)

The entrance, immediately following, of Valeria and Kate at II. i. 1 does not answer to Sly's announcement, and indicates, accordingly, that there is a disturbance of some kind in the text of *A Shrew*.

My suggestion that this disturbance is a derangement in the order of the scenes in *A Shrew* is made plausible by the fact that, if the lute episode (II. i. 1-55) be removed from its present context, the lines 330-331 of the first interlude will precede II. i. 56-94—the latter a scene in which Emelia and Philema appear with Aurelius and Polidor. I conclude, therefore, that Sly's words of I. i. 331 had been originally intended to introduce this scene.

As a reconstruction of the order of the earlier form of *A Shrew*, I suggest that the place originally designed for the lute episode was between I. i. 141 and 142 in *A Shrew*, that is, after the dowry scene (I. i. 130-141) and before the betrothal scene (I. i. 142-275). In harmony with such a relocation of the lute episode, the antecedent scene in which Valeria is sent to teach Kate (I. i. 276-323) must also be relocated; its original place may well have been between I. i. 129 and 130, immediately preceding the dowry scene.

The relocation of the two lesson scenes throws the first interlude after the betrothal, the report whereof (i. i. 142-275) closes with the departure of Sander, the fool of the play. Sly is obviously referring to Sander in the first line of the interlude (i i 324), "Sim, when will the foole come againe?" This restoration of the order of *A Shrew* places the interlude as a transition device in a fitting context

The derangement of scenes in *A Shrew* was, however, not a merely mechanical dislocation, an editorial hand apparently was involved. This editorial hand seems to have been responsible, not only for the deranged order of scenes, but also for certain revisions of stage directions, transitional lines, and even of the text itself—revisions probably made in order to give a measure of consistency to the deranged order of *A Shrew*. The reconstruction which I have made of the order of scenes in *A Shrew* does, therefore, run counter to certain stage directions and lines in the play—seeming contradictions which will be explained as they arise.

I give a brief analysis of each of the scenes of *A Shrew* according to the reconstructed order which I have outlined in the above chart.

The Tamer—AS 11 100-129 Ferando's declaration that he is going to woo Kate furthers the plan of Aurelius and Polidor to court the younger sisters. Ferando proceeds to seek Alfonso.

Introduction of Teacher—AS 11 276-323. This scene begins with Aurelius and Polidor sending Valeria to Kate, "as erste we did devise" (line 276)—a phrase suggesting a previous discussion which has not been preserved in *A Shrew*. Alfonso soon enters and informs Polidor and Aurelius that he has set Kate and Valeria together (lines 296-299). The statement of Alfonso that Kate is to marry Ferando (lines 311-320) is an anachronism in my reconstructed order of the play, I suggest, therefore, that lines which originally referred to Ferando's known candidacy for Kate's hand (cf 11 117-118) may have been altered by the author of *A Shrew* so as to make the betrothal an already-accomplished fact. The scene ends with the departure of Polidor and Aurelius in search of the sisters, Emilia and Philema. The stage is left empty.

Dowry Arranged—AS 11 130-141 Alfonso welcomes Ferando and confirms his earlier offer as to Kate's dowry. The scene closes with the plan to summon Kate from the house so that Ferando "may speake with hir" (line 141).

Lute Episode—AS 11 i.1-55 Before, however, the anticipated interview of Ferando with Kate may take place, a scene is staged in which Kate enters with Valeria, and a lesson begun earlier (see line 8) is resumed. Valeria suffers Kate's wrath (lines 1-36). Upon Kate's departure, Valeria reports to the audience (lines 37-46) and to Aurelius and Polidor (lines 47-55), he is thereupon sent to entertain the visitor from Sestos.

Betrothal Effected—AS 11 142-275. Kate enters to Alfonso and Ferando and is asked by her father to use Ferando in a friendly manner. The betrothal follows,

in a scene (lines 144-184) wherein the violence of Kate's emotion may well be accounted for as having been aroused by the lute episode. After much intervening matter, including the clowning of Sander and the departure of Ferando to prepare for the wedding, Sander leaves.

The First Interlude—*AS* I 1 324-331. Sly's question, "Sim, when will the foole come againe?" would seem to refer to Sander, who has left the stage at line 275. Sly's remark, upon the return of "the plaiers" (line 330), "O brave, heers two fine gentlewomen" (line 331), would seem properly to refer to an entrance of Emelia and Philema.

The Wooing—*AS* II 1 56-85. The words of Polidor, "Come faire Emelia" (line 56), may well have served originally to mark the beginning of a new scene and the entrance of Emelia and Philema with Aurelius and Polidor.

According to this reconstructed order, an order which *A Shrew* reverses, the lute episode precedes the betrothal scene. The scurrilous way in which Valeria addresses Kate suggests that the lute scene, as originally conceived and as substantially preserved in *A Shrew*, was meant to antedate the betrothal scene. Surely a betrothed maiden was entitled to the honorable protection of her fiancé, and could expect courteous treatment from his friends and their servants. Valeria would hardly have dared to insult the fiancée of Ferando as he insults Kate. I conclude, again, that the lute episode properly precedes the betrothal scene.

The earlier form of the play, thus reconstructed, contained the first interlude, written for a specific context and linking two portions of the play (namely, I 1 1-275 and II 1 56-III 1 53), which had been separated by an interval possibly of a night or more. The phrasing of the first interlude must be credited, accordingly, to the original author rather than to the author of *A Shrew*, for the order of scenes which the latter follows could not have suggested the words of the interlude.

The hypothetical earlier form of the play contained also the two lesson scenes of *AS* I. i. 276-323 and *AS* II 1 1-55, although in more appropriate contexts than they have in *A Shrew*.

The conclusions arrived at above as to the order of scenes in an earlier form of the play are confirmed by the order of the scenes in the corresponding part of *The Shrew*. Brief summaries of the relevant scenes in the folio version, which may be compared with the summaries given above of the corresponding scenes of *A Shrew*, will serve to illustrate this original order of the play.

The Tamer—*TS* I.ii 1-282. The scene in *The Shrew*, in which Petruchio consents to woo Katherine, ends with Hortensio, who has planned to pose as Petruchio's "man" "Licio" (II 117-140; cf. II.i.55), joining the other suitors in an afternoon of drinking.

Introduction of Teachers—*TS* II.i.38-114. After an encounter of Bianca with

Katherine (lines 1-37), a scene follows wherein Petruchio announces himself as a suitor to Katherine (lines 42-54) and presents "Licio" to Baptista (line 55) Baptista sends "Licio" along with "Cambio" (Lucentio, presented by Gremio) to teach the sisters, Katherine and Bianca (line 111), Gremio and Tranio (as Lucentio) presumably continue with Baptista and Petruchio (line 114)

Dowry Arranged—TS II i 115-142 The scene begins with the discussion by Petruchio and Baptista of Katherine's dowry, the terms of which are soon agreed upon—an arrangement, however, which is made to hinge upon Katherine's consent (lines 129-130). Baptista seeks to prepare Petruchio for "some unhappy words," but before Petruchio is able to proceed "to the proove" of his boast that he will easily obtain Katherine's love, Hortensio enters "with his head broke" (142/3)

Lute Episode—TS II i 143-166 The anticipated interview between Katherine and Petruchio is delayed somewhat by this scene in which Hortensio reports the issue of the lute lesson to Baptista and the others, including Petruchio The luckless Hortensio is then sent by Baptista to teach Bianca, who is supposed to be more "apt to learne" (line 166)

Betrothal Effected—TS II i 167-333 Baptista sends Katherine to Petruchio, who thereupon makes good his boast After the betrothal is effected, Petruchio leaves in order to prepare for the wedding

There is no interlude in *The Shrew* at this point The ending of the foregoing scene of the betrothal, the insertion of the rivalry of Bianca's suitors (lines 334-413, which have no parallel in the text of *A Shrew*), and the changed personnel of the following scene, would make the interlude of *A Shrew* II i 324-331 inappropriate to the text of *The Shrew* here.

The Wooing—TS III i 1-81. Bianca enters, followed by her suitors, Lucentio and Hortensio, disguised respectively as "Cambio" and "Licio" Instead of the two pairs of lovers in the corresponding scene of *A Shrew*, there is but one gentleman in *The Shrew*, namely, Bianca, who is courted by both gentlemen

The lute lesson, included in the foregoing summaries of *The Shrew* (II i. 143-166), forms an illustration of the topic Baptista and Petruchio have been discussing, and fits the context perfectly. It is an integral part of the scene, and serves as an example of what Petruchio may expect from Katherine When the latter strikes Hortensio, who is known to her as Petruchio's servant "Licio," she may be regarded as striking at Petruchio himself. In *A Shrew*, on the other hand, Kate, as well as Alfonso, probably associates the lute teacher with Polidor (see I. i. 278, 296-297); the deranged order of *A Shrew*, moreover, with the lute lesson placed between the interlude of I. i. 324-331 and the wooing scene of II i 56-85, leaves the absent Ferando in ignorance of Kate's outburst of violence

That this obvious superiority in the order of *The Shrew* was not effected during its formerly supposed adaptation from *A Shrew* becomes apparent from the evidences within *A Shrew*, discussed above, that *A Shrew* itself

is a corruption of an earlier form of the play in which the order was identical, for this part of the play, with that of *The Shrew*

(2) Another derangement in the order of *A Shrew* involves the interlude of iv i 1, and the adjacent identity scene (iv. i 2-55). I quote the interlude, together with the accompanying stage direction and the preceding interlude of iii vi. 78-79:

She. Sim must they be married now?

Lord. I my Lord.

(iii vi 78-79)

Enter Ferando and Kate and Sander.

She. Looke Sim the foole is come againe now.

(iv i 1)

There are two considerations which suggest that something is wrong with this interlude and its context in *A Shrew*. First, although attention is called by Sly to the entrance of the fool, that is, Sander, the rôle of Sander in the following scene (iv. i 2-55) as a mere lackey, leaving the stage entirely at line 4, is insignificant and in no way answers to Sly's expectations. Second, the occurrence of two interludes in succession, separated only by a stage direction referring to the main text, would seem to indicate that the author of *A Shrew* united two originally distinct interludes.

As a restoration of the order herein of the earlier form of the play, I suggest that the interlude of iv. i. 1 (and the stage direction which precedes it, deleted of the names of Ferando and Kate) be placed between *AS* ii. ii. 128 and *AS* iii. i. 1—a context which the interlude would fit perfectly. Ferando and Kate depart at ii. ii. 91, and the others leave the stage at line 128; attention is then directed to Sly, who remarks to the Lord, "Looke Sim the foole is come againe now" (iv i 1). After the stage direction, "*Enter Sanders with two or three serving men,*" Sander enters at iii i. 1 to play the fool. At line 20/1 occurs a second stage direction, "*Enter Ferando and Kate.*" I attribute the dislocation of iv i. 1 to the author of *A Shrew*, who seems to have sought thereby to round out the interlude of iii vi. 78-79 after the pattern of the interlude of i. i. 324-331. Then, in order to provide a proper context for his composite interlude of iii vi. 78-iv. i. 1, he placed after it the identity scene of iv i 2-55, which he removed from the position it occupied in the earlier form of the play—a position such as that of the identity scene of *The Shrew* (iv. v. 1-77). According to this theory of the dislocation of iv. i. 1 in *A Shrew*, the author of *A Shrew* not only failed to place the interlude in the context for which it had been designed, but he built up an entirely different context for it by altering the position of the identity scene of iv. i 2-55.

(3) Another probable derangement in the order of *A Shrew* involves the interlude of iv. ii. 126-132. The carrying out of the sleeping Sly be-

fore the completion of the play within the play prevents Sly from witnessing the scene of v. i. 1-161, in which full proof of the taming of the Shrew is presented. Such a logical consideration would suggest that the original place designed for the reduction scene of iv. ii. 126-132 may have been immediately before the so-called Epilogue of *A Shrew*.

On the evidence of the deranged order in which the lesson scenes and the interludes of AS I i. 324-331, of AS IV i. 1, and of AS IV ii. 126-132 are involved, I conclude that *A Shrew* is a corruption of an earlier form of the play in which the order of scenes corresponded to that of *The Shrew*.

2. The obscured chronology of the first part of *A Shrew* points to an earlier form of the play in which the chronology may have been more clearly indicated—as it is in *The Shrew*.

(1) The linking process (the method which Latin comedy used to secure a semblance of unity of time and place) employed in *A Shrew* obscures the intervals of time both demanded logically for the consummation of events and also indicated by textual evidence.

The original plotter of the play could hardly have intended to observe the unities, for more than a week is required for the action of the play, and frequent changes of scene are involved. As long as the scenes of *A Shrew* remain in Athens (I i. 1-II ii. 128) they are so linked together as to make continuous what had certainly covered two, and probably five days in an earlier form of the play. Certain stage directions and transitional lines, which I attribute to the author of *A Shrew*, however, allow no interval whatever. Of the chronology of the play Daniel has incorrectly, but suggestively, said:

In the old Play of the *Taming of a Shrew* the whole story is knit up in the course of two days. In the first, Ferando-Petruchio woos Kate and fixes his marriage for next Sunday, "next Sunday" then becomes to-morrow, to-morrow becomes to-day, and to-day ends with the wedding night in Ferando's country house. All the rest of the Play is included in the second day.³⁶

For his "first" day, Daniel apparently took account principally of the stage directions and the transitional lines, and followed the author of *A Shrew* in ignoring the internal evidence for the necessity of a longer space of time.

The references to time upon which Daniel bases his time-analysis of *A Shrew*, with the exception of one instance (I i. 315) which I have credited above to editorial revision, all occur in the betrothal scene and the report thereof (I i. 142-275)—a scene which, according to my reconstruction of the original order of the play, immediately precedes the interval marked

³⁶ Daniel, *Trans. N. S. S.*, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

by the interlude of I i 324-331. The absence of such indications of time in the earlier scenes—namely, I i. 1-99, 100-129, 276-323, 130-141, and II i 1-55—would seem to permit the dating of some of these scenes earlier in the week, if such earlier dating should be required by other considerations. Two days at least must be postulated for the first part of *A Shrew*,³⁷ namely, the day of the betrothal and the day of the wedding. The latter is referred to as "sunday next" (I i 175, 205), "upon sundaie" (line 208), and "to morrow" (lines 165, 264, 271, compare 178, 183).³⁸

The absence of stage directions at certain places in *A Shrew*, together with its deranged order, makes it difficult to determine at just what point in the text the day of Kate's wedding to Ferando properly begins. I refer the reader to the chart and the analytical paragraphs given above. In accordance with this reconstructed order, I would suggest that the events of Saturday in *A Shrew* actually close with Sander's report to Polidor of Ferando's betrothal to Kate (I i 262-275). The interlude (I i. 324-331), which follows, marks an interval of a night. This interlude-interval is followed, in my reconstruction of the original order of the play, by II. i. 56. As the text of *A Shrew* stands, there is no indication of any change of scene, of characters, or of time between lines 55 and 56. I suggest that the author of *A Shrew* may have removed a stage direction which stood, in an earlier form of the play, before the scene of II i 56-94. The words, "Come faire Emelia," of line 56, as indicated above, may suggest that they were intended to inaugurate a new scene. That an interval really occurred is proved by the fact that Philema possesses information at II i 88-89 concerning the whereabouts of Kate which she did not presumably possess at II i 47. Kate had left the stage at line 36, and had not been observed by Aurelius and Polidor, who entered to Valeria at line 46 and asked him, "whears your mistresse?" (II. i 47). If Philema and Emelia were present in this scene, according to the stage direction at 46/7, "*Enter Aurelius, Polidor, Emelia, and Philema*," they were equally in ignorance of the whereabouts of Kate. But at II. i 89 Philema replies to Alfonso, who enters at 85/6, "She is making of hir readie." If this be a continuous scene, one may well ask how Philema learned that the Kate who had gone in anger from the scene of the lute lesson is now making herself ready for the wedding. I would suggest that a stage direction stood originally before line 56, a point which properly marks a new act and another day.

³⁷ Furnivall suggests that Sunday properly begins in *A Shrew* at II i 85. He allows four days for the entire play: Saturday, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, beginning at scenes III, VII, XII, and XIV, respectively. Daniel later concedes that Sunday may have begun at II i 1 (Furnivall, *A Shrew*, *op cit*, p. XII).

³⁸ The "to morrow" of *A Shrew* would leave Ferando but little time in which to hie him to his "countrie house" (line 179) in order to make provision to entertain his "Kate when she dooth come" (lines 180-181, cf. lines 206-208, 268-271).

(2) Although the foregoing considerations with reference to the obscured chronology of *A Shrew*, and to the hypothetical earlier form of the play, are not dependent for their validity upon the chronology of the corresponding text of *The Shrew* (I 1. 1–IV. i 214), a comparison of the two versions does reinforce the conclusion that *A Shrew* obscures a chronology which had been logically worked out in an earlier form of the play. It may be worth while, therefore, to outline the entire chronological system of this part of *The Shrew*.

As indicated in the above chart, Day 1 in *The Shrew* would seem to comprise I 1. 1–I 11. 282, and may be placed on Thursday. Although the thesis of this section in no way depends upon it, textual evidence compels me to follow Daniel, rather than other Shakespeare scholars, in placing an interval of a night after I 11. 282.³⁹ All that could be, or has been, alleged against such an interval are the words of Petruchio, "I wil not sleepe Hortensio til I see her" (I 11. 103), and the entrance at I 11. 141/2 of "*Gremio, and Lucentio disguised*," as if going to Baptista's house. But Petruchio is successively delayed by Hortensio (line 117), by this entrance of Gremio and Lucentio (141/2), by the entrance of Tranio and Biondello (218/9), and, finally, by the plan (I 11. 276–282) to spend the afternoon in convivial drinking. Furthermore, Gremio's promise to have Lucentio's books of love "*verie fairely bound*" (I 11. 146) may indicate that he and Lucentio were not planning to go to Baptista's house immediately.

Day 2 in *The Shrew*, consequently, comprises II i. 1–413, and is to be placed on the following day, Friday (the corresponding scenes in *A Shrew*, I 1. 1–II. i 55, fall on Day 1 or Saturday). The stage had been left empty at the end of the first act, the second act begins with a change of characters and of location. Further evidence in support of this chronological scheme is the indication that the second act begins on the morning of another day, for Gremio says "Good morrow" to Baptista (II i. 40), with whom he had already conversed in the first scene of the previous act. Baptista's invitation "then to dinner" (II i. 113) also indicates a morning hour.

Day 3 in *The Shrew* falls on Saturday, and comprises III 1. 1–92—a text which corresponds roughly with the scene of *A Shrew* II i. 56–94, which falls on Sunday morning.

I place the first three days of *The Shrew* on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, respectively, for I deem an interval of one night between II. i. 413 and III. i. 1 as entirely sufficient. The placing of the betrothal on Friday in *The Shrew* (II i. 167–333) would have given Petruchio ample time in

³⁹ Daniel, *Trans. N. S. S.*, op. cit., p. 163. F. A. Marshall, however, follows Daniel in making the time of action six days, see *The Henry Irving Shakespeare* (New York, 1888), II, 248.

which to go to Venice to buy apparel, but hardly enough time after his return for his tailor to fashion new garments from the materials he may have purchased there. Petruchio would have part of Friday, all of Saturday, and part of Sunday for his journey (II i 316-317, 324), for he does not appear in the scene (III i 1-92) which takes place on Saturday.

The lesson of III i 1-56 is not the first that Lucentio gives to Bianca, for he was probably teaching her on the previous day, Friday (see his remark to Bianca at III i 31, "as I told you before"), while Hortensio was having his troubles with Katherine (II i 143-166). Hortensio, however, seems to be giving his first lesson to Bianca in III i 56-81—the time of which is definitely to be named as Saturday, for the Sunday of the wedding is "to morrow" (III i 84).

Day 4 in *The Shrew* comprises III ii 1-IV i 214, it is called "the pointed day" (III ii 1), the Sunday of Katherine's wedding. It is the "to morrow" of III i 84. The corresponding text in *A Shrew* (II i 56-III i 53) also falls on Sunday. The dressing up of the bridal chamber (*TS* III i 83), which properly enough falls on Saturday in *The Shrew*, seems partially paralleled in the dressing for the wedding (*AS* II i 89-94), which precedes the ceremony on Sunday morning in *A Shrew*.

For these four days of *The Shrew* (three, according to some commentators), *A Shrew* has but two days. There may also have been a fifth day for this part of the play. Daniel hardly knows what to make of Petruchio's statement with reference to Katherine, "Last night she slept not" (IV i 201), and queries, "How did he know that she didn't sleep *last* night?"⁴⁰ I would suggest that the conversations of IV i 182-214 should be placed on a new day, Monday, in *The Shrew*. What Ferando in *A Shrew* III i 43-53 announces that he will do, is related as, in part, done by Petruchio in *The Shrew* (IV i 191-214). Petruchio's words imply an interval of time after IV i 181, which should properly be marked by a change of scene, even though no change of characters or of location is involved. Petruchio tells Katherine:

And for this night we'll fast for companie.

Come I wil bring thee to thy Bridall chamber (IV i 180-181)

After these words there follows an "*Exeunt*" in the folio, which leaves the stage empty and permits a lapse of time. This theory is confirmed by a second direction, "*Enter Servants severally*." After two lines in which Nathaniel, Peter, and Grumio gossip over Petruchio's treatment of Katherine (IV i 182-183), there occurs another direction, "*Enter Curtis a Servant*." Curtis gives out information which he could not possibly have gained unless there had been a considerable lapse of time between lines 181 and 184; he states that Petruchio is

⁴⁰ Daniel, *Trans. N. S. S.*, *op cit*, pp 165-166.

In her chamber, making a sermon of continencie to her, and railles, and sweares,
and rates, that shee (poore soule) knowes not which way to stand, to looke, to
speake, and sits as one new risen from a dreame (lines 185-189)

Commentators have seen fit to interpret Petruchio's later words, "Shee eate no meate to day, nor none shall eate" (line 200), as referring to the day of the wedding, although the words would suit the following day, Monday, just as well, and have interpreted Petruchio's further words, "Last night she slept not, nor to night she shall not" (line 201), as referring to Saturday and Sunday nights, respectively. Katherine may or may not have been so excited or disturbed by the prospect of her marriage as to be unable to sleep the night before.⁴¹ The events which are reported by the servants and by Petruchio himself would, however, seem to require for their consummation a longer interval of time than that which has been allowed by the editors who have not seen fit to place iv 1 182-214 on a later day

These five days in *The Shrew*, with the possible exception of the fifth, are clearly indicated, whereas in *A Shrew* there is much obscurity, and no more than two days are certainly involved. That there may have been five days outlined in an earlier form of *A Shrew*, as well as in *The Shrew*, may reasonably be concluded from the way in which the author of *A Shrew* has merged Saturday and Sunday in *A Shrew* and from the further consideration that, as is indicated above in the comparative chart, *A Shrew* has material corresponding to the material grouped under each of the five days of *The Shrew*.

I conclude, accordingly, that the evidences of order and of chronology within the first part of *A Shrew* suggest its derivation from an earlier form of the play which was similar, for the corresponding part of the play, to the order and chronology of *The Shrew*.

The conclusions of this section would seem to be in harmony with the theory of Hickson, Alexander, and Wilson that *A Shrew* is a corruption of *The Shrew*, revised or unrevised.

III

There are, on the other hand, phenomena largely within the latter part of *The Shrew* which suggest that *The Shrew* is a revision of an earlier form of the play which was similar, in some respects, to *A Shrew*.

Such a conclusion is in harmony with the theory that *The Shrew* represents a rewriting of an earlier form of the play—a rewriting in which fuller use was made of Ariosto's *I Suppositi* and in which considerable changes were made in both plot and characters. Mr. Bond, for example, says that "*A Shrew* is clearly the model on which our play is ultimately

⁴¹ Charlotte Porter, *The Taming of the Shrew* (New York, 1903), p. 125.

fashioned, with changes introduced partly independently, partly from Gascoigne's *Supposes*."⁴² Mr. Bond adds, "Shakespeare's play varies the uniformity by representing a *rivalry* for the hand of Baptista's second and only other daughter between Lucentio (Aurelius), Hortensio (Poli-dor), and a new character 'Gremio a Pantelowne' suggested by the *Supposes*, by introducing for Hortensio's consolation an independent Widow in the last Act," etc.⁴³ I suggest that Mr. Bond's account of the making of *The Shrew* would explain equally well, or better, the derivation of *The Shrew* from an earlier form of the play similar, in the respects he cites, to *A Shrew*.

1. The element of rivalry in *The Shrew*, culminating in an elopement, involves a shortening of the chronology of the latter part of the play—a shortening which seems to have been the result of a revision which introduced the element of rivalry into an earlier form of the play

(1) I shall attempt, first, to demonstrate the fact that the elopement in *The Shrew* brings with it a shortening of the play.

The time-analysis of Daniel, as well as those of other scholars, for the latter part of *The Shrew* leaves something to be desired, Daniel tentatively names the last day of the play as Sunday—a day which he makes to include everything from TS IV. III 1 to the end.⁴⁴ I hold that this day may properly be dated as early as the previous Thursday

The wedding of Bianca to Tranio (as Lucentio) had been planned by Baptista, conditional upon confirmation by Vincentio of the dowry promises, to take place on the Sunday following the marriage of Katherine.

Now on the sonday following, shall Bianca
Be Bride to you, if you make this assurance.

If not, to Signior Gremio. (II i 397-399)

But the elopement of Lucentio with Bianca while the false assurances of dowry are being given nullifies Baptista's plans and shortens the play by one or more days.

For the sake of clarity of exposition, I have, as is shown in the comparative chart above, used Baptista's mention of a second Sunday (II i 397) as a fixed point in the chronology, even though that mention occurs in a passage for which *A Shrew*, which leaves the day of the wedding of the younger sisters unnamed, has no corresponding text.

In accordance with the theory that the latter part of *The Shrew* is a revision of an earlier form of the play in which the chronology was similar to that of the corresponding part of *A Shrew*, I shall set forth the latter.

Daniel's time-analysis of *A Shrew*, given in the preceding section, is not

⁴² Bond, *The Shrew*, *op cit*, p xv, cf pp xxxi-xxxii.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p xix.

⁴⁴ Daniel, *Trans. N S S*, *op cit*, pp. 166-169

to be trusted. Although his inclusion of *AS* i. i. 1–iii. i. 53 with Day 1 may, from a certain point of view, be defensible, his assigning all the rest of the play to Day 2 is without any justification, for the linking of scenes in *A Shrew* which prevails throughout i. i. 1–ii. ii. 128 is subsequently abandoned with the alternation of scenes between Ferando's country-house and Athens. After the wedding of Kate and Ferando and upon the removal to Ferando's country-house (iii. i. 1) even the author of *A Shrew* could no longer maintain the pretense of unity of time. There is, I hold, nothing in the stage directions or in the transitional lines between the scenes to prevent the allowance of any intervals between scenes which may be required, for instance, for the hunger cure to take effect (iii. i. 43–iii. 54), for the making of Kate's cap and gown (iii. v. 1–55), for the visit of Polidor to Ferando's country-house and return to Athens (ii. ii. 107, iii. ii. 1–54), and for the asserted fetching of Aurelius' father (ii. ii. 109–111, 125, iii. iv. 15–19).

I have, accordingly, subdivided Daniel's Day 2 of *A Shrew* into four days, which I have named, in accordance with the system which I have adopted in the above chart, as Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday, and Sunday. The logic of events and internal evidence provide the justification for such an arrangement.

Tuesday in *A Shrew*—*AS* iii. ii. 1–34. This scene in *A Shrew* develops the deception plot by the plan to have Aurelius meet Phylotus, the man whom Valeria has induced to impersonate the father of Aurelius, not, however, as the Duke of Sestos, but as a mere merchant (line 34). There is also in this scene a brief reference to the affairs of Ferando and Kate Polidor, who had said on the Sunday of Ferando's marriage,

Within this two daies I will ride to him,
And see how lovingly they do agree. (ii. ii. 107–108)

has already gone to visit Ferando and Kate, Aurelius says of Polidor, "he's gon unto the taming schoole" (iii. ii. 25). All this implies some lapse of time. As early as iii. ii. 25, the report has already reached Aurelius in Athens that Ferando is the master of devices calculated to tame a shrew (lines 27–29).⁴⁵

Tuesday in *The Shrew*—*TS* iv. ii. 1–120. This scene, corresponding to

⁴⁵ At first sight it may seem that Valeria's question, "is Ferando married then?" (line 21), would place *AS* iii. ii. 1–34 earlier than the conjectured date of Tuesday, but such earlier dating does not necessarily follow. Valeria's state of ignorance may have been the result of his having been removed from the field of operations for a time, he was, of course, not present at Ferando's wedding, for, after his failure as a teacher, he had been sent home by Aurelius to serve as host to the visitor from Sestos. Aurelius apparently became the household guest of Alfonso, while Valeria probably resumed the apparel of Aurelius (see i. i. 89–97), and remained in the lodgings provided by Polidor. The occupation of Valeria

that of *AS* III. ii 1-34, gives glimpses of the courting of Bianca by the disguised Lucentio and of the departure of Hortensio in disgust (lines 1-43), and the subsequent statement by Tranio that Hortensio has gone to the taming school (lines 44-58), together with a later interview of Tranio (as Lucentio) with the Pedant (lines 72-120). The scene develops the deception plot in *The Shrew* by Tranio's plan to clothe the Pedant so that the latter may impersonate Vincentio, the father of Lucentio. The assigning of this scene to Tuesday tallies closely enough with Hortensio's declaration that he will be married to a wealthy widow "Ere thirce dayes passe" (line 38). The wedding of Hortensio to his widow, not specifically mentioned elsewhere, occurs either before his visit to Petruchio or after his return to Padua Thursday evening with Petruchio, Katherine, and Vincentio.

The events of Tuesday in *The Shrew* and in *A Shrew* are, as outlined in the foregoing paragraphs, of a similar nature. For the rest of the play *The Shrew* has but one day, whereas *A Shrew* has three—Thursday, Saturday, and Sunday.

Thursday in *A Shrew*—*AS* III. iii. 1-54. This is the only scene in *A Shrew* in which Polidor appears as Ferando's guest. Kate rejects meat at the end of the scene, even though Sander has threatened her with, "He keepe you fasting for it this two daies" (line 26). Two days from Thursday would bring the time of the next scene down to Saturday, Friday, of course, was a fast day of the Church. The corresponding material in *The Shrew* (IV. iii. 1-58) falls into the last day of *The Shrew*, that is, Thursday.

Saturday in *A Shrew*—*AS* III. iv. 1-v. 72. These scenes, forgery and apparel, which, as I suggest below, appeared in reversed order in the earlier form of the play, include the fraudulent assurances of the supposed father, the apparel of which Kate is deprived, and the delayed start of Ferando and Kate to attend her sisters' wedding. For the consummation of the fraud of the supposed father, a date as late as Saturday would seem to be required. On the first Sunday of the play, after the marriage of Kate to Ferando, Aurelius informs Alfonso that he expects his father "within this weeke" (II. ii. 125)—a phrase which suggests the end of the week as the time of the expected arrival of the father and of the drawing up of contracts giving assurances of dowry for Philema, the second daughter of Alfonso; for sufficient time must elapse in order to convince Alfonso that Aurelius' father has come in response to a message from Aurelius himself (II. ii. 109-111).

Sunday in *A Shrew*—*AS* III. vi. 1-v. i. 161. The wedding of the sisters in the meantime may not have been unlike the similar rôle assigned to Tranio in *The Shrew*:

Keepe house, and ply his booke, welcome his friends,
Visit his Countrimen, and banquet them (TS I. i. 201-202)

occurs on the day following the day on which the assurances of dowry are given by the supposed father. The day originally began, according to my suggested order of the earlier form of the play, with the identity scene (iv i. 2-55), but in *A Shrew* the day begins with a scene in which the two bridal couples exchange vows (iii. vi 1-61) before proceeding to the church (lines 62-77). Ferando and Kate arrive too late to witness the ceremony, partly possibly because of their disputes on the way (iv. i. 2-55), but more probably because they had turned back on the evening before. On Saturday afternoon at two o'clock (iii v. 65-66), Ferando had said to Kate: "Thy sisters Kate to morrow must be wed" (line 61). Irked by Kate's habit of contradiction, Ferando then declared. "Come backe againe, we will not go to day" (line 70). Polidor, who was not present in this scene in *A Shrew*, makes a shrewd, but incorrect, guess as to the reason for the absence of Ferando and Kate from the wedding on Sunday:

His wife I think hath troubled so his wits,
That he remaines at home to keepe them warme. (iv.ii 6-7)

The Last Day, Thursday, in *The Shrew*—TS iv iii. 1-v. ii. 189. The events of the last day, which, as noted above, I have named Thursday in *The Shrew*, include, among others, the scene in which Katherine is offered meat and, contrary to the issue of the corresponding scene in *A Shrew*, is persuaded to eat (iv iii. 1-58). The meat scene in *A Shrew* has also been assigned to Thursday, for reasons stated above. In *The Shrew* the meat scene (iv. iii 1-58) is linked with the apparel scene (lines 59-198). I suggest that these two scenes were separate in the original sketches of the play, but were united by Shakespeare when he wrote *The Shrew*, and that they were separated more effectively with the insertion of the forgery scene (*AS* iii. iv 1-65) by the author of *A Shrew* who may have thought thereby to perfect a system of alternation of scenes between city and country. The forgery scene occurs in *A Shrew* on Saturday, the day before the wedding, but it apparently occurs in *The Shrew* on Thursday. This antedating of events in *The Shrew*, contrary to the expectation of Baptista, and contrary also to the chronology which prevails in *A Shrew*, is explained by the Pedant, who accounts for his appearance so early in the week by the statement:

sir by your leave, having com to Padua
To gather in some debts, my son Lucentio
Made me acquainted with a waighty cause
Of love betweene your daughter and himselfe. (iv iv 24-27)

Thus coincidence is utilized to explain the early arrival of the supposed father of the supposed Lucentio, if time had to be allowed in *The Shrew*, as in *A Shrew*, for the Pedant to come as if in response to a message, the

forgery scene could not have been placed so early in the week. While Baptista is busy about the assurances of dowry, Lucentio and Bianca steal their marriage. Not only does the marriage, accordingly, take place before the day appointed, but it occurs also before the arrival of Katherine and Petruchio.

As has been stated above, Ferando and Kate in *A Shrew* at the hour of two on Saturday afternoon (III v 61, 65-66) set out to attend the wedding of Kate's sisters, but turn back (line 70), their journey the next day is delayed (IV i 2-55), they miss the wedding entirely (IV ii 3-5). Petruchio in *The Shrew*, in like manner, tells Katherine, "I will not goe to day" (IV iii 196), but, unlike Ferando in *A Shrew*, he apparently does not carry out his threat. Otherwise Petruchio would have missed the feast as well as the stolen wedding ceremony. The "to day" of *TS* IV iii 196 is the day of the drawing up of the marriage contracts. The hour when Petruchio makes the threat is "almost two" in the afternoon. According to Katherine's computation of time, were they to take their departure then it would be "supper time" ere they arrived at her father's house in Padua (IV iii. 191-192). The wedding feast which Petruchio and Katherine finally attend (*TS* V i. 140-147) takes place at supper time⁴⁶ on the same day, that is, after the elopement and the subsequent dénouement scene (*TS* V. i 8-144).

(2) That this shortening of the chronology of the latter part of *The Shrew* was effected during a revision of the play which introduced the elopement, is indicated by several apparent inconsistencies or lapses in *The Shrew*.

(a) The scene of *TS* IV iii 171-198 ends with Petruchio's declaration, "I will not goe to day" (line 196), but in IV. v 1, without any explanation whatever, Petruchio and Katherine are on their way, on what must certainly be the same day—as Daniel has not failed to notice. In *A Shrew*, as stated above, the similar declaration of Ferando, "we will not go to day" (III v 70), effects a postponement of the journey from Saturday to Sunday. That there is an actual inconsistency in *The Shrew* is, however, not an inevitable conclusion, for Petruchio's mere threat may have been enough to cause Katherine to submit and thus to permit a resumption of the journey the same day, but the lack of any verbal indication of

⁴⁶ See *TS* V ii. 128 "since supper time." The supper mentioned in *A Shrew* (V. i 1) may have been the second meal after the marriages of Philomena and Emilia, if *A Shrew* be supposed to follow such a schedule of events as is in *A Merry Jest of a shrewde and curste Wyfe, lapped in Morrelles Skin, for her good behavvour* (London, ca. 1550-60), wherein (pp. 65-70) the wedding festivities include dinner and supper on the same day. I cite the edition by Thomas Amyot in *The Old Taming of a Shrew* (London, 1844), pp. 53-91.

such immediate submission of Katherine has probably led many a reader to suppose that the journey in *The Shrew* is resumed in iv v 1 on a later day. This slight discrepancy, if discrepancy it be, would suggest the conclusion that the threat to postpone the journey was originally composed for an earlier form of the play in which the chronology was similar to that of *A Shrew*

(b) Again, the condensation of events in the latter part of *The Shrew* is such that it almost exceeds the bounds of probability. Thus on the last day in *The Shrew* (iv iii. 1-v ii 189) occur the scenes in which Katherine's taming is finally effected, in which the Pedant poses as Vincentio and is exposed, in which Bianca's marriage, although stolen, is festively celebrated, and in which proof is given of Katherine's taming. As stated above, Katherine says that, if they were to take their departure at "almost two" in the afternoon, it would be "supper time" ere they arrived at her father's house in Padua (iv iii 191-192). Thus, according to Katherine, all the time between two and supper time would be required to make the journey. But between that hour and supper time many things occur in *The Shrew* besides the making of the journey. There are the delays on the road, occasioned by the dispute concerning the sun (iv v 2-25) and by the merriment with Vincentio (iv v 26-76), there is also the delay caused by the dénouement scene (v i 9-144), which Petruchio and Katherine witness after their arrival at Padua—all crowded in before "supper time." The hour of two in *A Shrew* iii. v. 65, on the contrary, would have given Ferando and Kate ample time in which to journey to Athens on Saturday to attend the Sunday wedding, had they not postponed the journey. I would suggest, accordingly, that the mention of the hour of two in both versions of the play derives from an earlier form of the play which was similar in chronology, herein, to *A Shrew*.⁴⁷

(c) Another bit of verbal evidence in *The Shrew* possibly pointing to an earlier form of the play may be Petruchio's statement to Vincentio, "Thy Sonne by this hath married" (iv v. 63). Such an assertion would have been appropriate to Ferando in the corresponding part of *A Shrew* (iv i 19-55), for Ferando probably is aware that they are already too late for Aurelius' marriage, when the Duke of Sestos subsequently arrives in Athens (iv ii 21) the wedding party has returned, or is returning, home (iv ii 1-20). Petruchio in *The Shrew*, on the other hand, seems to have no inkling that Lucentio had assumed a disguise and that an elopement

⁴⁷ The "slender pittance" which Tranio (as Lucentio) seems to promise Baptista for "supper" upon conclusion of the dowry business (*TS* iv iv 61, 70, 86) was probably a part of the deception, and not an inconsistency with the fact that a feast is actually served (v i 146, v ii 1-48), for Tranio, who planned the elopement, may well have made secret provision for ample entertainment.

had been planned. In the subsequent dénouement scene Petruchio still regards Tranio as the right Lucentio (v i. 26-30).^{47a} It would seem, accordingly, that the principle of consistency would have required that Petruchio should remain in ignorance of the marriage of Vincentio's son until his arrival in Padua, and that his statement to Vincentio is a relic of an earlier form of the play in which, as in *A Shrew*, the Tamer knew that he was arriving too late for the wedding.⁴⁸

On the evidence in *The Shrew* of the lines, just discussed, "I will not goe to day," "'tis almost two," and "Thy Sonne by this hath married" — lines which would be appropriate only to *A Shrew*, which has neither an elopement nor a consequent shortening of the chronology—I conclude that the chronology of the latter part of *The Shrew* is the result of a revision of an earlier form of the play which was similar, in the corresponding part, to *A Shrew*.

2. In further support of the theory that *The Shrew* is a revision of an earlier form of the play in which no rivalry, elopement, or shortening of the chronology occurred, I argue: both, that interludes of an earlier form of the play were eliminated during the revision, made under the influence of *I Suppositi*, which introduced into *The Shrew* the elements of rivalry, elopement, and shortened chronology, and also, that there are relics or parallels in *The Shrew* which suggest that interludes similar to those of *A Shrew* had existed in an earlier form of the play.

Scholars are generally agreed that the Sly interludes existed in a fuller form in an earlier version of *The Shrew*, but they have not been in accord

^{47a} Neither is it clear how Hortensio is able to confirm Petruchio's statement (iv v 74) When Hortensio renounced Bianca at iv ii 1-43 he was not aware of the disguises under which Lucentio and Tranio were masquerading, nor was he aware that an elopement was being planned. After the scene, however, in which Tranio (as Lucentio) told him that he also renounced Bianca (iv ii 32-33), Hortensio must somehow have come to believe that the supposed Lucentio's renunciation was but feigned, otherwise he probably would have told Petruchio that the negotiations between Baptista and "Lucentio" were off, and that no one remained to marry Bianca except Gremio—for, to Hortensio's mind, a marriage between Bianca and "Cambio," a "Cullion" (iv ii 20), would have been out of the question.

⁴⁸ "Enter Peter." (TS iv. iv 68/9), a stage direction whose meaning has been in dispute, appears in the text of the folio. Instead, however, of the entrance of such a character after the forgery scene (TS iv iv 1-72, cf. AS III iv 1-65), Lucentio and Biondello enter to discuss the plans for the elopement (TS iv iv. 73-110). I would suggest that the direction "Enter Peter" was originally the beginning of the stage direction introducing the identity scene, "Enter Petruchio, Kate, Hortensio" (TS iv v 1-79, cf. AS iv. i 2-55), and that, when the identity scene was displaced, or delayed, by the insertion of the plans for the elopement, the stage direction of the identity scene was copied by mistake so far as "Enter Peter" and then discontinued. According to this interpretation, "Enter Peter" would be a relic of an earlier form of the play in which, as in *A Shrew*, no elopement had occurred. Cf. Ashton, *PQ*, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

as to the manner, time, or cause of Sly's elimination. A variation of the older view that Shakespeare planned the retention of the Sly scenes in the folio version of the play⁴⁹ has received expression comparatively recently in the words of Mr. Wilson:

we think it at least possible that Shakespeare himself intended Sly to sit the play out and revert to beggary at the end, and that in the interest of theatrical convenience these intentions have been frustrated in the text that has come down to us. . . . a few strokes of the pen would suffice to rid the transcript of them at any time.⁵⁰

In opposition to the 'older view,' I support the theory, stated by Mr. Bond, that Shakespeare deliberately planned in advance the dismissal of Sly from the play after the interlude of *TS* I. i. 254-259⁵¹—an interpretation to which Mr. Kuhl has given currency.⁵² One of Mr. Bond's arguments, however, that Sly may have been removed in order to permit the Pedant to look out of the window at v. i. 16/7, has been invalidated by observations made by Miss Porter.⁵³ His other argument, which would seem to have some force, I shall list below under the heading of the Epilogue of *A Shrew*.

This theory, that Shakespeare while rewriting an earlier form of the play deliberately omitted the interludes and an epilogue, and utilized all that was available of them in other parts of *The Shrew*, may best be checked by a study of the text of *The Shrew* in the places corresponding to the positions of the several interludes of *A Shrew*.⁵⁴

(1) The first interlude of *A Shrew* (I. i. 324-331), restored, as outlined above, to a position between *AS* I. i. 275 and *AS* II. i. 56, was obviously designed to separate and unite the betrothal scene and the wooing scene. The corresponding place in *The Shrew* would have been between *TS* II. i. 333 and *TS* III. i. 1, wherein the lines of *TS* II. i. 334-413, involving the rivalry of Tranio (as Lucentio) and Gremio, may have usurped the former place of the interlude. These lines not only carry on the original function of the interlude as a transition link but also disturb the right sequence of exterior and interior scenes, it would seem that an interlude as an interior scene would properly come between two exterior scenes, but the dowry

⁴⁹ Such older views include the suggestion that the end of the play was lost or inadvertently omitted. See E. P. Kuhl, "Shakespeare's Purpose in Dropping Sly," *MLN* (June, 1921), pp. 321-322.

⁵⁰ *The Shrew, op cit*, p. 124. A theory of actor-economy was expressed by Tolman, *PMLA*, v, 222.

⁵¹ *The Shrew, op cit*, note on p. 33.

⁵² *MLN, op cit*, pp. 323-329.

⁵³ Porter, *The Shrew, op cit*, pp. 194-195.

⁵⁴ The demonstration that the elimination of the interludes was co-incidental with the elaboration of the subplot would constitute a refutation of Wilson's theory of an unrevised version of *The Shrew*, that is, of an intermediate version which contained both the elaborated form of the subplot and the Sly interludes in full.

business of *TS II* 1. 334-413 was probably conducted indoors⁵⁵ Such considerations may have suggested to Shakespeare the elimination of the interludes, which he may then have effected by the improvisation of the interlude of *TS I* 1. 254-259, which would have provided Sly a more or less graceful exit I conclude, accordingly, that an original interlude similar to that of *A Shrew I* 1. 324-331 may have been eliminated by Shakespeare from an earlier form of the play when he introduced the element of rivalry derived from *I Supposit.*

(2) The interlude of *A Shrew IV* 1. 1, restored, as outlined above, to a position between *II* 1. 128 and *III* 1. 1, would seem to have been designed to allow for a change of scene from the court of Alfonso's house in Athens to Ferando's country-house It may be observed here that the departure of Petruchio, Kate, and Grumio in *The Shrew* at *III* 1. 241, thirteen lines before the end of the scene, corresponds to the plan of *A Shrew*, the departure of Ferando at *AS II* 1. 91, thirty-seven lines before the end of the scene in *A Shrew*, would have made it possible for one actor to double in the rôles of Sly and Ferando⁵⁶

It would be too much to expect to find any surviving trace in *The Shrew* of such an interlude as the one-line interlude of *A Shrew IV* 1. 1, but the similarity of construction in the corresponding contexts of *A Shrew* and *The Shrew* permitting the doubling of the Sly actor in the rôles of Ferando and Petruchio, respectively, suggests at least the possibility that such a doubling may have been planned in an earlier form of the play.

(3) The interlude of *A Shrew IV* 1. 45-53 is unique among the interludes, in that it seems to have been designed not so much to serve as a transition between scenes as to show Sly so interested in the progress of the play and so sympathetic with the fate of the conspirators that he attempts to interfere in their behalf. In the corresponding place in *The Shrew* (v. i. 8-155), instead of an interlude in which Sly would intervene

⁵⁵ All of the scenes of *A Shrew*, with the exception of the interludes, may be regarded as exterior scenes, even the scenes of *III* 1. 1-53 and *III* 1. 1-54, in which food is served at Ferando's country-house, may have been placed in the court (the peristyle of Roman houses). The scene of *A Shrew V* 1. 1-161 takes place after supper on the evening of the wedding day of the younger sisters

Come gentlemen now that suppers donne,

How shall we spend the time till we go to bed?

(lines 1-2)

Sly in *A Shrew* may be supposed to have looked out of his bedroom alternately upon the exterior scenes of the street, of the court, and, with less verisimilitude, of a country road The location of certain scenes in *The Shrew* might also be regarded as in the court of a house, but the language of Shakespeare is hardly reminiscent of such a style of architecture, and the time of *The Shrew* is definitely stated to be winter (iv. 1. 24).

⁵⁶ Cf Boas, *A Shrew*, op cit, p xxv.

in the action of the play proper, Gremio appears in the rôle of intercessor and Petruchio assumes the rôle of spectator. I suggest, accordingly, that the interposition function of such an interlude in an earlier form of the play was assumed, during revision, by Gremio, and that a relic of such an interlude remains in *The Shrew* in Petruchio's rôle of spectator during a part of the dénouement scene.

(a) Gremio's indebtedness to Cleander of *I Suppositi* has long been recognized,⁵⁷ his indebtedness to a Sly interlude may be equally true. The Ferrarese of *I Suppositi* conducts Philogano (the father) to the feigned Erostrato's house where the Sienese (the feigned Philogano) is lodged (*Supp* iv iii 66-67),⁵⁸ remains as an active witness to the action (*Supp* iv iv 1-vii 50), and recommends Cleander to Philogano as an advocate who will plead his cause (*Supp* iv.viii 1-88). In *The Shrew* Petruchio conducts Vincentio to the house of the supposed Lucentio where the supposed father is lodged (v i 9, 26-30), but withdraws before the scene is concluded, and witnesses the remainder of the action only from a distance, Gremio remains to counsel Vincentio. Gremio's prototype, Cleander of *I Suppositi*, does not come into contact with Philogano until a later scene (*Supp* v v.1-150). Petruchio's action as a guide, for which there is no parallel in *A Shrew*, seems, as Mr. Bond has noticed, to have been devised in imitation of the action of the Ferrarese in *I Suppositi*. But in the Ferrarese's continued rôle as a friend to Philogano (*Supp* iv.viii 1-88), Petruchio is succeeded in *The Shrew* by Gremio. Vincentio, outfaced by the impostors, is about to be carried to jail by the Officer (v i 94-97),⁵⁹ when Gremio interposes, "Stare officer, he shall not go to prison" (line 98). Baptista answers, "Talke not signior Gremio. I saie he shall goe to prison" (lines 99-100).

When the Duke, in the dénouement scene of *A Shrew* iv ii 1-25, orders Phylotus and Valeria to be sent "to prison straight" (line 44), Sly, in the interlude of lines 45-53, cries out, "I say wele have no sending to prison."

The influence of *I Suppositi*, Mr. Bond thinks, was first manifest in the version of the dénouement scene in *A Shrew*, and then developed more fully in the corresponding scene in *The Shrew*. Whereas in *A Shrew* Sly intervenes in behalf of the supposed son and the supposed father, who have fled to escape imprisonment, in *The Shrew* it is the real father who is threatened with imprisonment and for whom Gremio interposes;

⁵⁷ Bond, *Early Plays from the Italian* (Oxford, 1911), p. lxxvii. Cf. Bond, *The Shrew*, *op. cit.*, p. xxvii.

⁵⁸ I use Bond's edition of Gascoigne's *Supposes* (*Early Plays, op. cit.*, pp. 1-73).

⁵⁹ The rôle of the Officer may have been doubled by the Hortensio actor in *The Shrew*, for Petruchio, making a pun on the name, tells Hortensio at v. ii. 37 that he "Spoke like an Officer."

as in *I Suppositi* again it is the real father who is threatened, and who, after consultation with Cleander, the lawyer recommended to him by the Ferrarese, would appeal to the Prince

The rôles of Gremio and of Petruchio in the dénouement scene of *The Shrew*, accordingly, would seem to share equally in indebtedness to *I Suppositi* and to belong, consequently, to the same writing—that is, to the revision of the play made under the influence of *I Suppositi*

(b) The foregoing argument, that the function of an interlude of an earlier form of the play, similar to that of *A Shrew* iv ii 45–53, has been taken over by Gremio in the corresponding scene in *The Shrew*, is supported by what seems to be a relic in *The Shrew* of such an original interlude. I refer to the movements of Petruchio and Katherine during the latter part of the dénouement scene in *The Shrew* (v i 63–147). Petruchio, who has taken some part in the conversations of the first part of the scene, withdraws with Katherine, "Preethe Kate let's stand aside and see the end of this controversie" (*TS* v.i 63), and remains as a mere spectator of the action until line 147, when Katherine says, "Husband let's follow, to see the end of this adoe"

Petruchio's rôle as spectator during the dénouement is analogous to that of Sly in *A Shrew*, and the rôle of Katherine as a companion to Petruchio probably corresponds to the rôle of Sly's Lady (although the presence of Sly's Lady in the interlude of *AS* iv ii 45–53 is only to be inferred). The demands, moreover, which Petruchio makes of Katherine in this scene are reminiscent of the demands which Sly makes of his Lady in the Induction of *The Shrew*. Petruchio's insistence that Katherine kiss him "in the midst of the streete" (v i.148–153) upon the conclusion of the dénouement scene, which they have witnessed from afar, is just the kind of conduct which one would have expected from Sly had his Lady been at his side in an interlude. I repeat, the movements of Petruchio and Katherine during the dénouement scene suggest the action which Sly and his Lady might have indulged in had they remained as spectators to the play.

Furthermore, in accordance with the theory that a doubling of Sly and the Tamer was originally intended, it may be noted that the elimination of a Sly interlude from the context of the dénouement scene would have left the Sly actor free to appear in the main text of the play in the rôle of Petruchio. It is significant that Ferando does not appear at all in the dénouement scene of *A Shrew*; probably the rôle of Sly as a spectator of the action prevented the appearance of his double on the stage. Whereas in *The Shrew*, wherein no interlude occurs, Petruchio both takes part in the initial part of the dénouement scene and also gives what would seem to have been a good imitation of Sly during the rest of the scene

He that knowes better how to tame a shrew,
Now let him speake, 'tis charity to shew (iv 1 213-214)⁶³

Such elements in *A Shrew* suggest that Sly's domestic problem may have been originally regarded as the principal subject of the play, and that the plots of the taming and of the deception may have been used as object-lessons to teach Sly how to deal with a shrewish wife. Sly's problem, illustrated more or less clearly in the Induction of *A Shrew* by his apparent reluctance to sleep at home (Ind 1 3,6-8) and by the words of San[der],

Marrie my lord tis calde The taming of a shiew
Tis a good lesson for us my lord, for us that are married men (Ind 1 63-64),

would constitute the minor premise of the syllogism, the play of "The taming of a shrew," which Sly is to witness, would build up a general rule or the major premise, and the Epilogue would form the conclusion.

The Shrew, however, has little of the form of the syllogism. Shakespeare neither states in the Induction that a lesson is about to be offered, nor does he point Sly's moral at the end, what he retains of the Sly material of *A Shrew*, or rather of the earlier form of the play, is realistically presented.⁶⁴ Instead of the beshrewed Sly of *A Shrew*, who apparently prefers a bed in the road outside the alehouse door to his bed at home, *The Shrew* has a tinker of ancient lineage who refuses to pay his tavern score.⁶⁵ The play within a play in *The Shrew* is not given for Sly's instruction but for the entertainment of the Lord. It would seem probable, accordingly, that a desire to remove such scholastic elements from an earlier form of the play may have, in part, motivated a revision during which the play within a play was deliberately enlarged by Shakespeare at the expense of the Sly interludes.

I summarize: Shakespeare in *The Shrew* seems (1) to have supplanted an interlude similar to that of *A Shrew* 11.324-331 by more important matter, he seems (2) to have omitted an interlude of no considerable length and purpose, such as that of *A Shrew* iv 1 1, he seems (3) to have assimilated into the main text of *The Shrew* an interlude similar to that of *A Shrew* iv.11.45-53; finally, he seems (4) to have transferred to other parts of *The Shrew* ideas similar to those of the Epilogue of *A Shrew*. All

⁶³ Compare the lines appended to *The Wife Lapped in Moors Skin*.

He that can charme a shrewde wyfe
Better then thus,
Let him come to me, and fetch ten pound,
And a golden purse

(Amyot's edition, *op cit*, p. 91)

⁶⁴ See Kuhl, *MLN*, *op cit*, pp. 327-328

⁶⁵ Cf. *The Shrew*, Ind 1 1-15, Ind 11 20-25, 87-90

this supplanting, eliminating, assimilating, and transferring he seems to have effected while rewriting an earlier form of the play under the influence of *I Suppositi*.

I conclude, accordingly, that *The Shrew* is a revision of an earlier form of the play which had interludes and an epilogue, but no rivalry, elopement, or shortened chronology—a form of the play similar in these respects to *A Shrew*

IV

That *The Shrew* and *A Shrew* derive from a common source would seem to be the inevitable conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing studies of internal evidence in the two extant versions of the play. The alternate theories that *The Shrew* derives from *A Shrew* and that *A Shrew* derives from *The Shrew* have been discredited, as has also the theory of an unrevised or intermediate version of *The Shrew*.

The nature of the hypothetical common source may be arrived at by merging the characteristics of the earlier form of *A Shrew* and of the earlier form of *The Shrew*—characteristics brought out above. The studies in section II are largely of the first part of the play. For that part the marks common to *The Shrew* and to the earlier form of *A Shrew* consist in the order and in the chronology of *The Shrew*—both indicated in the comparative chart under the heading of the "Original Form." For the latter part of the play—the principal subject of the studies of section III—the marks common to *A Shrew* and to the earlier form of *The Shrew* consist in the plot, in the chronology, and in the interludes of *A Shrew*—also indicated in the comparative chart. Accordingly, the earlier form of the play, from which *A Shrew* and *The Shrew* have departed, although each in a different way, would seem to have had something like the order of *The Shrew*, the interludes and the subplot of *A Shrew*, the chronology of *The Shrew* for the first part, and the chronology of *A Shrew* for the latter part of the play.

This original form of the play would seem to have been designed to be chronologically presented, in contrast to the method of Latin comedy and of Ariosto's *I Suppositi*. Sly falls asleep, awakes, sees a play, falls asleep, awakes. The main plot of the play which Sly witnesses is the taming of a shrew, beginning with betrothal and marriage, and ending with the taming and the proof thereof. Sly witnesses also the subplot, which has a second set of characters and another theme, including (as in *A Shrew*) disguise, deception, forged contracts, and marriage under an assumed name—the whole chronologically arranged.

I would suggest that the earlier form of the play, as Hickson has argued, may have been happier in its conceits and phraseology than is

A Shrew. To the earlier form of the play I would credit also the excellence, noted by many scholars, of *A Shrew* in plot construction⁶⁶ and in vigor of conception⁶⁷

The earlier form of the play may have been either a completed play or no more than a set of preliminary sketches. If it was a completed play, the derivation of *A Shrew* therefrom could possibly be explained by some 'bad Quarto' process of mutilation and reconstruction, whether by way of actors' recollection or by a stenographic report of a stage presentation. If, on the other hand, the earlier form of the play was a set of loose-leaf sketches, the manner of derivation of *A Shrew* could easily be accounted for.

To the author of *A Shrew*, identity unknown,⁶⁸ I would credit the lines from Marlowe and in imitation of Marlowe, which are interspersed throughout *A Shrew*,⁶⁹ at places where the original author of the play may have given but brief suggestions. At such places the author of *A Shrew* would have been thrown almost entirely upon his own resources eked out by those of Christopher Marlowe. That the original author of the play was not the author of *A Shrew* seems obvious from the fact that the latter apparently misunderstood not only the correct order of the scenes and the true chronology of the play, but also missed the point of certain conceits, which, as stated above, seem to have been more correctly preserved in *The Shrew*.

The theory that Shakespeare may have been the author of the hypothetical common source of the two extant versions of the play receives some support from the arguments of those who would give to Shakespeare at least a share in the authorship of *A Shrew*, while the objections made to the Shakespearean authorship of *A Shrew* would not necessarily apply to the authorship of the earlier form of the play. The theory that the author of the original form of the play was the author also of *The Shrew* receives further support from the fact that the materials which seem to have been used for the earlier form of the play seem also to have been used by the author of *The Taming of the Shrew*; the author of *The Taming of a Shrew*, on the other hand, either had no access to Shakespeare's library or failed to see the advantage of using it.

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⁶⁶ Boas, *A Shrew*, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiii.

⁶⁷ Bond, *The Shrew*, *op. cit.*, p. xli. Tolman, *Views*, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

⁶⁸ Cf. H. D. Sykes, *Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 49-78.

⁶⁹ Boas, *A Shrew*, *op. cit.*, p. xxxi. For the authorship of *A Shrew* see Boas, *ibid.*, pp. xxxiv-xxxvii, Alexander, *LTLS*, *op. cit.*, p. 614, Bond, *The Shrew*, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxvii-xliv.

THE DYNAMIC IMAGE IN METAPHYSICAL POETRY

SO many brilliant critics and scholars have interpreted the metaphysical image that one hesitates to push the analysis farther, but analysis and theory are justified if they throw new light on a subject or show a possible relationship between things that had previously seemed independent. The question is not whether metaphysical poetry can be analyzed more fully, but whether one simple, underlying peculiarity can be found to explain some of the characteristics of this type of verse and to show that these *disiecta membra* are of a piece. The underlying quality that appears to connect many of the seemingly unrelated features of metaphysical poetry might be called the dynamic image.

All imagery may be divided into two chief types, the static and the dynamic. The static image describes the appearance, taste, smell, feel, or sound of an object—the qualities, in short, which mediaeval philosophers called accidents. The dynamic image describes the way in which objects act or interact. Static imagery is comparable to sculpture and painting; dynamic imagery is comparable to ballet, or, more accurately, to the modern dance, in which costumes and backgrounds are deliberately subordinated in order that attention may be focused on motion.

Static imagery is the more common type of the two. Almost all the conventional Petrarchan comparisons of the Elizabethan sonneteers fall into this category; it has been the poetic legal tender in many periods of literature. Keats' "valley lillies whiter still Than Leda's love"¹ is an excellent illustration of this sort of image, as is Shakespeare's:

Her beauty hangs upon the cheek of night
Like a rich jewel in an Ethiop's ear,
Beauty too rich for use, for earth too dear!
So shows a snowy dove trooping with crows,
As yonder lady o'er her fellows shows.²

Even the metaphysical poets used static images, frequently to achieve comic or satiric effects. The exaggerated similes in Donne's eighth elegy, "The Comparison," are almost exclusively static and sensuous:

And like a bunch of ragged carrets stand
The short swolne fingers of thy gouty hand³

Dynamic imagery, too, is found in the poetry of all ages and all countries. The epic similes of classical poetry often describe motion rather than external appearance:

¹ *Endymion*, I, 157 f.

² *Romeo and Juliet*, I, v. 47-51

³ Lines 33 f.

Untur infelix Dido, totaque vagatur
 urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta
 quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit
 pastor, agens telis, liquitque volatile ferrum
 nescius, illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat
 Dictaeos haeret lateri letalis harundo ⁴

Milton's extended similes often elaborate on motion, rather than on form or appearance ⁵ Shakespeare's plays are filled with the imagery of motion—the imagery best suited, surely, to dramatic poetry Miss Spurgeon comments on the "number and vividness of his images drawn from quick, nimble action,"⁶ and observes that Shakespeare's chief improvement on Plutarch's description of Cleopatra's barge was his addition of movement ⁷ The effect of the poison on Hamlet's father is made horrible by this vivid simile:

And, with a sudden vigour, it doth posset
 And curd, like eager droppings into milk,
 The thin and wholesome blood ⁸

Even worn-out myths take on a new vitality when Shakespeare sets them into motion:

fleck'd darkness like a drunkard reels
 From forth day's path and Titan's fiery wheels ⁹

Shakespeare was especially skilful in explaining mental action through the imagery of physical action The expanded image in *Lucrece*¹⁰ which Miss Spurgeon has shown was derived from the curious eddy under the bridge at Stratford¹¹ describes mental upheaval in terms of external motion A psychological state is likewise interpreted by a simile involving physical movement in the following passage:

Fie, fie, how wayward is this foolish love,
 That, like a testy babe, will scratch the nurse,
 And presently, all humbled, kiss the rod!¹²

The characteristics of metaphysical poetry have been enumerated and analyzed, but little attempt has been made to integrate these qualities. If, however, one considers the metaphysical image, particularly as used by Donne, a dynamic image, one sees a logical relationship coordinating many of its peculiarities. The sensuous thinking, the interest in psychological aspects of experience, the dramatic tenseness, the disregard of

⁴ *Aeneid*, iv, 68-73

⁵ See *Paradise Lost*, iv, 181 ff

⁶ Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, *Shakespeare's Imagery and What It Tells Us* (New York, 1935), p. 50

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 55

⁸ *Hamlet*, i v 68-70

⁹ *Romeo and Juliet*, ii ii 3 f.

¹⁰ Lines 1667-73

¹¹ Spurgeon, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

¹² *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, i ii 57 ff

physical beauty, the neutrality of the minor term of images, and the imaginative distance between the major and minor terms—these characteristics are all closely connected with the predominance of dynamic imagery

John Donne's sensuous thinking has been pointed out and explained by a number of writers.¹³ Sensuous thinking may be defined briefly as thought that is expressed through imagery instead of in direct, prosaic terms. Thought, moreover, is not a static condition, but a line of mental action between two points, even the stream of consciousness is a continuous motion, though not a deliberate one. In short, if thought is to be expressed poetically at all, it requires a dynamic imagery rather than a static imagery. When he goes through the steps of elaborate philosophical reasoning or describes his inner psychological states, Donne employs images drawn from external motion. One of his finest love poems, "A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning," is full of dynamic images that describe the psychological relationship between the lovers who are about to part, and the effect that absence will have on this relationship. The four chief images of the poem describe motion: a virtuous man's soul leaving his body, earthquakes and the movements of the spheres, the beating of gold into gold leaf, and the famous image of the compasses, and this collection of images, which seem miscellaneous when listed thus, is unified by the thought of the poem. Indeed, the images carry the thought of the poem. The conceits here are functional, not decorative, and their function is to make psychological action clear by expressing it in terms of physical action.

As Milton Rugoff has pointed out, Donne was interested chiefly in the mechanical side of things. His images from illness, derive largely from medical theories, anatomy, and surgery, his metaphors and similes from geometry and other branches of mathematics, his images drawn from the technical aspects of music, the construction and operation of watches and clocks, the practices of artisans, and the machinery of war—all show the intensity of his absorption in the technical or mechanical phases of a subject, and his consequent tendency to turn to science and learning for his imagery.¹⁴ Though dynamic imagery need not be coldly scientific—Shakespeare's images of motion are generally drawn from

¹³ T. S. Eliot emphasizes this point, see the passage from his Clark lectures quoted by Mario Praz in "Donne's Relation to the Poetry of His Time," *A Garland for John Donne*, ed. Theodore Spencer (Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 58. See likewise George Williamson's remarks in *The Donne Tradition* (Harvard University Press, 1930), pp. 89 f. and 48, and W. Bradford Smith, "What Is Metaphysical Poetry?" *Sewanee Review*, XLII, 263.

¹⁴ Milton Allan Rugoff, *Donne's Imagery: A Study in Creative Sources* (New York, 1939), pp. 220-232.

ordinary life—nevertheless science and pseudo-science offer a fine formal garden where the poet in search of figures explaining actions and relationships may pluck exotic buds. On the other hand, the sciences are barren ground to the writer who seeks material for static images describing external appearances. Donne's interest in mechanics and his interest in psychology are closely related. "He is less interested in what life is than the 'way in which' he feels, experiences, and believes it, less interested in the metaphysical 'what' than in the psychological 'how'."¹⁵ In order to express adequately such psychological mechanics, he drew his images from the mechanics of science and industry.

In sharp contrast to Donne's interest in the inner workings of things is his disregard of external appearances. Rugoff has pointed out that Donne seldom drew his images from music or from visual qualities.¹⁶ This neglect of surface impressions might be considered, in part, a deliberate revolt against the lush and unreal appliquéés of Elizabethan poetry; Donne in his honesty was contemptuous of "beauty that is not one with reality."¹⁷ But beneath this deliberate revolt against an artificial literary convention there was doubtless a fundamental lack of interest in visual beauty. In Donne's poetry the descriptions of a woman's hair, eyes, and lips that form the stock-in-trade of most Elizabethan poets are absent. His interest is primarily in the emotion of love, not in the object of his love. He attempts to analyze the effects of love, the way in which love acts on him and on his mistress, he is interested in the workings of his own mind under the stimulus of love, and in describing the results of his introspections the Petrarchan imagery of polite compliment was of no use to him.

The metaphysical image has been described as "far-fetched" in its comparison of dissimilar objects.¹⁸ But, as Rugoff emphasizes, the imaginative distance between the terms of an image depends partly on the familiarity of the image; "an unfamiliar analogy will usually seem more 'remote' than a traditional one."¹⁹ When images have become conventional, the essentially irrational quality of the comparison becomes obscured and does not force itself upon the reader. A woman's lips have no resemblance to coral except in one particular, color; the reader is not supposed to think of other attributes of coral—hardness or roughness. Human skin does not resemble snow except in one particular,

¹⁵ George Williamson, "Donne and the Poetry of Today," *A Garland for John Donne*, p. 156.

¹⁶ Rugoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-228. See also Kathleen M. Lea, "Conceits," *Modern Language Review*, xx, 399.

¹⁷ Williamson, "Donne and the Poetry of Today," p. 166.

¹⁸ Thomas Stearns Eliot, "Donne in Our Time," *A Garland for John Donne*, p. 16.

¹⁹ Rugoff, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

whiteness, and even this is a gross exaggeration. Likewise the metaphysical image compares two things that are dissimilar except in one detail, a detail that might be called the focus of the image. In both the Petrarchan and the metaphysical image, the attention is focused on one significant detail, one point of resemblance, and the other details—the coldness or wetness of snow, the hardness of coral—are deliberately blurred. If one examines the portions of any image that are outside the point of focus, the comparison becomes fantastic,²⁰ and in this respect a metaphysical image is no more far-fetched than the most routine Petrarchan image. The fundamental difference is that in static, Petrarchan imagery the focus of the comparison is a sense impression that is communicated with relative ease to the reader's imagination. When a girl's cheeks are compared to roses, the reader can form visual images of roses and cheeks without effort and with aesthetic satisfaction. The metaphysical image, on the contrary, does not focus on a resemblance of external qualities, of sense impressions, but on a resemblance between actions. The reader who, accustomed to cheeks and roses, comes upon Donne's image of the compasses is confused not because the analogy is any less real but because he makes the mistake of treating it as a static sense impression and trying to visualize it as such.

The neutral quality of the minor term is comprehensible when one considers the metaphysical image a type of dynamic image.²¹ Not all dynamic images, of course, are without connotation or sensuous appeal. The simile from the *Aeneid* quoted earlier in this article is a description of movement, but the minor term is enriched by emotional coloring and pictorial vividness. Likewise, in the image quoted from *Hamlet*, the unpleasant associations of curdled milk add to the horror of the poisoning. Those images of Donne's which refer to ordinary events of human life and death have minor terms that are not neutral, but deeply moving, adding to the emotional impact of the poem:

As virtuous men passe mildly away,
And whisper to their soules, to goe,
Whilst some of their sad friends doe say,
The breath goes now, and some say no.
So let us melt, and make no noise,
No teare-floods, no sigh-tempests move²²

²⁰ Henry W. Wells remarks that in a Radical image (which is practically identical with a metaphysical image) "the minor term . . . is significant metaphorically only at a single narrow point of contact. Elsewhere it is incongruous." See *Poetic Imagery Illustrated from Elizabethan Literature* (Columbia University Press, 1924), p. 125.

²¹ The neutral quality of the minor term is pointed out by Wells (*op. cit.*, p. 121) and by Williamson (*The Donne Tradition*, pp. 31 and 86 f.).

²² "A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning," ll. 1-6.

But a dynamic image is not primarily sensuous, and can easily dispense with Petrarchan adornments. An image of motion may be lovely in itself, but it may have validity because of its aptness even if the minor term is not rich in poetic suggestion. The originality of the metaphysical image and the fact that it is often drawn from learned, esoteric material contribute to the neutrality of the minor term, the Copernican theory of the universe stimulates the imagination, but has little emotional connotation. In general, the reader is not supposed to notice the sensuous side of metaphysical images.

Our eye-beames twisted and did thread
Our eyes, upon one double string ²³

The above image is both ridiculous and unpleasant when one forms a mental picture of eye-balls strung on cord like beads, but when one considers it a purely dynamic image that underlines the direct, active intensity of the lovers' gaze, the absurdity disappears. An even more vivid example of the neutralizing of the minor term appears in Donne's "Anatomie of the World":

But as some Serpents poyson hurteth not
Except it be from the live Serpent shot,
So doth her vertue need her here, to fit
That unto us, shee working more then it ²⁴

The drama and vitality of Donne's poetry derives, in part at least, from the predominance of dynamic imagery. Wells has pointed out the fact that the Radical image is extremely dramatic and that the use of it accounts for much of the vigor of Shakespeare's dialogue.²⁵ In connection with this one may recall Lessing's idea, expressed in *Laokoon*, that the province of poetry is the description of action, the province of the graphic arts, the description of static beauty. By this standard much Elizabethan poetry, with its heavy stress on elaborate "word-pictures," deserves censure. In turning away from emphasis on the pictorial, Donne may have been indulging in mere revolt against literary convention, but he showed nevertheless an understanding of the powers and limitations of poetry.

The school of Donne continued the tradition of the dynamic image, though the followers did not turn so frequently to science for their material or neutralize their images so thoroughly.²⁶ In George Herbert's poem "Artillery," the good impulses sent by God are described as stars shot from cannon, and Herbert's prayers and tears are a return barrage.

²³ Donne, "The Extasie," ll. 7 f.

²⁴ Lines 409-412

²⁵ *Op cit.*, pp. 135 f.

²⁶ Williamson (*The Donne Tradition*, pp. 86 f.) attributes the failure of many of the conceits of Donne's followers to their neglecting to neutralize the minor term.

In "The Showre" Vaughan likens half-hearted prayers to water evaporated from a lake and then, "too grosse for heaven,"²⁷ cast down to earth again as rain. Marvell's geometrical simile in "The Definition of Love" resembles Donne's imagery closely in its use of unpoetic, scientific material:

As Lines so Loves oblique may well
Themselves in every Angle greet
But ours so truly Paralel,
Though infinite can never meet ²⁸

The grotesqueness of the images used by men like Cleveland arose from their non-functional character, for the dynamic figure, which is not primarily decorative, loses its point when used as decoration instead of as an integral part of the poem.

The hypothesis of the dynamic image throws some light, I believe, on many peculiarities of Donne's poetry. Not all of Donne's images are dynamic, nor is imagery of motion confined to metaphysical poetry. How, then, do the dynamic images of Donne differ from those of a poet like Shakespeare? In the first place, other poets usually describe actual physical motion,²⁹ but Donne's purpose, almost invariably, is to explain mental actions or psychological relationships. Secondly, whereas Shakespeare's images of motion are drawn from nature or from ordinary life, Donne's are often derived from technical or scientific sources. Consequently, Shakespeare's figures are not neutralized, since they are rich in the emotional connotations that surround everyday words and everyday experiences. In Donne's images, on the other hand, the minor terms are neutral because they are, to a large extent, scientific or pseudo-scientific facts, with all the non-human coldness of science. Donne's interest in the intricate processes of the mind led him to use a mechanical or dynamic type of imagery—an imagery that was original, exact, intellectual, and, on the whole, unemotional. His most remarkable achievement was his success in writing poems that are, in spite of the neutrality of the figures through which he expressed his thought and feelings, full of intense emotion.

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²⁷ Line 5

²⁸ Lines 25-28

²⁹ See the quotations from Virgil and Shakespeare in the first part of this article

VOLTAIRE AND MONTESQUIEU'S THREE PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT

VOLTAIRE criticizes the famous motivating principles of the three forms of government more vigorously than any other theory in the *Esprit des lois*. In general his criticisms of that great work have been too often discounted because of his known hostility to Montesquieu.¹ The aim of this study is to account for his attitude toward the motivating principles as they are set forth in the *Esprit des lois*. Here the facts reveal that his criticisms are sincere and in keeping with his own established opinions. They show the impatience of a mind thinking in relativist and human terms with the generalizations of legal theory.

At the outset Voltaire disagrees with Montesquieu's classification of states. To the three divisions of the *Esprit des lois*—monarchy, republic and despotism—he opposes the simpler classification of Aristotle—government by the many, by the few or by a single officer.² In his thought particular relations of climate to governmental form,³ or the varying suitability of luxury in the three forms⁴ are but the false distinctions of a classification in itself incorrect. As for the principles—"vertu" for the republic, "honneur" for monarchy and "crainte" for despotism—Voltaire denies that any one of them inheres more in one political form than another.

In the *Esprit des lois* monarchy is distinguished from despotism by a privileged intermediary body between the subject and the king. According to Montesquieu the absence of honor in the despotism leaves the subjects equal in political abasement.⁵ To the charge that there is no magnanimity under the despot⁶ Voltaire replies by naming many generous Oriental viziers.⁷ He denies also the assertion that slavery requires no virtuous qualities,⁸ that men sell themselves as slaves under despotism,⁹ that Russia seeks escape from absolutism.¹⁰ When Montesquieu speaks of viziers, pachas and beys in this equality of political abasement Voltaire wonders if "un beglier-bey, un pacha à trois queues ne sont pas

¹ G. Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française* (Hachette, 1924), p. 762—In regard to Voltaire's criticism of *L'Esprit des lois* "Voltaire eut la petitesse d'être gêné par la grandeur de Montesquieu. L'écrivain était mort, l'œuvre restait. Voltaire s'y cassa les dents."

² *Pensées sur le gouvernement*, Moland, xxiii, p. 530.

³ *Commentaire sur l'Esprit des lois*, M. xxx, p. 442 et seq.

⁴ *Idées républicaines*, M. xxiv, pp. 419-420.

⁵ *Esprit des lois*, Liv. iii, Ch. viii, Lab. iii, p. 133.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Liv. v, Ch. xii, Laboulaye iii, p. 196.

⁷ *Commentaire sur l'Esprit des lois*, M. xxx, p. 416.

⁸ *Dictionnaire philosophique*, M. xx, p. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

supérieurs à un homme du peuple.”¹¹ Elsewhere his language resembles that of Montesquieu. “Le despotisme est l’abus de la monarchie comme l’anarchie est l’abus de la république ”¹² In the following passage Voltaire tries to show the futility of aspersions cast on despotism: “. . . despotique et monachique sont tout juste la même chose . . . despote (herus) signifie *maître* et monarque signifie *seul maître* ce qui est bien plus fort ”¹³

Montesquieu defines the honor which motivates monarchy as “le préjugé de chaque condition” which demands “des préférences et des distinctions ”¹⁴ So true is it that “vertu” is not the monarchical principle, he writes, “que si dans le peuple il se trouve quelque malheureux honnête homme, le cardinal de Richelieu, dans son *Testament politique*, insinue qu’un monarque doit se garder de s’en servir ”¹⁵ In the reasoning of the *Esprit des lois*, honor in any moral sense is so insignificant to monarchy that “une action qui se fait sans bruit y est en quelque sorte sans conséquence ”¹⁶ In spite of its unmoral qualities this motivation results in good because among the subjects “. . . chacun va au bien commun croyant aller à ses intérêts particuliers,” a fact which causes the author to qualify the principle of monarchy as really an “honneur faux.”¹⁷

Refusing to accept Montesquieu’s specialized definition of the term, Voltaire declares: “. . . C’est précisément dans les cours qu’il y a toujours le moins d’honneur ”¹⁸ He finds the Romans more virtuous under the Emperor Trajan than under Marius and Sulla.¹⁹ He mentions many habitués of royal Versailles who were conspicuous for their virtue. He can not believe “qu’il faille plus de vertu à un Grison qu’à un Espagnol.”²⁰ On the other hand he mentions “des statues, des couronnes de lauriers et des triomphes,” to show that honor figures as an incentive to the republican.²¹ For Voltaire the term “honneur” was more consistent

¹¹ *Commentaire sur l’Esprit des lois*, M xxx, p 416

¹² *Pensées sur le gouvernement*, M xxiii, p 530.

¹³ Lettre à M Gin, 20 juin 1777, M L, p 236. cf *Commentaire sur l’Esprit des Lois*, M xxx, p 416

¹⁴ *Esprit des lois*, Liv III, Ch VI, Lab III, p 131.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, Liv III, Ch v, Lab III, p 130

¹⁶ *Ibid*—This statement is not a commendation of vice. Faults corrected in a republic by a sentiment of *vertu* must be prevented in a monarchy by law. ¹⁷ *Ibid*, p 132.

¹⁸ *Dictionnaire philosophique*, M xix, p. 387. He follows this remark with lines from the *Pastor fido* which describe the intrigue of court life

“L’ingannare, il mentur, la frode, il furto
E la rapina di pietà vestita,
Crescer col danno et precipizio altrui
E far a se de l’altrui biasmo onore
Son le virtù di quella gente infida ” *Pastor Fido*, V

¹⁹ *Supplément au Siècle de Louis XIV*, M xv, p 138.

²⁰ *Dictionnaire philosophique*, M xix, p. 387

²¹ *Pensées sur le gouvernement*, M xxiii, p. 531.

with laurels and statues than with a system under which patents of nobility were auctioned off to wealthy buyers.²² Quoting the passage in which Montesquieu refers to the *Testament politique* he writes: "dans une monarchie tempérée par les lois, et surtout par les mœurs, il y a plus de vertu que l'auteur ne croit et plus d'hommes qui lui ressemblent."²³ When Montesquieu qualified the monarchical principle as an "honneur faux" Voltaire saw in the expression a contradiction in terms "L'honneur est le désir d'être honoré," he writes, "avoir l'honneur c'est ne rien faire qui soit indigne des honneurs."²⁴ Admitting that honor was the motivation of chivalry, he declares: "... prétendre que l'honneur est le mobile de la monarchie . . . est aussi peu convenable que de dire que la vertu est le mobile des républiques."²⁵ Elsewhere his meaning is still clearer: "L'honneur est commun à tous les hommes."²⁶ For Voltaire there is no conception of honor especially befitting monarchy, honor is human integrity which always implies a moral obligation.

Montesquieu attempts to draw the same sort of distinction between the "vertu" motivating the republic and the usually accepted meaning of the word "vertu." The reaction of Voltaire to this distinction is consistent with his criticism of the similar one regarding *honneur*. In the *Esprit des lois* "vertu" is defined as the love of the laws and the fatherland "Cet amour," writes Montesquieu, "demandant une préférence continuelle de l'intérêt public au sien propre, donne toutes les vertus particulières, elles ne sont que cette préférence."²⁷ After he had been attacked for having barred virtue from monarchy²⁸ the author tries to make his definition of "vertu" clearer. In the *Avertissement*, accompanying later editions of the *Esprit des lois* he writes: "Ce n'est point une vertu morale ni une vertu chrétienne, c'est la vertu politique: et celle-ci est le ressort qui fait mouvoir la république."²⁹ In the *Eclaircissement*, he explains for the benefit of the *Journal de Trévoux*: "Je parle ici de la vertu politique qui est la vertu morale dans le sens qu'elle se dirige au bien général, fort peu des vertus morales particulières, et point du tout de cette vertu qui a du rapport aux vérités révélées."³⁰ Neither moral virtues nor "la vertu poli-

²² *Dictionnaire philosophique*, M. xix, p. 388

²³ *Supplément au Siècle de Louis XIV*, M. xv, p. 139

²⁴ *Pensées sur le gouvernement*, M. xxiii, p. 531

²⁵ *Le Triumvirat*, n. vi, pp. 209-210

²⁶ *Le siècle de Louis XIV*, M. xiv, p. 394

²⁷ *Esprit des lois*, Liv. iv, Ch. v, Lab. iii, p. 151

²⁸ "Examen critique de l'Esprit des lois," *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques*, 9 octobre 1749 in Lab. vi, p. 122 et seq. Cf. *Préface de l'Éditeur*, Lab. vi, p. 99, where the above article is attributed to a certain Abbé La Roche

²⁹ *Esprit des lois*,—"Avertissement de l'auteur," Lab. iii, p. 87

³⁰ *Eclaircissements sur l'Esprit des lois*, Lab. vi, p. 205

tique" are excluded from monarchy, he explains, because honor is the motivation of that form. The simile which he uses in this place is completely mechanistic "Si je disais telle roue, tel pignon ne sont point le ressort qui fait mouvoir cette montre en conclurait-on qu'ils ne sont pas dans la montre?"³¹

Ignoring the specialized definition of Montesquieu, Voltaire assures us that "vertu" had no part in the establishment of Athens, Rome or Ragusa. "On se met en république quand on le peut"³² Elsewhere, addressing himself to Montesquieu, he declares: "Je lui dirai que la vertu n'est le principe d'aucune affaire, d'aucun engagement politique. La vertu est de tous les gouvernements et de toutes les conditions"³³

Modern critics have generally agreed that Montesquieu failed in his attempt to establish a specialized "vertu" motivating the republic. Perhaps the best statement is that of Faguet: "l'amour de la patrie poussé jusqu'à lui sacrifier tout et soi-même n'est pas autre chose que la vertu toute entière"³⁴ Voltaire would have approved of this statement, but with the qualification that "vertu" even in its extended sense could not exclusively motivate any governmental form.

Voltaire takes exception not only to the principles themselves but also to the author's measures for the encouragement of the *mœurs* supposedly consistent with them. In illustrating the sanctity of the royal person Montesquieu cites from the *Histoire byzantine* the example of Emperor Basil punishing very lightly sixty conspirators against his life and sentencing to the axe a retainer who cut the royal girdle in order to save his master from being gored to death by a stag.³⁵ Treating this anecdote as a simple extravagance Voltaire retorts: "C'est au président Cousin et au président de Montesquieu à chercher la raison"³⁶ The author of the *Esprit des lois* refers elsewhere to the cruel punishment meted out by the Areopagus to a man who killed a sparrow seeking refuge in his bosom when pursued by a hawk. The same body sentenced to death a boy who had gouged out the eyes of a pet bird.³⁷ Montesquieu explains that it was not, in these cases, a question of punishing crime "mais d'un jugement de mœurs dans une république fondée sur les mœurs"³⁸ Re-

³¹ *Esprit des lois*,—"Avertissement de l'auteur," M xxx, p 88

³² *Commentaire sur l'Esprit des lois*, M xxx, p 426

³³ *Supplément au Siècle de Louis XIV*, M xiv, pp 138-139.

³⁴ E Faguet, *Dix-huitième siècle* (Paris, 1901), p. 156 Cf Levi-Malvano, *Montesquieu e Machiavelli* (Paris, 1912), p 42, where the conclusion reached is "Per lui dunque, malgrado le sottili distinzioni che si studia de stabilire per far inghiottire l'amara pillola, la virtù, base necessaria alla repubblica, è purezza, austerità di costumi, è la virtù tutta intera"³⁵ *Esprit des lois*, Liv vi, Ch xvi, Lab iii, p 258

³⁶ *Commentaire sur l'Esprit des lois*, M xxx, p 429.

³⁷ *Esprit des lois*, Liv v, Ch xix, Lab iii, p 218

³⁸ *Ibid*

turning directly to the neglected moral issue Voltaire exclaims: " . . . C'est un jugement de mœurs, dit Montesquieu, quelles mœurs! N'y a-t-il pas une dureté de mœurs plus horrible à tuer votie compatriote qu'à tordre le cou à un moineau . . . ?"³⁹ Elsewhere in the *Esprit des lois* we read: "Lycurgue, mêlant le larcin avec l'esprit de justice, le plus dur esclavage avec l'extrême liberté, les sentiments les plus atroces avec la plus grande modération, donna de la stabilité à sa ville."⁴⁰ Claude Dupin, scandalized, remarks: "L'auteur paraît avoir voulu dire que les Lacédémoniens confondaient les vertus et les vices."⁴¹ Citing this same passage Voltaire declares: " . . . il n'y a point de larcin dans une ville où l'on n'avait nulle propriété pas même celle de sa femme " Referring to the anecdote of the Spartan boy and the fox he adds: " . . . C'est une éducation de Bohême."⁴²

Voltaire found the principles false and non-existent because Montesquieu in his definition had tried to divorce them from their usual moral significance. He condemned the measures for the cultivation of the appropriate *mœurs* for the same reason, they were unmoral. He recognized in all men from the most primitive to the most cultured the "common denominator of human morality" which he himself accepted.⁴³ Such an idea effectively excludes any theory of civic motivation which admits "vertu sans honneur."⁴⁴ The aristocratic form of government is treated in the *Esprit des lois* as a compromise form. Its animating principle is "la modération," a quality too ethically sound to draw Voltaire's fire.⁴⁵

Recommending the censorship in certain instances for fostering the appropriate *mœurs* Montesquieu points out that the Epidamnians placed foreign commerce under the direction of a single officer in order to preserve the purity of their customs.⁴⁶ Voltaire replies that the officer mentioned was a simple broker and adds: " . . . peut-être dira-t-on un jour que c'est pour conserver nos mœurs que nous avons établi la compagnie des Indes "⁴⁷ The author of the *Esprit des lois* condemns censorship in monarchies however because their foundation is honor " . . . et la nature de l'honneur est d'avoir pour censeur tout l'univers "⁴⁸ Voltaire's reaction is: "Que signifie cette maxime? Tout homme n'a-t-il pas pour censeur l'univers? . . . Les Grecs . . . crurent que l'univers avait les yeux sur eux.

³⁹ *Commentaire sur l'Esprit des lois*, M. xxx, p. 426

⁴⁰ *Esprit des lois*, Liv. iv, Ch. vi, Lab. iii, p. 153

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, n

⁴² *Commentaire sur l'Esprit des lois*, M. xxx, pp. 418-419

⁴³ G. R. Havens, "The Nature Doctrine of Voltaire," *PMLA*, xl, 854-855.

⁴⁴ *Dictionnaire philosophique*, M. xix, p. 387

⁴⁵ *Esprit des lois*, Liv. iii, Ch. iv, Lab. iii, p. 127.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Commentaire sur l'Esprit des lois*, M. xxx, p. 419

⁴⁸ *Esprit des lois*, Liv. v, Ch. xix, Lab. iii, p. 218.

Toujours de l'esprit mais ce n'est pas ici sur les lois."⁴⁹ Approving of censorship in a republic in order to correct "une certaine tiédeur dans l'amour de la patrie,"⁵⁰ Montesquieu praises the Jesuit establishment of an Indian Commonwealth in Paraguay "On a voulu faire un crime à la société," he writes, "qui regarde le plaisir de commander comme le seul bien de la vie. Mais il sera toujours beau de gouverner les hommes en les rendant plus heureux."⁵¹ Alleging that the Jesuits flogged the Indians in enforcing a sort of communism, Voltaire refers to their methods as "honteuse pédanterie" and terminates with the remark: "Mais les Jésuites étaient encore puissants quand Montesquieu écrivait"⁵²

In his reaction to a passage of the *Contrat social*, which recalls the case of the Paraguay Indians, Voltaire has expressed still clearer convictions on this point. When Rousseau speaks of a " . . . profession de foi purement civile dont il appartient au souverain de fixer les articles, sans lesquels il est impossible d'être bon citoyen ni sujet fidèle,"⁵³ Voltaire's note, written opposite the passage in his own copy of the *Contrat social*, defines concretely the vice inherent in censorship: "Tout dogme est ridicule, funeste. Toutte (*sic*) contrainte sur le dogme est abominable. Ordonner de croire est absurde. Bornez-vous à ordonner de bien vivre."⁵⁴

Thus the author of the *Essai sur les mœurs* rejects censorship as a means of keeping the government consistent with its alleged principle. His dislike of the principles themselves is consistent with his general aversion to metaphysics. In a straight look at the functioning of monarchy Voltaire writes: "une mouche est monarque des animalicules qu'elle dévore, l'araignée est monarque des mouches, . . . ; l'hirondelle domine sur les araignées, les pies-grièches mangent les hirondelles, cela ne finit point. Vous ne disconviez point que les fermiers généraux nous mangent. Le monde est ainsi fait depuis qu'il existe."⁵⁵ Of a similar frankness is his picture of the republic which is not founded on "vertu" but "sur l'orgueil qui réprime, sur le désir de dominer qui ne souffre pas qu'un autre domine,"⁵⁶ an institution in which " . . . l'esprit de propriété, l'am-

⁴⁹ *Commentaire sur l'Esprit des lois*, M xxx, p 427.

⁵⁰ *Epsrit des lois*, Liv v, Ch xix, Lab iii, p 218

⁵¹ *Ibid*, Liv. iv, Ch ii, Lab vi, p 155

⁵² *Commentaire sur l'Esprit des lois*, M xxx, p 419

⁵³ J J Rousseau, *Le Contrat social, Oeuvres complètes de J J Rousseau* (Hachette, 1913), iii, 388

⁵⁴ G R. Havens, *Voltaire's Marginalia on the Pages of Rousseau* (Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 1933), citing marginal note of Voltaire in his copy of the *Contrat social*, Rey, 1762, p 313 in the Voltaire Library at Leningrad

⁵⁵ Lettre à Monsieur Gin, 20 juin 1777, M L, p 236

⁵⁶ *Pensées sur le gouvernement*, M. xxiii, p 531.

bition de chaque particulier ont été un frein à l'ambition et à l'esprit de rapine."⁵⁷ What is a republic? "C'est une société où des convives, d'un appétit égal, mangent à la même table jusqu'à ce qu'il vienne un homme vorace et vigoureux qui prenne tout pour lui et leur laisse les miettes."⁵⁸

Voltaire felt that the principles in the *Esprit des lois* were too theoretical and too remote from the problem of human betterment. He would probably approve of any government founded on human nature and on the moral sense of mankind. When the principles, "crainte," "honneur" and "vertu" are related to particular governmental forms rather than to the nature of the people to be governed, he thinks of them as mere Euclidian generalizations. He abhors indoctrination by censorship because it is inimical to the desire for freedom. In the field of politics as elsewhere the author of the *Commentaire* thinks of man as the measure of all things.

For the interpretation of Montesquieu one finds Voltaire's criticisms helpful. "La philosophie de l'*Esprit des lois*," writes Brunetière, "a quelquefois besoin d'être corrigée par la philosophie de l'*Essai sur les mœurs*."⁵⁹

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⁵⁷ *Dictionnaire philosophique*, M. XIX, p. 387.

⁵⁸ *Pensées sur le gouvernement*, M. XXIII, p. 531.

⁵⁹ Ferdinand Brunetière, *Etudes critiques sur l'histoire de la littérature française*, 4e série, (Paris, 1894), p. 262.

SMOLLETT'S PAMPHLETEERING FOE SHEBBEARE

ON November 28, 1760, when Smollett entered the King's Bench Prison, he must have looked forward with some misgiving to spending a period of three months in the same gaol with his old enemy "Doctor" Shebbeare, who on that day had served two years of his three-year term. These two writers had been at loggerheads ever since Smollett's vitriolic reviews of the "Letters to the People of England" began to appear in the *Critical Review*. And now Smollett had offended again by putting a caricature of Shebbeare in *The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves*, the novel that had been running in the 1760 numbers of the *British Magazine*. Thomas Seccombe's placing of Smollett's imprisonment in the early summer of 1759,¹ which will now have to be given up, encouraged the view that the first part of *Sir Launcelot Greaves* was written in the King's Bench.² Seccombe believed that it was on one of his visits to Smollett in prison that Newbery engaged his services for the *British Magazine*. That Shebbeare, the model of Ferret in *Sir Launcelot Greaves*, was at hand to be observed, seemed to strengthen this assumption and to lead one to suppose that perhaps Smollett had let fall a hint about the nature of the novel he was writing and received from his fellow prisoner a response as crabbed as the remarks with which Ferret greeted Sir Launcelot.³ But

¹ D N B "Smollett"

² Harold Stein, "Smollett's Imprisonment," *LTLS*, May 5, 1927 establishes the exact date of the trial as Nov. 24, 1760. This is supported by Sir William Blackstone, *Reports of Cases determined in the Several Courts of Westminster-Hall from 1746 to 1779* (London, 1828), I, 268, who lists Smollett's trial as the last in the Michaelmas term of 1760. Claude E. Jones, in his recent *Smollett Studies*, University of California Publications in English, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1942), prints Blackstone's report of the case, but (failing to note the date) is led to the false conclusion that Smollett served his term in the interval between his letter from Chelsea, dated Oct. 12, 1759 and Feb. 21, 1760, the date (according to Jones) of William Huggins's letter congratulating him on the "Restoration to his dear Liberty" (see pp. 87-88). But Smollett could not have been in the Southwark gaol at this period, for he wrote from Chelsea on Oct. 30, 1759, Dec. 14, 1759 and Feb. 4, 1760. Moreover, the Huggins letter, which is printed in L. F. Powell's "William Huggins and Tobias Smollett," *MP*, Nov., 1936, xxxiv, is actually dated Feb. 21, 1761. Smollett's answer to it (also printed by Powell) is from Chelsea, is dated Feb. 25, 1761, and has this postscript: "I offer my best Respects to Mrs. Gatehouse, not forgetting our kind Landlord of Wallop, whose Generosity made the Bells of Chelsea ring at my Deliverance." The last two dates reveal the interesting fact that Smollett did not have to serve out his full term, but was released some time before Feb. 28, 1761, when his three months would have been completed.

Jones, *ibid.*, p. 93, refers twice to Shebbeare as Thomas Shebbeare, but in the appendix he appears with his correct given name, John.

³ Ch. II "What! you set up for a modern Don Quixote? The scheme is rather stale and extravagant. What was a humorous romance and well-timed satire in Spain near

these are false assumptions. By putting imaginary objections in the mouth of Ferret, who never spoke well of anything, Smollett merely hoped to forestall criticism of his novel. Only the last installments of the narrative could have been written in prison.⁴

Just how the two splenetic prisoners behaved toward each other is not known, although there was certainly no reconciliation. Both were so busy with literary projects that it is not likely that they wasted any time quarrelling, yet Smollett for one would not have backed down before a threat of any kind. Long before Smollett entered the prison Shebbeare had plotted his revenge. It was an effort that revealed the man. He would beat his foe at his own game by writing a history so wonderful that Smollett would be ashamed to own his *History of England*. The projected *magnum opus* would include the study of man, the origin of laws, the comparison of institutions, and determine which form of government would be "consentaneous" with "the primogenial institutes of nature, and the happiness of human kind." The Doctor solicited subscriptions but the subscribers never saw the work. It was never published. He was sorry to disappoint them, but he had, he said, contracted a debt.⁵ Besides the prison did not afford the right reference books. He had been misled by relying on modern historians "who pretend to cite the authors from which their materials are taken," but he now knew that many of them instead of examining the authorities had simply copied one another's books. Because of this and because of their misrepresentations and omissions, these histories are manifestly defective. In other words, the chief reason that Shebbeare could not write his history was that other men's histories, especially Smollett's, were bad.

The inability to capture even a part of the grandiose dream of the projected history and the accomplishment, modest as it may be, represented by that part of *Sir Launcelot Greaves* written in prison indicate how far apart the two prisoners in the King's Bench were in ability. However on the level of the political journalism of that day the difference between a creative artist and a writer who was merely vehement and vituperative was not always obvious.

* * *

two hundred years ago, will make but a sorry jest, and appear equally insipid and absurd when really acted upon affectation, at this time of day, in a country like England."

⁴ Seccombe, *ibid*, "Scott relates that Smollett while engaged upon this work was at Paxton in Berwickshire on a visit to George Home. When post time drew near he retired for an hour to scribble off the necessary amount of copy." This must refer to the first part of the novel only.

⁵ He tried to vindicate his conduct in *An Answer to the Queries contained in a Letter to Dr. Shebbeare, printed in the Public Ledger, Aug. 10, 1774*, which was reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, Jan. 1775, 31-35, LII. Here he promised "not to die" until his history was completed.

Just how much of the account of Shebbeare's youth is legend there is now no way of knowing, but according to report the Devonshire boy was as mischievous and vindictive as Roderick Random or Peregrine Pickle, and much like them in other particulars.⁶ As a student in the free school at Exeter he was noted for a malicious and ungrateful temper. It is said that by the time he left the school he had lost all his friends, save one, a young barber of "abandoned character" who alone was congenial to him. Yet his wit and memory were considered remarkable. In short, his traits were such as to give evidence of his "future eminence in misanthropy and literature."

Like Roderick Random the young Shebbeare was apprenticed to his Dr. Crab and proceeded to make life tough for the poor surgeon, who made attempts but was never entirely successful in catching his tormentor red-handed or making an accusation stick. The sly apprentice also exercised his wit and malignity on the Exeter magistrates. He displayed libels against the corporation at street corners and on public posts. Many citizens were afraid of him for they had heard that he would not be offended without revenge. The authorities went to some pains to find evidence sufficiently convincing to cause the culprit to be punished but were no more successful than the surgeon. But tricking one's master and lampooning the city fathers is no way to gain support if one is setting up for oneself, as Shebbeare was soon to do. Whether the cause was the shifting of his interest from surgery to chemistry, or his wish to marry immediately, or a pressing need for money, or a combination of all three, is not known, but he decided not to wait for his medical degree.⁷ The wife he took is described as "an amiable girl of genteel family but with no money."⁸

⁶ The most authoritative and complete biographical sketch is the article written by Gerald Le Grys Norgate for the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Some of the material for this sketch came from *An Account of the Life and Writings of Dr. John Shebbeare*, *European Magazine*, Aug., 1788, 83-87, 167-168, xrv, which was written at the time of Shebbeare's death by an unknown author. *Further Particulars Concerning Dr. J. Shebbeare, from a correspondent*, in the same volume of the *European* (pp. 244-245), also anonymous, throws some light on Shebbeare's youth. The author of Allibone's article on Shebbeare states that the first *European Magazine* sketch was published separately and was "practically transferred" to *Chalmer's Biographical Dictionary*. References to sources other than these listed in this footnote will be indicated.

⁷ The fortunes of the family declined with the death of the father, who left his son but a slender sum. For a while the mother carried on the corn-factoring business, but this at length failed and the widow was removed to King's Bench Prison, where she died. Later one of Shebbeare's sisters died in London. Another died at Bideford in great poverty, it is said.

⁸ The marriage must have been in 1733, when Shebbeare was twenty-four, if his own account of the years he gave to Mrs. Burney was correct. In the *Early Diary of Frances Burney*, Feb. 20, 1774, he said of his wife, "I think I have been yoked for one and forty

In the house in Bideford, where he set up as doctor, he must have spent more time with chemicals than with patients. It is said that he etched a remarkable landscape on one window pane and on others scratched sentences that had "every tendency except what was good."⁹ The squandering of what little money he had on chemical experiments to discover "the grand *arcanum* to make gold *ad libidum*" and the lack of patients to bring him more forced him to leave his native town. His departure in 1736 was, it seems, regretted by no one. He never saw Bideford again, but there is a passage in *Lydia* (1755)¹⁰ that shows that while in London he had fits of something like homesickness. At the conclusion of an idyllic description of Probit Castle in its setting of river and sea and gardens he writes, "Oh! native soil! When shall these eyes again behold thee? Will Heaven, propitious to my vows, waft me at length to this delicious land of bliss, there to behold the setting sun of life go down in brightness and tranquillity upon gray hairs and ease?"¹¹

In Bristol he formed a partnership with a chemist. Perhaps alchemist would be more exact since the chief object of the experiments performed seems to have been the discovery of the philosopher's stone. Shebbeare must also have tried to beat up a practice. There evidently were hard times. Nothing is known of them unless Smollett's account of Ferret as a mountebank is founded on fact, as is likely. In *Sir Launcelot Greaves* when Tom Clarke threatens Ferret, he is described as brandishing a gridiron with such uncommon dexterity that people supposed that before he had plunged into politics "he had occasionally figured in the character of that facetious droll who accompanies your itinerant physicians, under the familiar appellation of Merry-Andrew, or Jack-Pudding, and on a wooden stage entertains the populace with a solo on the salt-box, or a sonata on the tongs and gridiron."¹² A few pages further on Smollett has Ferret use some of the terms of alchemy in his harangue about the Elixir of Long Life he is selling. Whether by such labors or by practicing medicine, or by both, Shebbeare managed to live in Bristol for the next twelve years. He even found time to write a poem,¹³ and publish an analysis of the Bristol waters.¹⁴ Moreover he became interested in politics to the ex-

years, and I have wished my wife under ground any time since." The marriage was an unhappy one, although there was a son and two daughters. Shebbeare posed as a woman hater being in this respect like Dr. Akenside.

⁹ Cf. the doggerel verses in "abuse of the Scotch nation" that Jerry Melford pointed out to Lismahago and Matthew Bramble in *Humphrey Clinker*. ¹⁰ Ch. ci.

¹¹ The subject of this description was probably not Bideford, but the old family seat in South Devon where a hundred and a village bear the name of Shebbeare. The description is somewhat like Smollett's picture of the House of Cameron on Loch Lomond in *Humphrey Clinker*. ¹² Ch. iv.

¹³ "Epitaph in Memory of Thomas Coster, member for Bristol," printed in the *European Magazine*, Aug., 1788. ¹⁴ 1740. Second ed. 1760.

tent of striking up friendships with some of the Bolingbroke Tories, or the allied "Patriots," who resided in Bristol ¹⁵

He must have left Bristol in 1750 or shortly thereafter. In 1752 he went to Paris where he claimed to have obtained a medical degree and to have been elected member of the Academy of Sciences. How long he was in France is not known, but it could not have been more than several months. According to Norgate, on his return he settled in London and began his career as a political writer. However, if the account he gives of himself and his wife in the *Memoirs of a Lady of Quality* (1751) is based on fact, and it seems that it is, the Shebbeares must have been in London a year or two before 1751.

In the *Memoirs* a Dr. S—— is one of two physicians summoned to attend Lady Vane. One despaired of her life and took his leave, but "Dr S——, who was the other, persisted in his attendance, and, in all human appearance, saved my life, a circumstance by which he acquired a great share of reputation," wrote the author ¹⁶ Later when stricken in Lille she sent for a physician "who seemed to have been a disciple of Sangrado" for he bled her white without helping her any.¹⁷ The same Dr. S—— was shocked to see her so ill on her return to London. He thought her illness due to her calamities, and prescribed undisturbed rest. Soon she recovered, as she said, "by the great skill and tenderness of my doctor, who now finding me strong enough to encounter fresh troubles, endeavored to persuade me, that it would be my wisest step to return to my husband, whom at that time he had often occasion to see." She rejected his advice, but later he again urged her to return to Lord Vane. "The Doctor," she writes, "was my friend, and a man of sense, for whom I have the most perfect esteem, though he and I have often differed in point of opinion." Not even Lady Vane, it seems, could always agree with Shebbeare.

The *Memoirs* continues with an account of how Dr. S—— and his wife, in accord with a promise, visited Lady Vane, who had finally agreed to try to live with her husband at a country house near Tunbridge. In the night Lord Vane entered his lady's room with a naked sword under his arm. The doctor's wife was so startled that she ran half-clothed into Lady Vane's chamber. The lord explained that his intention was to kill bats with the sword, but the doctor's wife was not convinced, and considering that she and her husband were the principal cause of Lady

¹⁵ In 1755 he dedicated *Lydia* to Mr. William Borrow, merchant of Bristol. It is said that the *Monitor*, a paper for which Shebbeare wrote, was originally planned by Richard Beckford, late member for Bristol. The *Monitor* was an Anti-Whig paper. See the *Critical Review*, Nov., 1756, 343-348, II.

¹⁶ Just after this, Dr. S—— was called in the night to attend to one of Lady Vane's lovers, Lord B——, whom he found "almost suffocated."

¹⁷ Probably a doctor would be more likely to know Sangrado than Lady Vane.

Vane's returning to her husband, she sat up with that unhappy female the rest of the night Dr S—— expostulated with Vane and brought Lady Vane back to London himself

In the Bond-Street house Lady Vane avers that she was allowed to see no one except an "old male friend" and the "doctor with his lady, from whose conversation also I was at last excluded."¹⁸ Evidently the doctor's lady could no longer assist her husband in his furthering of Vane's plans, and said so "The doctor exhorted me to bear my fate with patience, and Mrs S—— was silent on the subject " But soon the Doctor himself could bear no more of Vane's jealous tormenting, and had such a violent quarrel with him that his eyes were finally opened to Vane's hypocrisy

This curious account of the Doctor's relations with the Vanes does not have the ring of pure invention From it and other likely suppositions it is safe to conclude that Shebbeare was in reality Lady Vane's physician ¹⁹ Consequently the Shebbeares must have left Bristol sooner than was previously supposed. Moreover it seems likely that without Lady Vane's payment to him for his editorial assistance with the *Memoirs*, his trip to Paris which came just after *Peregrine Pickle* was published, would have been impossible

When Smollett was advertising that the only genuine memoirs of Lady Vane were forthcoming in a work of his, he must have known that Shebbeare was helping her with them. Indeed, it is likely that the publication of the *Memoirs* had been arranged through Shebbeare. Melville states that Smollett knew him at this time, but he does not cite his authority.²⁰ Shebbeare seems to have known so much about the assembly of Grubs that frequented Monmouth House, Chelsea, that one is tempted to be-

¹⁸ This sentence was added in the revised edition of *Peregrine Pickle* (1758), which was the work of Lady Vane and Smollett Shebbeare was in the toils of the law at that time

¹⁹ Howard S Buck, *A Study in Smollett, chiefly Peregrine Pickle* (1925), p. 47, writes, "The *Memoirs* themselves make it almost certain that Dr Shebbeare was in fact Lady Vane's physician " Buck suggests that Lady Vane may be the patron mentioned in the preface of the *Regicide* (1749) and the lady of fashion in Melopyn's story in *Roderick Random* She had interceded for Mr Hunter of Burnsyde, a Scotch refugee Smollett saw in France in 1750 But it is not likely that Smollett fell in love with her, or, like *Peregrine* in the novel, thought of falling in love with her. Yet *Peregrine's* reason for not doing so, the fate of her former lovers, "who seemed to have been wound up to a degree of enthusiasm, that looked more like the effect of enchantment than the inspiration of human attractions an ecstasy of passion he durst not venture to undergo," might well have been what held Smollett back

²⁰ Lewis Melville [Lewis S. Benjamin], *The Life and Letters of T. Smollett (1721-1771)*, (1926), p. 60. "If, however, as it is said, Lady Vane in the composition of the *Memoirs* was assisted by Dr John Shebbeare, that very pedestrian political writer, then, as Smollett knew Shebbeare, perhaps the mystery [about the authorship of the *Memoirs*] is explained

lieve that he himself had visited there either as guest or as consultant. But one looks in vain for his figure among the Grubs described in *Humphrey Clinker*. The abusiveness of Dick Ivy, which might get him "a post or a pillory," suggests Shebbeare, but the similarity is superficial. The same can be said of "Lord" Potatoe, the slippery pamphleteer. But the Grubs' lack of gratitude for Smollett's help and favors, and their resenting the judgments of the *Critical Review*, as well as the "anonymous libels, letters, and lampoons" with which they sought to avenge themselves, are not only redolent of the dour Grub-street spirit but suggest the Shebbeare of the *Occasional Critic*. In this passage Dick Ivy is made to say that although Smollett "pretended to have a knack at hitting off characters, he blundered strangely in the distribution of his favours." Doubtless, as Smollett wrote *Humphrey Clinker*, he thought of Shebbeare as one of the persons he had befriended or assisted and who repaid him with ingratitude or enmity. "If you pick up a diverting original by accident," Matthew Bramble warns, "it may be dangerous to amuse yourself with his oddities: he is generally a tartar at bottom, a sharper, a spy, or a lunatic."

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Most of the mystery surrounding the authorship of the *Memoirs* has been cleared up in spite of the astonishing unreliability of some of Lady Vane's biographers and the reticence of Smollett on the subject.²¹ For example, the obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* got Lady Vane mixed up with a Lady Fane. A subsequent article²² corrects this mistake but makes others. The author of an anonymous pamphlet, *A Parallel between the Characters of Lady Frail and the Lady of Quality in "Peregrine Pickle"* (1751), assuming that Smollett is the author of the *Memoirs* and Dr. John Hill the author of *Lady Frail*, attacks the former and praises the latter.²³ One should be careful, he writes, not to offend either of these

²¹ Howard S. Buck, *op. cit.*, shows that the evidence supports the view that Lady Vane wrote the *Memoirs*, paid Shebbeare for editorial advice and paid Smollett for inserting them in *Peregrine Pickle*. Lewis Melville and E. A. Baker both follow Buck.

²² I.e., *Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1788, 379. LVIII Pt. I. This refers to the article in the April number and asserts that Lady Vane actually wrote the *Memoirs* herself and "superintended the press" while they were printing. The writer evidently confuses Lady Vane with Teresa Constantia Phillips, who printed her *Apology* (1748) herself. His assertion that "in beauty of composition" the *Memoirs* are "superior to the rest of the work" is merely an echo of an advertisement which had appeared in the *Royal Magazine and Quarterly Bee*, 1751, 466, II, "The Adventures of *Peregrine Pickle*. In which are included *Memoirs of a Lady of Quality* (supposed to be Lady Vane) which are most elegantly wrote, and, greatly outshine the rest of the work." It is not unlikely that Shebbeare had a hand in this advertisement.

²³ Ralph Griffiths, who published this, must have known that Hill wrote the *Adventures of Lady Frail* and that the pamphlet helped Hill in his quarrel with Smollett. Griffiths

"formidable gentlemen" Of course, Smollett could never have written such a shambling and repetitious narrative

John Hill knew that this was so In the *Inspector*²⁴ attacking Smallhead (i.e. Smollett) Hill represents a trio of fashionable ladies "in the autumn of their beauty" appearing before the tribunal of Fame, Learning, Genius and the Arts. They ask the tribunal its judgment concerning their *Apologies for their Lives* "Genius told them that they had better repent than brag of lives that it was a shame to have lived" The tribunal then ordered their books burned "What astonished me was," writes Hill, "that this mortification did not produce one blush from either of the fair Authors. As they passed by me, my Companion told me, that the first of these Apologists was a Lady of Quality, the second an English, and the third an Irish Prostitute of note"²⁵

In another *Inspector*²⁶ he writes that after the appearance of the *Adventures of Lady Frail*, which was attributed to him, he had the "honour to receive about fifty second-hand messages, by the mouth of a very eminent and learned physician of [his] acquaintance, from a celebrated Lady, who supposed herself treated a little too freely in that performance" These could be none other than Shebbeare and Lady Vane Hill, considering the messages as "little less than challenges" seemed to fear a personal attack but wrote that he received from his fair enemy nothing but "looks that would have pierced a heart, a soul of ice, or adamant"

The *Memoirs* are obviously her work. The detailed description of costume, the psychology of vanity, jealousy, love, fidelity and infidelity are

published a collection of Hill's "Inspectors" Isaac Disraeli, *Calamities and Quarrels of Authors*, 192, II, remarks that the Monthly Reviewer "writes with the tenderness of a brother of whatever relates to our hero" (i.e., Hill)

The author of *A Parallel*, etc mentions a "Lady who in a manner lays claim to the whole merit of, at least, one of these two noble performances" and thinks that the world may conclude from the similarity of the two stories "that it can be only Modesty that prevents her declaring she has an equal Right to both" The reference, of course, is to Lady Vane Her cause was championed by *An Apology for the Conduct of a Lady of Quality, lately traduced under the name of Lady Frail*, an anonymous pamphlet which the *Monthly Review*, July, 1751, 157, v, calls "a low, trifling, catch-penny performance"

²⁴ No 14 in the collection of "Inspectors" published in 1751.

²⁵ The reference seems to be to Lady Vane, who wrote the *Memoirs* (1751), Teresia Constantia Phillips, who wrote and printed *An Apology for the Conduct of Mrs Teresia Constantia Phillips* (1748) and Laetitia Pilkington, who wrote her *Memoirs* (1748) Hill's disdain was hypocritical for he wrote his *Letters from the Inspector to a Lady, with the genuine Answers* (1752) in imitation The letters in the novel are supposed to be genuine and to picture a real love affair between Hill himself and a Mrs D—— A lady who was supposed to be this Mrs D—— advertised in the papers that the letters were not hers

²⁶ No 24 in the collection printed in 1753

hers, as are the story and the language. In going over her manuscript, which he did so carelessly that Smollett in the revision of 1758 had to transpose and amplify freely to make the story hang together, Shebbeare slipped in a little effusion of his own and occasionally added a caricatural stroke to the description of a character.²⁷ As he did not show Lady Vane how to build the story up to a climax, the narrative is flat and repetitious. But he could never build a plot himself, as his novels were soon to demonstrate

Her chief motive for writing was to vindicate her conduct. Yet she did not feel that her guilt was very deep. When Melville²⁸ asks whether she wished to publish her "shame" in this "scandalous manner" he simply is not seeing the affair as she saw it, or many of her sentimental friends saw it. Smollett has her say that people of delicacy and understanding would see that she was by nature a faithful wife and excuse "the tenderness which youth and sensibility . . . could not possibly resist."²⁹ So confident was she that the *Memoirs* would explain her conduct in a favorable way that she actually handed the book to Lord Vane himself to read.³⁰ Consequently, Howard S. Buck's assertion that Smollett was not such a mean character as to repay the confidence of the Vanes (supposing him to be the Dr. S—— of the *Memoirs*) by publishing the *Memoirs* is irrelevant. "On the other hand," he writes, "it is perfectly easy to believe just that of Dr. Shebbeare . . . a scurrilous and unprincipled hack-writer, who was pilloried six years later."³¹ But Shebbeare betrayed no confidence. No one took advantage of Lady Vane. She had a cause and a case of *cacoethes scribendi*. Her intention was to write an apology like "Con" Phillips's or Laetitia Pilkington's, and she did

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The scandalous success of the *Memoirs* must have encouraged Shebbeare to go on with writing. He decided to attack Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act, which had just been enacted in 1753. His interest in works such as *Jonathan Wild* and *Roderick Random* induced him to choose the novel instead of the pamphlet as his vehicle. To curry favor he dedicated his novel, *The Marriage Act* (1754), to the Duke of Bedford, an enemy of

²⁷ E.g., the apostrophe to Envy beginning, "O baleful Envy" is in his vein, as is also the odd sketch of Lord Vane on his first appearance. Lady Vane's sense of humor must have been very masculine or certain scenes are Shebbeare's. e.g. the scene in which Lady Vane locks her husband in a room at Bath. When he screams in fright she remarks that she cannot imagine the cause of his panic unless "he thought I designed to ravish him, an insult, than which nothing was further from my intention." ²⁸ Lewis Melville, *op. cit.*

²⁹ *Peregrine Pickle*, Lord——'s reply to Lady Vane's question about her motives for publishing the *Memoirs*. ³⁰ See the *Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1788, 461, LVIII.

³¹ H. S. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

the bill To gain attention he made some extremely free reflections on the Legislature Since to publish books reflecting on the proceedings of the House was a violation of its rights and prerogatives, a warrant for taking Shebbeare into custody was issued and executed a few days after the novel appeared However, he was soon released but had to appear before the court twice a term³² for a certain period The government thought best to let the matter quietly drop Doubtless upon investigation it was found that Shebbeare was not important either on his own account or on account of his political backers The reviewers hinted that he was at this time looking for a patron and was not overly scrupulous about the exact shade of politics he would defend if given the right encouragement

He understood perfectly and was quite willing to take advantage of the reluctance of the authorities to prosecute under the censorship laws In *Humphrey Clinker* Smollett, with a disdainful glance at Shebbeare, explains why these laws were largely disused and when applied were often ineffective³³ Bramble asks Mr. Barton why a certain minister attacked in the press did not vindicate himself "And pray, sir," said Mr. Barton, "what steps would you have him take? Suppose he should prosecute the publisher, who screens the anonymous accuser, and bring him to the pillory for a libel, this is so far from being counted a punishment, *interrorem*, that it will probably make his fortune. The multitude immediately take him into their protection, as a martyr to the cause of defamation, which they have always espoused—they pay his fine, they contribute to the increase of his stock All this time the prosecutor is inveighed against as a tyrant and oppressor."³⁴

Consequently Shebbeare's first clash with the authorities did not dash

³² There is a reference in *Lydia* to this and to one of the main contentions of *The Marriage Act* that is, that the Act encourages immorality Shebbeare describes the notorious Mother Douglas as defending prostitution in these words. "Who speaks against it, but a parson or two, and a novel writer, who is so simple a fellow, as to wish there were no w—s in the world A fine fellow to judge of laws, indeed! But our wise —y [Ministry] knew the good consequence of having a great number of girls upon the town, and therefore that fellow who wrote the *Marriage Act*, is punished for writing against it, by shewing his face twice a term amongst the greatest scoundrels of the city, who are brought there also for other notorious crimes A fit punishment for his daring to speak against the propagation of fine girls, and so wise an adm—tion!" [administration].

³³ Matthew Bramble's letter of June 2 from London

³⁴ Charles Johnstone in *Crysal, or, the Adventures of a Guinea* (1760–65), III, Ch XLVI, had both Shebbeare and these conditions in mind when he has Churchill's publisher say, "Fools may be frightened at the thoughts of a cart's-tail or a pillory, I know better things When they come in a popular cause, nothing sets a man's name up to such advantage, and that is the first step toward making a fortune, as for the danger, it is a mere bug-bear, while the mob is on my side And, therefore I will go on without fear, if I am not bought off. A pension or a pillory is the word" "Former occasions," in III, ch. LII, p. 204, refers to Shebbeare's trial before Pratt

his spirits in the least. On the contrary, the attention he received seemed to exhilarate him. He made up his mind to exploit his nuisance value. Early in the spring of 1755 he published *Letters on the English Nation*, a farrago of attacks on the Whig ministry, personal lampoons and abusive assaults on the Duke of Newcastle.³⁵ In a month or two his *Practice of Physic*,³⁶ which he must have been preparing for a long time, was published. This is a curious and characteristic book. To establish his own importance the Doctor uses most of the first volume to try to destroy the prestige of the most reputable medical men of his day. Then he assigns himself a position of equality to the great men of the past by remarking that had Harvey and Newton been alive to see the effects of electricity, they would have shared with him the honors of his discoveries. Perhaps he should have confined himself to the singular, since his one great discovery, that the presence of fire in the human system and its excess or deficiency explain the causes of disease, renders other discoveries unnecessary.

The reviewer for the *Monthly*³⁷ felt that this display of arrogance and scientific inaccuracy called for a rebuke. He must have been a medical man since he felt himself qualified to pronounce certain of the treatments advised by Shebbeare "more pernicious than salutary." Shebbeare, he declares, is "more exuberant than correct" and has "less discovery than disquisition." "He is not to be classed among dull, heavy scrawlers: hav-

³⁵ *Letters on the English Nation* by Batista Angeloni, a Jesuit who resided many years in London. Translated from the original Italian, by the author of the *Marriage Act, a Novel* 2v (1755). The reviewer in the *Monthly Review*, Monthly Catalogue for April and May, 1755, 387-388, xii, calls this book a piratical or counterfeit imitation of Voltaire's and LeBlanc's letters concerning the English nation, and declares that it is no translation. He believes that the heart of the author was as instrumental as his head in choosing a Jesuit for his title and adds that the author's "rancorous, insolent dogmatical turn" disgusts the most candid reader.

³⁶ *The Practice of Physic: Founded on principles in physiology and pathology, hitherto unapplied in physical enquiries*. By John Shebbeare, M.D. reg. acad. scient. Paris. soc. In two volumes. 1755.

³⁷ *Monthly Review*, May, 1755, 401-402, xii. This article is not listed in Benjamin C. Nangle's *The Monthly Review First Series, 1749-89, Indexes of Contributors and Articles* (Oxford, 1934). There are only three Shebbeare items in this book. They are *The Occasional Critic*, Oct. 1757, 367-374, xvii, by Owen Ruffhead; *Answer to the Queries*, Jan. 1775, 31-35, lii, by Andrew Kippis; and *Letter to the People of England*, March, 1760, 235-239, xxii, by Owen Ruffhead. The last pamphlet is so different from the other "Letters to the People of England" that attribution to Shebbeare is questionable. Nowhere else is it listed as his. If it is his he must have written it in the King's Bench. Yet it is not likely that he would have had the pamphlet printed, as it was, by Ralph Griffiths, who was at that time his enemy. However the chief idea set forth in the work, that England should put an immediate end to the war and obtain an advantageous peace by making payments to the Court of Vienna, the Elector of Saxony, and perhaps the French, resembles in some respects Shebbeare's opinion in the matter.

ing more fancy than judgment, and more virulence and vanity than most writers we have met with on any subject Not content to instruct meek [?] pupils as a professor, he pronounces like an oracle, with confidence of rectifying the whole faculty And these sudden documents are the more extraordinary from our author, as the time and place of his institution and graduation in physic are not generally known in London, and, we hear, have been questioned at Paris ³⁸

Shebbeare was touched on a very tender spot He could overlook being called an egoist and a quack, but he could never forgive a person who informed all London that he was an empiric without a degree For the third time Ralph Griffiths had printed a sharp criticism of one of his writings Although his second novel was almost finished, he made room in it for an attack on Griffiths, the *Monthly Review* and the supposed author of the criticism of *The Practice of Physic* ³⁹

This author is represented as a refugee French doctor in Soho, who, for a guinea, takes a note from the light-headed Vainlove to Lydia ⁴⁰ The doctor is a small contemptible creature who thinks a big wig essential to the dignity of his calling "For which reason his head is covered with as much hair, as would, were it straw, thatch a cottage, and through this integument he peeps, like King Charles in the sigh of the Royal Oak, a small face surrounded with a wood of leaves" Although his understanding is awry, he sets up for a critic of philosophy and literature He is "a sample of Dutch ignorance, grafted on French self-sufficiency, being of the education of the first, and race of the last. These ill-grounded pretensions, together with the meanness of his heart, have rendered him the contempt and ridicule of all who know him" Vainlove found him at his quarters in Thr——ft Street as he was "translating the original criticisms of his *J-r-l Br-t-n-q-e* from the trite observations of the *Monthly Review*." The doctor himself helps the great "cannon" Mr. —— and the great Mr —— and his lady write the *Review* ⁴¹

³⁸ The reviewer adds that there is much unquoted borrowing in the book, that the author parades his learning in medicine and his taste in painting and statuary and "in brief, like Bayes, with his thunder and lightning, is for terrifying the town into their applause of himself, and himself only" Indeed the book "contains the least self-knowledge, the least candor, or good-manners, of any treatise that has lately fallen under our consideration"

³⁹ The dedication of *Lydia; or, Filial Piety* is dated May 30, 1755 It was reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, June, 1755, 478, xii In the May number Griffiths gave brief notices of two pamphlets written in defense of Richard Blacow, who is attacked in *Lydia* as one of the Monthly Reviewers ⁴⁰ *Lydia, or, Filial Piety*, Ch. lxxxix

⁴¹ The cardinal principle of the *Review*, according to the French doctor, is that writers who send copies of their books to the editor are good, and those who do not are fools The doctor himself, however, writes the reviews for his journal without reading any books

Shebbeare writes, "It seems that he,⁴² B——w,⁴³ and others form the alliance which produces the *Monthly Review* ⁴⁴ This accounts for the singular criticisms which are to be found in it, a dignified informer, a French refugee, and a renegado to the Church of England, an excellent triumvirate of criticks indeed. By these means, whatever attacks the infamy of the first, and supports our Constitution, is sure to meet defamation, the latter prefers translations from the French to our own language, and the last, all that is immoral, impious, schismatical, and against the established Church, to truth and righteousness This discovery partly accounts for all the absurd misrepresentations of that Review, but, indeed, the world now judges diametrically opposite to their decisions, and never fails purchasing the books they dispraise This is my rule, and the approbation of the world confirms this truth "

Shebbeare brought his lampoon to a close by making fun of Dr Maty's scientific interests and honors He declared that the Royal Society chose the Doctor because he was the most singular thing in the world and in

⁴² The French doctor is Dr Matthew Maty (1718-76), physician, author of the *Journal Britannique*, editor of Chesterfield's *Miscellaneous Works* (1777), librarian of the British Museum, and foreign secretary of the Royal Society He frequented a club of physicians, was a friend of Sloane, and helped Gibbon with his *Essay on the Study of Literature* Although his articles in the *Journal* were just and fair, some of them aroused the anger of Dr Johnson When Maty was proposed as a suitable assistant in a projected literary journal, Johnson exclaimed, "The little black dog! I'd throw him in the Thames first " In his review of the *Rambler* (*Journal Britannique*, April, 1751, 363) Maty wrote

On ne change point le talent
Qu'on reçut du Ciel en partage
Jamais C-bb-r ne sera sage,
Ni J-hns-n ne sera plaisant

He added that perhaps a little more vivacity and "d'enjouement" would help the *Rambler* Although he praised the *Dictionary* (*Journal Britannique*, July-August, 1755, 218 ff) he thought that if Johnson had used the old dedication he would have saved himself the trouble of writing a new one, which "on est tenté de regarder comme destinée à faire perdre de vue quelques unes des obligations que M Johnson avoit contractées, et le Mécène qu'il s'étoit choisi "

⁴³ B——w is Richard Blacow, M A F R S (1723?-60) He aroused Shebbeare's enmity when in 1747 he helped bring to trial some rioting Jacobite gownsmen of Oxford When in 1755 he was made Canon of Windsor, his enemies charged that his preferment was due to his activities as an informer In the *Monthly Review*, May, 1755, 395-396, xii, there are brief notices of two pamphlets, one by Blacow himself, defending his conduct The only other writing he did for Griffiths, a review of a translation from the Hebrew, appeared in the June number of this year The reviewer of a pamphlet attacking Blacow, *An Answer to Mr B——w's Apology*, etc By a Student of Oxford (*Monthly Review*, Aug 1755, 150-151, xiii), defends him

⁴⁴ The "others" are Ralph Griffiths and his wife Shebbeare hated Griffiths because of the reviews his books received in the *Monthly*, and because he was a Whig and a Dissenter

his will had given his body "to be smoaked and dried,⁴⁵ and to be put in the grand collection of Sir Hans Sloane, to be placed on the pedestal"⁴⁶ The Doctor for the pains he took in carrying Vanlove's note to Lydia is tossed in a blanket and told to go clean himself with the leaves of his journal.⁴⁷

Whether Shebbeare in attributing the offensive review to Dr Maty had anything more solid than hearsay to go on is not known. The only mention of Dr Maty in the *Monthly* at this time appears in the "Monthly Catalogue" for April and May, 1775⁴⁸ where he is referred to as M Maty, the ingenious journalist who printed an *Eloge du Docteur Richard Mead* in the July-August number of the *Journal Britannique*.⁴⁹ That Griffiths knew him does not, of course, prove that he reviewed books for the *Monthly Review*, but it makes it possible, or even probable in the case of medical works like the *Practice of Physic*.

That Dr. Maty did not like Shebbeare or his writing is shown by the three short reviews printed in the May-June *Journal Britannique*.⁵⁰ It seemed to Dr Maty that Batista Angeloni's *Letters* were insipid, indecent, false, tasteless and an affront to the Jesuits *Lydia*, which "vient de sortir du même fonds malheureusement trop fertile en mauvais

⁴⁵ After Maty's death in 1776, an account of his illness and the appearance of his dead body was written by Drs Hunter and Henry Watson and published in the *Philosophical Transactions*

⁴⁶ With this inscription.

Semiviro immortal
Here continues to stand
In his original perfection
J. M——y,
Doctor in physick
Doctor in philosophy
Fellow of the Royal Society of London,
And of Berlin,
That being so marvellously favoured
By Providence
Selected
From all the race of the creation,
To be the distinguished link
In the great chain
Of Nature
That does so amazingly join
the Monkey
and the
Man

⁴⁷ There is an engraving of the doctor's being tossed on page 200 of the *Novelist's Magazine*, Vol. xxxii, 1786

⁴⁸ P 389, xii

⁴⁹ Dr Maty wrote and published a memoir of the life of Dr Mead in 1755

⁵⁰ 1755; 211.

ouvrages," is equally pernicious. That is all he writes about *Lydia* here, but a few pages further on in a footnote comment on Hutcheson's opinion that one ought to avoid calumny as the lowest of crimes, he seems to have had Shebbeare and the caricature of himself in *Lydia* in mind when he deplores the unhappy necessity the English are under of tolerating venomous insects who slander without fear of punishment.⁵¹

The review of the *Practice of Physic*, although much shorter than the one in the *Monthly*, is so similar in attitude and content that it could have been written by the same person. "Des suppositions hasardées, des décisions magistrales, des critiques malignes caractérisent cet traité." If the art of medicine is simply the regulation of fire "cet art seroit bien efficace, si par l'extraction de la matière ignée il pouvoit guérir notre auteur de la maladie d'écrire." Since when does merely being a correspondent authorize a person to call himself a member of the Royal Academy at Paris? Dr. Maty is animated by a sharp resentment. However he does not mention here anything about Shebbeare's medical degree. Perhaps he meant this silence to be significant.⁵²

The attack on Dr. Maty is only one of several like it in *Lydia*. The pamphleteer often got the better of the novelist. It is surprising to see how often Shebbeare brought the uneven progression of the story to a jolting stop of indefinite duration to insert a sarcastic essay against the Whigs, make a topical allusion, or lampoon the King and the Duke of Newcastle. These digressions are often much livelier than the story itself. For instance, the satirical essay on the Honor of Old England, which Shebbeare grafts on to the story of the cowardly Captain Bounce, must have been very entertaining to readers who saw in Bounce a surprising anticipation of Admiral Byng.⁵³ Bounce would not attack the French man-of-war that failed to pay him the usual courtesies and excused himself by saying that he had "private orders from the Duke of ——"⁵⁴ not to offend the French on any account. To do so would embarrass the ministry as "the brave Colonel Wash——ton"⁵⁵ did when he attacked the French in Virginia.

⁵¹ The laws of England offer less hope of satisfaction for defamatory libels than for any other crime, writes Dr. Maty. Consequently there is nothing more common. Under pretext of assuring the liberty of the press, one must tolerate these venomous stinging insects who slander without fear of punishment. Their precaution of omitting some letters in the names or designations of those whose characters they wound without shame, frees them from the necessity of proving their calumnies or making good the damage they have done. Let these writers whose writings and style smell of baseness and sterile malignity learn that those they attack, sustained by the feeling of their innocence, abandon them to the execration of the public and their own consciences.

⁵² The *Practice of Physic* was signed as by John Shebbeare, M.D. Reg. Acad. Scient. Paris, Soc.

⁵³ Byng's Minorca misadventure came about a year after *Lydia*.

⁵⁴ This must be the Duke of Newcastle. The essay is in Ch. XX.

⁵⁵ George Washington.

The blood of the King, now more or less thinly spread through the English nobility, is not the true fountain-head of the Honor of Old England, since it does not show itself in the intellect or heart, but is "ever rambling about the body, sometimes in the heels dancing a minuet, or kicking a race-horse at Newmarket, sometimes in the fingers, packing cards, palming dice, and other honourable employments." If Bounce would seek exemplars of courage in England he must turn to the English courtesans. Miss Fanny ——⁵⁶ was so little awed by the French that she refused to sell her favors to them one penny cheaper than the price demanded by "her illustrious predecessor, Con Phillips, [who] had been before in these circumstances."⁵⁷ Fanny would challenge the Grand Monarch himself! The men of England should learn from women like these to defy the French and sustain the honor of old England.

Shebbeare makes fun of the ministerial ignorance of geography, a subject touched on again by Smollett in the famous satire of Newcastle in *Humphrey Clinker*. Dick the schoolmaster had to "shew some of the M——y [ministry] where America lies on the map." The French played the devil there, obliging the Ministry to know where it is.⁵⁸ Lydia will teach her children geography so that if they become members of Parliament they will not be as ignorant as the present members who call Pennsylvania an island and Newfoundland a continent.

The author's hatred of Presbyterians, Jews, Quakers and the Scotch is shown in many a sketch in *Lydia*.⁵⁹ Sandy Macpherson, the surgeon on Captain Bounce's boat, is a satire on Scotch doctors. Shebbeare drew Sandy with Roderick Random and perhaps Smollett himself, in mind. An example of Scotch perseverance, pretention and ambition,⁶⁰ Sandy deludes many into thinking him a great surgeon, but when a leg is to be amputated his mate Jimmy English has to do it. A doctor who has not studied at Edinburgh, "the furst school for medicine 'i the woorld," knows nothing at all, according to Sandy. But he is not very honest. He supports the vile Captain Bounce at the latter's trial, and would never have passed the examination at Surgeon's Hall and been appointed to his present

⁵⁶ Perhaps this is Fanny Hill of Cleland's *Fanny Hill, or the Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, which Griffiths published in 1750.

⁵⁷ Teresa Constantia Phillips, whose *Apology* inspired Lady Vane.

⁵⁸ Dick's friend, the London rider, wants to attack the French, "but the cowardly M——y suffer everything to be done that the French rascals please. That damned Han-over ruins us all; there lies the mischief."

⁵⁹ The soul and body of the bad Quaker Amnabad is described as "a monstrous union—like that of Scotland with this Kingdom, something poor and scurvy with something fat and saucy." See p. 120, ed. 1786.

⁶⁰ *Lydia*, p. 70, ed. 1786, condemns the "singular" methods used by the Scotch to advance themselves.

position without political influence and helpful hints from certain quarters

The Duke of Newcastle was the favorite butt for Shebbeare's shafts ⁶¹ In many ways the meeting of the noble savage Cannassatego with the Duke is the best scene in *Lydia*. When the vessel bearing the Indian lands in Wales, Popkins the exciseman takes him for the son of the Pretender, and Lydia, like Sophia Western, is thought to be Jenny Cameron Animated by "a true Whig principle, which believes that no man will serve his country, without the power of plundering it, or being purchased," Popkins plans to seize Cannassatego and ask the government for a reward ⁶² The Indian eludes Popkins, who, nevertheless proceeds to London and reveals his "secret" to the Whig politicians ⁶³ Encountering Cannassatego at the Minister's house, he denounces him as the Pretender. Nothing could equal the Minister's consternation; it was six hours before the physical manifestations of the most violent terror began to diminish. Only when the Indian's true identity was revealed did the Minister recover his composure What a disillusionment the Minister was to the brave Indian appears in a later conversation He thought him "undignified by nature, whiffling, inconstant, whose words, hurried out like water from an inverted bottle, included nothing to be understood, ever beginning, never closing one sentence, rambling from man to man, from one half-thought to another, the farce and mockery of national prudence " How could such a man, thought the brave Chief, direct the business of a people? ⁶⁴

The attack on George II is just as sarcastic ⁶⁵ Shebbeare pretends to ask the public whether he should proceed with an actor's story or continue with Popkin's tale A certain Flatterwood sends a letter requesting the author to continue with the latter, since "the preservation of our most gracious s——n [sovereign] should be preferred to all other considerations, particularly when there is no danger " The letter now becomes a virulent attack on the King's partialty for Hanover and his

⁶¹ See Macaulay's *Walpole's Letters to Sir Horace Mann* for famous satires of the Duke of Newcastle The satire in *Lydia* is not mentioned here, however

⁶² The idea for this situation came from *Ferdinand, Count Fathom* In this novel a smuggler, hoping for a reward, denounces Fathom as the Pretender's eldest son

⁶³ They charge Popkins to give out that the Pretender's son had been lately in England As a reward Popkins was made supervisor in Wales He could not be made Canon of Windsor because "that place is always given to an informer " Shebbeare's enemy Richard Blacow was made Canon of Windsor in 1755

⁶⁴ Compare this with the Newcastle in *Humphrey Clinker* and the *Adventures of an Atom*. Benjamin Bissell, *The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century*, New Haven, 1925, quotes this passage but does not identify the minister.

⁶⁵ *Lydia*, Ch xxxiv

failure to encourage learning and the arts in England. How England thrives, Flatterwood ironically concludes, from the paternal fondness of its King, and how other kingdoms decline from their ruler's inattention.⁶⁶

This letter, which comes almost as near lese majesty as Shebbeare's notorious *Sixth Letter*, was not even noticed by the authorities. Perhaps they believed that a novel would not be read by as many persons as a pamphlet. Shebbeare, no doubt, thought that he had protected himself by putting his ideas in a Jacobite's letter.

* * *

"What a strange fancy it was," wrote Fanny Burney in concluding her account of how "the growler" "absolutely ruined" her evening at Catherine Reid's, "for such a man as this to write novels!"⁶⁷ Her opinion is upheld by every critic of the novel, for all have been very severe with Shebbeare. Yet in his day his novels were widely read. Fanny Burney herself read them, and the editor of the *Early Diary* read at least one of them.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ The Germans and the German subsidies are bitterly attacked here and on p. 107, ed. 1786. Flatterwood writes that the King's journey to Hanover shows "true paternal impartiality," as he risks his life to "secure and fortify the feeble, whilst he leaves the strong, at the eve of the war, to the care of Providence, and the Duke of ——" [Newcastle].

"With what joyful eyes must he be beheld by his subjects," the ironic Flatterwood observes, "[he] who is ever propagating arts and sciences, rewarding, encouraging, and preferring men of learning and genius, from his own private munificence whilst the King of Prussia, France, and Spain, are depressing merit, wherever it dares to shew its head." In another passage Flimsy's mother is advised not to educate her son: "Besides, madam," the adviser said, "the m——r has made it a constant rule, never to promote men of letters. There is an aversion at present in the ad——n to all men of great sense and learning." In the *Marriage Act*, I, 84, Shebbeare remarks that it has been out of fashion to reward ingenuity at court: "ever since Mr. Hogarth received that ample Reward of Five Shillings, for a Print of his 'March to Finchley-Common,' after having Exhibited the Picture, which Sum may be supposed to have quite exhausted the Fund for that Purpose."

⁶⁷ *Early Diary of Frances Burney*, I, 283 ff. Fanny Burney closed her entry for Feb. 20, 1774 with these words: "... and so, Adieu, sweet Doctor Shebbeare," and added as a conscientious afterthought, "I must read the *Marriage Act* and *Lydia*, nevertheless." That she did read them seems to be indicated by the caricatural touch in the portraits of some of her more abnoxious lordlings. Probit's story of Dr. De Carte's daughter in *Lydia* tells of a nurse who sends her own daughter in place of the foster child to the parquits who have employed her. This, of course, is the situation in *Evelina* and may have been the source. Rev. Arthur Villars is somewhat like the good parson who reared Eliza Barter in the *Marriage Act*.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 289, Note 2. Mrs. Ellis remembered Shebbeare's name because "when a girl, she was sharply rebuked for reading one of them [i.e., one of the 34 novels which Mrs. Ellis mistakenly attributes to Shebbeare in this note. He wrote only two novels] of which she can recall neither the name, or the plot, but this conversation brings back its dulness." The novel was certainly *Lydia*, for Mrs. Ellis read the book in "a dear and delightful collection, never to be forgotten." This was, of course, the *Novelist's Magazine*.

At Miss Reid's Shebbeare is described as again attacking the booksellers.⁶⁹ "I never knew a bookseller who was not a scoundrel, I was cheated plaguily about *Lydia*, and the rascal who sold the *Marriage Act* promised to share the profits, yet though I know that there have been six editions, he always calls it the first."⁷⁰

In the *Marriage Act* the thesis is allowed to run away with the narrative. As the Monthly Reviewer remarked, the author "has here put together a number of improbable tales of young people rendered unhappy in their amours, or matrimonial engagements, and the blame of all is contrived to be thrown upon the late act for the better preventing of clandestine marriages which, according to our author, is only calculated to produce all these terrible consequences he has enumerated on his title-page"⁷¹ Today it seems surprising that anyone would oppose an attempt to do away with the scandalous Fleet marriages. However Oliver Goldsmith,⁷² siding with Shebbeare, gives similar reasons for his conviction. The Act is an encroachment on the prerogatives of the clergy and an attempt to regulate love and marriage, which defy all laws but those of poetry and nature. Moreover it will halt the cheering spectacle of money passing from the rich to the poor. It will encourage immorality and celibacy, and check the growth of the population.

Like the author of *Clarissa*, Shebbeare sympathizes with the young lovers rather than with parents and guardians, but he does not imitate Richardson's brand of sentimentality, as has been asserted.⁷³ His senti-

⁶⁹ Nineteen years before this he had attacked them in *Lydia* (Ch. v) for employing writers to collect scraps from old works and to tack these together "like rags gathered by old women" to form a "new manufacture."

⁷⁰ This is not exactly accurate. The first edition of the *Marriage Act*, in two volumes, was printed for J. Hodges and B. Collins in 1754. In a reissue (1755) the title was changed to *Matrimony, a Novel*. A third edition was printed for T. Lowndes in 1766. *Lydia, or, Filial Piety*, 1755, in four volumes. The second edition, in two volumes, was of 1769, and it was reprinted in 1786 in volume XXII of the *Novelist's Magazine*. The DNB lists the last item as another edition.

⁷¹ *Monthly Review*, Nov. 1754, 395, XI. The subtitle runs: "In which the ruin of female honour, the contempt of the clergy, the destruction of private and public liberty, with other fatal consequences, are considered." Shebbeare dedicated the novel to the Duke of Bedford, but did not sign the dedication. The reviewer calls Shebbeare "a writer of some parts, but more virulence, stimulated by party prejudice against the present admiration, as we are led to conclude from many passages of this work."

⁷² See *Citizen of the World*, letters 72 and 114. Smollett took the opposite side. In the review of the *Continuation* of his *History* (*Critical Review*, Oct. 1761, 283-295, XII) the writer (not Smollett) remarks that the opponents of the Act "foresaw a great number of evils in the train of this bill, which have not yet been realized. A part of the *History* dealing with the Marriage Act is printed here as an excerpt."

⁷³ See Ernest A. Baker, *History of the English Novel*, v, 47. "The style is an amalgam of Fielding and Smollett, the sentiment, as the ill-connected stories proceed, becomes more and more an affectation of Richardson's sensibility."

mentality is that of the second-rate sentimental novel of his day, with its ecstatic extravagant language, lacrimose leave-takings and swoonings at sudden meetings. His heroine Lydia will suckle her child "My dear babe shall reap the advantage which nature designed." Her husband builds a garden containing an anchorite's cell, a temple of fortitude, a statue of his wife, and a little cottage to be used as a retreat. The hero of the *Marriage Act* has an English garden with a temple of honor, a temple of conjugal felicity, an altar of Venus and a grotto. These were fairly common in sentimental novels of that day, but there is something unusual about Shebbeare's sentimental characters. Sir William Worthy has peculiar mental powers. He has "pre-sensations" or premonitions that can be relied upon. Yarico can feel from afar the coming of her Onondagan lover. The author explains that "in this land of yet unaltered nature, the hearts of lovers, sentimentally touched, are conscious of these attracting powers at greater distances than European natives conceive it possible." When Sir William Worthy drew near his sweetheart's home in Cornwall, he felt himself drawn thither "by the increase of an emanating power."

Sensibility as shown by grottoes and temples and extraordinary mental powers is strictly reserved for heroes and heroines. Moreover, sentiment is always subordinated in a Shebbeare novel. The dominant tone is satirical after the manner of *Jonathan Wild* or *Roderick Random*. Shebbeare considered Fielding his master⁷⁴ and tried to follow him. However, the working out of a novel-length plot with three or four leading characters was beyond the imitator's powers. In his hands the main story always broke up into several stories, and these were strung together artlessly.

The main story in the *Marriage Act* concerns the love affairs of two sisters—the crude and selfish Molly Barter and the angelic beauty Eliza. Molly, heeding the advice of a worldly tutor and her parvenu parents,⁷⁵ marries the fashionable and degenerate son of Earl Wormeaton and is unhappy. Finally she runs away to Paris with her valet-de-chambre. After he abandons her, she concludes that her life is a failure and enters a convent.⁷⁶ Eliza, however, does not listen to her parents, but heeding

⁷⁴ In the *Marriage Act* he refers to Fielding as "an author whom we adore." This "adoration" was due as much to Fielding's political beliefs as to his literary achievements.

⁷⁵ Mrs. Barter is the first of Shebbeare's monstrous viragoes which he modeled after Laetitia Snap. She is repulsive, immoral and lusty. Her husband was a Presbyterian who "had learnt the true Cant to a miracle." By unscrupulous methods they disinherit a tobaccoist's heir and accumulate a fortune.

⁷⁶ Molly's husband knows that he is not the father of her child. He suspects the valet, who argues himself out of an awkward situation by the use of *Lucina Sine Concubitu*, "written by the author of *Pompey the Little*," wherein "it is proved that a lady may be breeding without the Knowledge of Man." The pamphlet is by John Hill and not Francis Coventry, as Shebbeare thought.

her good tutor, flees from a marriage with Sir Roger Ramble, who has squandered his money and ruined his constitution on a tour of the Continent. She loves her father's clerk, William Worthy, who later inherits a fortune, marries her, and makes her happy.

As if these contrasting fortunes did not make the moral sufficiently clear, other stories on the same theme are added. Some of them do not fit the text. For example, the story of Fanny, who loved too intensely to wait until her lover became of age, seems to indicate that stricter chaperonage and sympathetic parents are needed more than a repeal of the Marriage Act. In another tale the reader is asked to sympathize with a poor curate who performs a clandestine marriage.⁷⁷ Although the novel is ramshackle in structure and biased in point of view, it contains some lively character sketches.

That *Lydia, or, Filial Piety* is much better known than the *Marriage Act* is largely due to its inclusion in the widely read *Novelist's Magazine*. It is more pretentious than its predecessor, and, although showing some improvement, has the same faults, especially the disconnected structure. It too is built upon contrasts. A noble savage from the American forests is to provide a contrast to the pampered, degenerate and materialistic English. A monstrous old maid, Rachael Stiffump,⁷⁸ is a foil to the virtuous Lydia Fairchild. The main story is Lydia's although the reader at first might suppose that it is to be Cannassatego's. Lydia sails from New York to return to her parents, with Rachael as companion. On the boat she becomes the friend of the noble Indian Cannassatego, who wishes to find out whether the native English are more virtuous than the perfidious colonists. Bounce, the captain of the vessel, is a coward and a lecher, Sandy Macpherson, the ship's surgeon, is a pretentious hypocrite. The chief officers, however, are honorable. One is the hero, Lieutenant Pro-

⁷⁷ While the curate is in prison, a cowardly captain sets on Ensign Firebrace to seduce the curate's wife, a situation much like Mrs. Heartfree's in *Jonathan Wild*. A valorous Welsh squire challenges the captain, and to show him that he is of rank to fight flourishes a pedigree in the coward's face. This Welshman, Squire Gam, is much like Morgan of *Roderick Random*. Gam speaks dialect and swears "Cotdamochée."

⁷⁸ Rachael is a grotesque and rude caricature. She, like Molly Barter in the *Marriage Act*, is after Fielding's Laetitia Snap. She is described as being distorted both physically and morally: "Her waist was round and round, six times as substantial as Peg Woffingtons, and much shorter." Her breasts were like kettle drums, "her teeth stood like the old palisades of a court in shape and colour, with here and there one wanting, where the dogs creep through." Presbyterianism "like horse dung in a hot-bed" had brought forth lust in her. At the age of forty she is got with child by a Presbyterian teacher, Maul-text, and accompanies Lydia to London where she hopes to be relieved of her "dropsy." She needed no Crab to persuade her, like the maid in *Roderick Random*, "that she was not with child, but only afflicted with a disorder" (*Roderick Random*, Ch. v). Rachael dotes "on the divine hymns of the Rev. Mr. Watts," but secretly reads Rochester's verses.

bit Lieutenant MacValor, an Irishman, and the Welsh chaplain, David Pugh, a compound of Morgan in *Roderick Random* and Abraham Adams, are brave and honest

Bounce bribes Rachael to permit him to enter Lydia's cabin, but the vigilant Cannassatego foils his evil attempt on Lydia's virtue.⁷⁹ In London Lydia finds that her father has died and that her mother is almost destitute. The last of the family's savings had been entrusted to Jabez Sly, a Quaker of "great external purity," and had vanished. So Lydia takes service with Arabella, a rich orphan. Arabella's mercenary guardian Muckworm, plans to marry her to the degenerate Viscount Flimsy. But Arabella will not have a "noseless lord." She loves Sweetwood, a man of modest fortune, and although tricked into a marriage with Flimsy, is soon freed by his death and can have her lover. Meanwhile Lydia's fortunes decline. By a lucky chance a good captain rescues her in the nick of time from Mother Douglas's brothel.⁸⁰ In a fit of despondency she contemplates suicide when Lieutenant Probit, now a rich earl, meets her in a park, and brings her troubles to an end. Miss Betty Wriggle and the old Miss Oldcastle try to win Probit away from her but their attempts are futile. Lydia marries him, and when a child is born Probit "faints with ecstasy," and the good valet Frank recovers from a fever when he kisses the babe.⁸¹

Cannassatego's story, although secondary to this typical account of a good poor girl's trials in London, is much better known because it is an example of romantic primitivism. But the story is not integrated. Because it is not, *Lydia* is a poorly constructed novel. It is as if the author got his Indian to England and then did not know what to do with him. With the account of his disillusionment at Milford Haven, where instead of God-like Britons he sees grimy coal diggers, and the matter of his being taken for the Pretender, his story is dropped. We do not hear from him

⁷⁹ At this point Shebbeare inserted an essay on chastity. Lydia's virtue he writes, will reclaim the honor of her sex. Chastity has not reached down on the feminine side to modern times, but some men are still virtuous since men are "nearer the original simplicity of human virtue than women." As an instance of male chastity Shebbeare cites Lord George Anson's honorable treatment of some female natives he had taken on board his ship. Anson's expedition had returned in 1753. Although Shebbeare does not name Anson here, the reference is clear. See *Lydia*, p. 66, ed. 1786.

⁸⁰ This is Shebbeare's second allusion to Mother Douglas in *Lydia*. There is another in the *Marriage Act*. Smollett in *Ferdinand, Count Falkom* (Ch. xxiii) describes a French madame in a brothel squabble thus: "and I question whether the celebrated Mother Douglas herself could have made such a figure in an extemporaneous altercation." It is said that the convulsed figure in the left-hand quarter of Hogarth's print "Enthusiasm Delineated" (1761) is Mother Douglas. She also appears at the window of the King's Arms in the "March to Finchley."

⁸¹ Frank is much like Sergeant Jenkinson in *Amelia*.

again until the novel is nearing its conclusion.⁸² Here Lydia and Probit, the only English people "uncorrupted amidst polluted millions," hear what a disappointment the Prime Minister was, and how Cannassatego's chastity was tried by Lady Susan Overstay. The noble Chief pronounces on the degeneracy of the English, reads a touching letter from his Yariko, and makes a farewell speech that wrings tears from the eyes of all. Some pages further on we learn that he has returned safely to Yariko and is on the point of ordering his chiefs to "boil the war-kettle" to avenge the mistreatment he suffered in England.

Besides these two main stories there are many others. Some are mere anecdotes while others tell what happens to various minor characters. The account of Popkin's trip to London is like parts of *Peregrine Pickle* and *Joseph Andrews*. There are high words and strange fellow travelers in a stage coach, curious types at an ordinary, funny tricks played, and at the inns people get in the wrong beds. Popkins meets a young actor who is to be trained by Rich, who declares that Garrick "has no fire, no freedom of action," and that Mrs. Prichard "cannot speak a word of dialogue." Occasionally a telling caricature or a comic scene makes up for the general mediocrity of these tales.⁸³

⁸² Benjamin Bissell, *op cit*, writes that after "many adventures" the Chief meets Lydia and Probit again. However, it is precisely the inadequacy of the two or three situations (adventures is not the word) in which the Indian plays a part that makes *Lydia* disappointing to those whose expectations were raised by the first chapters of the novel. Yet Bissell correctly remarks that "in no other novel of the century does the Indian figure so conspicuously or so heroically as in *Lydia*, elsewhere he appears only as a subordinate character, introduced to add a touch of local color or picturesque adventure." Bissell thinks that Cannassatego is more fully and consistently developed than Oroonoko.

George Saintsbury, *The English Novel* (1924), p. 140, writes "Shebbeare, who was a journalist, had the journalistic faculty of 'letting everything go in'—of taking as much as he could from Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, etc., up to date (1755), and throwing back to Aphra for an interesting Indian, Cannassatego." E. A. Baker, *op cit*, p. 47 also seems to think that the Indian is related to Oroonoko. He refers to Cannassatego as being "a nearer relation of Mrs. Behn's Oroonoko than of the noble savage of Rousseau and his tribe." However, there is little or no evidence that Shebbeare had ever heard of Aphra Behn, Montesquieu and his imitators, versions of the Yariko and Inkle story, and his own imagination are more likely sources.

E. A. Baker, *op cit*, p. 108, calls Cannassatego a "preposterous creation." H. N. Fairchild, *The Noble Savage, A Study in Romantic Naturalism* (1928), p. 93, thinks both the Indian and his Yariko "idealized out of all relation to humanity." Indeed, it is hard to believe, as Shebbeare would have us, that nature should so purify these lovers as to enable them to sleep together "uncontaminated." Yariko's sister-in-law, although subject to the purifying effects of the same environment, does not believe it possible, and says so. "But alas!" cries Shebbeare, "so unlike is the frame of woman through the whole creation, the forests of America contain females as different from each other, as the Ephesian matron from Penelope."

⁸³ E. A. Baker, *op cit*, p. 47, criticizes the loose structure of *Lydia* but admits that some

No one seems to have pointed out that Smollett had *Lydia* in mind when he wrote Lismahago's account of his adventures in America.⁸⁴ Lismahago's Indian name, Occacanastaogarora, is simply Cannassatego made still more preposterous. Smollett's opinion of romantic primitivism is revealed when he describes Liddy as fainting at Lismahago's account of Murphy's tortures, and Tabitha as spitting and crying, "Jesus, what cruel barbarians." Tabitha's questioning of Lismahago is reminiscent of Lady Susan Overstay's questioning of Cannassatego. The Scot had to give a detailed account of his bride's appearance on her wedding day. He is made to say that the Indians were "too virtuous and sensible to encourage the introduction of any fashion which might help to render them corrupt or effeminate."⁸⁵ When it appeared that the bride was without shoes, stockings or linen, used human bones and a fresh Mohawk scalp as ornaments, and was anointed from head to foot with bear's grease, Tabitha, overlooking the repulsive barbarism of the gewgaws, expressed the wish that "the squaw had been better provided with linen." To Tabitha's mind the presence or absence of linen made the difference between decency and the incomprehensibly indecent. This realistic picture of Lismahago's savage bride is Smollett's answer to Shebbeare's idealized Yariko, whose "shape was so exquisitely finished, like the production of Poussine's pencil in the fullest powers of painting."

* * *

The two novels must not have taken long to write, but as ambition and financial necessity made Shebbeare begrudge even this short time, he turned to the political pamphlet. Before the year was out he had written two, and perhaps three, of his notorious *Letters to the People of England*. After his attack on the *Monthly Review*,⁸⁶ he could expect no quarter from that publication. The review of the first *Letter*⁸⁷ was short and trench-

of the author's "caricatures are galvanized into life by dint of sheer acrimony," that sometimes he shows real feeling, and that his airs of righteous indignation are not all affected even though "his manner did tend to alienate sympathy." Saintsbury, *op cit*, p. 140, declares that "the irony is factitious and forced, the sentiment unappealing, its coarseness quite destitute of Rabelaisian geniality." I believe Shebbeare was once pilloried for his politics. If it had been for *Lydia*, I should not have protested."

⁸⁴ *Humphrey Clinker*, Jerry Melford's letter from Morpeth, July 13.

⁸⁵ This passage is, of course, ironic. The Indians had just been described as shockingly cruel and cannibalistic. Lady Susan Overstay belongs to the man-hungry tribe of Lady Booby and Mrs. Grizzle.

⁸⁶ *Lydia* was reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, June, 1755, 478, xii. The critic wrote, "To his old scurrility and malignant extravagance, the author has here joined the most ridiculous trifling, and extreme absurdity; he seems to have left his plan unfinished, with a view, as we suppose, of indulging his public with a sequel." The novel was in four volumes, perhaps the reviewer had received only the first one or two.

⁸⁷ *Monthly Review*, Sept., 1755, 283, xiii.

antly ironic: the review of the second⁸⁸ was just one line in length "The author raves against the ministry in his old strain." And with the third *Letter* the publication of the *Critical Review* brought another enemy, for no matter how unfriendly Whig and Dissenter was to Tory and High Church, both were agreed on subjecting Shebbeare to the critical bastinado. In its very first number the *Critical Review* in an article that in all probability was written by Smollett⁸⁹ attacked the third *Letter*. The author of this pamphlet reminds the critic of an old sybil he used to see in the park. She was in the habit of raising her spirits with a cordial and then cursing the higher powers in public. At first, passers-by of a certain political party threw her half-pence. Later, when all neglected her, she grew angry and became outrageous. Then she was arrested and thrown in Bridewell, where she was scourged and put at hard labor until she had sweated out all her regard for the Pope and the Pretender. Had she been a more dignified character, perhaps her ears might have been nailed to the pillory.⁹⁰

In their March number the Monthly Reviewers expressed the opinion that in this *Letter* the "clamorous" author had gone beyond the bounds of common sense and decency, and hinted that his motives were selfish. "Some say his scheme is to bully the ministry into a pension, or, as the phrase goes, to get himself bought off."⁹¹ But censorious remarks such as these did not deter Shebbeare. He was beginning to be noticed. Other pamphleteers began to imitate or attack him. One Grub-streeter, made

⁸⁸ *Monthly Review*, Nov., 1755, 400, xiii.

⁸⁹ *Critical Review*, Jan.-Feb., 1756, 88-89, 1.

⁹⁰ The opinions in this review are similar to those expressed concerning Ferret in *Sir Launcelot Greaves*. The style seems to be Smollett's. Although positive evidence is lacking, it is extremely probable that Smollett wrote this and the subsequent reviews of Shebbeare's pamphlets appearing in the *Critical Review* before 1760. This was the period of Smollett's greatest activity as a contributor to the *Critical*. All these articles are so consistently alike in style, ideas and attitude that it seems reasonable to assume that they were by the same author. One of his favorite devices is analogy. Shebbeare is likened to an old woman, a strutting player, a plague, etc. In this review he is compared to a madman in Soho who cries "fire" when the only fire is in his brain. The following passage seems to hint that the author knew that Shebbeare was a contributor to the *Monitor*: "Perhaps there is some truth in what 'this monitor' advances." The truths in his *Letters* are hackneyed truths, continues the critic, and he, and such as he, have made them so. Moreover, Shebbeare is not as patriotic or as sincere as he pretends to be, but is "a poor player who struts and frets his hour upon the stage and then is heard no more." His calculations about the reduction of taxes are wrong, he betrays his weakheadedness in attempting to prove too much. Probably his purpose is to attract the attention of the ministry, but even here he may be disappointed.

⁹¹ *Monthly Review*, March, 1756, 260, xiv. The critic, having heard a false rumor, writes that Shebbeare has succeeded in being noticed since for a second time he has been taken into custody. Differences will at last be decided in court, he adds, although some think Shebbeare's ravings indicate the necessity for a different sort of treatment.

indignant by what he called the "flagitious" insults heaped upon the foot grenadiers, and even the King himself, in the *Third Letter*, urged that these soldiers take the punishment of the offending writer into their own hands.⁹² Another called Shebbeare the tool of a wrong-headed party—a man who admitted that he wrote for a post or the pillory.⁹³ A spurious *Fourth* and *Sixth Letter* made their appearance.⁹⁴

The genuine *Fourth Letter* was greeted with the usual disdain. The *Monthly Reviewers* declare that they will not pay much attention to the latest product of this "incendiary" but will say that men who scribble for bread and have not been considered worth the "meanest purchase" ought not to be able to make the English people their dupes.⁹⁵ The *Critical Reviewer* declares that since he is no advocate of the Ministry he would welcome an opportunity to detect and expose ministerial errors, and to this end would try to separate truth from fiction and patriotism from sedition in this pamphlet.⁹⁶ But there is small trace of truth or patriotism since the author is full of ignorance and sophistry. He is contradictory, inconsistent, malicious, bombastic and misuses the King's English.⁹⁷ The American Quakers did not start the French and Indian Wars for their private interest, as charged.⁹⁸ Although Lord L— -- n

⁹² *An Answer to a Pamphlet called a 'Third Letter to the People of England'* This was reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, March, 1756, 26, xiv. The critic cites the most insulting passage: "Such confusion and dread dwell on the dastard faces of all, who, sold to the H——n [Hanoverian] interest, stand branded in the forehead with the White Horse, the ignominious mark of slavery!" The reference is to the figure of a white horse embroidered on the caps of his Majesty's grenadiers. In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1756, 195, xxvi, there is a review of a pamphlet attacking this same *Third Letter*. The critic believes Shebbeare's invective less harmful than his opponent's interpreting a passage concerning a white horse in *Revelations* as a prophecy favorable to the King. The critic felt that to identify George II with God was excessive.

⁹³ Shebbeare answered this writer in *An Answer to a Pamphlet called 'The Conduct of the Ministry impartially Examined,'* etc., which was reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, Dec., 1756, 673, xv. Here the critic writes, "As it has been the rule with the Reviewers not to bestow any particular attention to the productions of this Intemperate writer, so nothing particular will be said about this." But the critic hopes that Shebbeare will cease exposing the nakedness of his country with the "air of a satyr."

⁹⁴ The spurious *Fourth Letter* was reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, March, 1756, 261, xiv, and the spurious *Sixth Letter* in the same journal of Nov., 1756, 532, xv.

⁹⁵ *Monthly Review*, Sept., 1756, 292–293, xv.

⁹⁶ *Critical Review*, Aug., 1756, 35–44, ii.

⁹⁷ Smollett (for it is certainly he) took exception to expressions like "seen-service," "possolite" and "parallelarity," which indicate, he says, that the author is an empiric in language as well as in politics. He declares that Shebbeare has plagiarized a story in *Joseph Andrews* and given it in mangled form as the story of the thief in this pamphlet.

⁹⁸ Smollett believed that the turbulence and avarice of some New England adventurers forced the nation into this war. According to him, these men had expected the Government to furnish them with large sums of money and to leave the management of the war to them.

[Loudon⁹⁹] had been magnanimous and overlooked "the sarcastic insinuations which this reptile has thrown against him," friends of that nobleman might not be so forgiving. The attack on Parliament is such an outrageous insult that "nothing but sovereign contempt or compassion can save him [Shebbeare] from severe castigation." A "desperate incendiary" and "profound enemy" of his government, he is a man "without principles, talent, or common discretion, who has neither friends, property, or interest in the country where he assumes the character of patriot and reformer, and who could not live in this or any other country, but by fomenting discord, and sowing seeds of civil dissention." He is like a "species of vermin, peculiar to Lapland, which . . . rise in the summer from the filthy bogs and marshes, fly, stink, sting, and perish in the course of a few hours."

The Critical Reviewers were not to be thrown off the scent. They saw immediately that a pamphlet¹⁰⁰ purporting to be an attack on the *Fourth Letter* was nothing of the kind as it was written by Shebbeare himself, who was following the example of Daniel DeFoe, "a political writer of great virulence, and some genius, without the least tincture of principle," who "sometimes found his account by answering his own productions." They were all the more "induced to believe this was the case, as Dr Sh—— [Shebbeare] has not scrupled to declare publicly, that though he writes well against the M——y, [Ministry] he could write much better in their defense or vindication, thereby hinting, that he was *in utrumque paratus*." Moreover he does not seriously attempt to refute "his own libel," but "serves it up again in a Hachis seasoned with a double propor-

⁹⁹ John Campbell, fourth Earl of Loudon, was made commander-in-chief of the British forces in America on March 20, 1756. His dilatory tactics suggested to an American the comparison with the figure of King George upon the signposts, "always on horseback but never advancing." As he was Scotch Shebbeare was eager to attack him and Smollett eager to defend him. To a correspondent who wrote saying that the statement in the *Fourth Letter* referring to Lord Loudon could be taken in two ways, the answer was made in the *Critical Review*, Sept., 1756, 192, 11, that because of the "peculiar virulence of the author, his ridiculous enmity to the natives of North Britain, and the palpable design of the work, which was to kindle the animosity of the nation against all those who are employed under the G——t, the Critical Reviewers thought that they had a right, to understand it, as a malicious sarcasm against that nobleman."

On page 121 of this number of the *Critical* a pamphlet supporting the ministry receives praise, the reviewer declaring that it would do more service to the country than "the loud bawlings of the *Monitor*, or the raucous invectives of a *Letter to the People of England*."

¹⁰⁰ *A Full and Particular Answer to all the Calumnies, Misrepresentations, and Falsehoods, contained in a Pamphlet, called 'A Fourth Letter to the People of England'*. This was reviewed in the *Critical Review*, Oct., 1756, 279, 11. Smollett adds to the above-mentioned remarks the admonition to remember the fate of the ass of the fable that affected the air, manners and familiarity of the favorite spaniel. "Every author is not *animal risibile*, There is some difference between laughing and braying."

tion of gall " "We wish," adds the critic, no doubt Smollett, "the G——t [Government] would take some notice of him, otherwise the poor creature will break his heart "

Smollett treated Shebbeare's next effort, *The Conduct of the Ministry impartially Examined*, a pamphlet not given any special attention by the Monthly Reviewers,¹⁰¹ to a sound drubbing

This performance puts us in mind of a fisherwoman, who having been detected in vending stinking mackerel, takes post at a corner of some alley, and in despair reviles her detector with all the tropes of obloquy she had learned in the university of Billingsgate, 'till at last some parish officer introduces her to the next justice, who commits her to Bridewell, where she sweats out her resentment in hard labor. Indeed we have never seen such a series of scurrility and false reasoning as is here presented to the reader. The author of the *Conduct of the Ministry examined* is a liar, a miscreant, a fool, a coward, a drunkard, and a thief.

If he really believes himself to be the savior of the nation, why deprive him of

such an agreeable reverie in that case he would have reason to exclaim with the Argive lunatic mentioned by Horace, who being blooded, blistered, and purged out of such delusion cried

My friends . . . pox take you for your care!
That from a patriot of distinguished vein,
Have bled and purg'd me to a Grub again

For some reason the production of the *Letters* slowed down. Perhaps the adverse reviews in the *Monthly* and the *Critical* had something to do with it. At any rate the *Fifth Letter* did not appear until April.¹⁰² In September the accumulated resentment against the *Critical Review* burst forth in the *Occasional Critic*.

The purpose of *The Occasional Critic, or the decrees of the Scotch Tribunal in the Critical Review rejudged*, etc.,¹⁰³ as Smollett indicated in his

¹⁰¹ See the *Monthly Review*, Dec., 1756, 673, xv. Smollett's review is in the *Critical Review*, Dec., 1756, 474-475, II. As instances of the author's sophistry and arrogance Smollett cites the bringing in of French memorials to refute an English ambassador, and the calling of Washington a confessed assassin and the King of Prussia a superb thief. "We expect to see this author with an urn instead of a pen in his hand, running a *muck* like a frantic Malayan."

¹⁰² Reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, May, 1757, 280-281, xvi. The critic points out that the purpose of the pamphlet, to produce proofs that the constitution is being subverted, is promptly forgotten. He laughs at Shebbeare's pose as the sole defender of the English people.

¹⁰³ Arnold Whitridge, *Tobias Smollett: A Study of his Miscellaneous Works*, Columbia University diss. (c. 1925), p. 29, gives a good description of this pamphlet. However, he mentions only one of the *Critical Review* articles (the review of the *Third Letter*) that caused Shebbeare to write the *Occasional Critic*. Edward S. Noyes, *The Letters of Tobias Smollett* (1926) p. 150, refers to this pamphlet as *The Occasional Critic, or the Decrees of the Scotch*

criticism of the pamphlet, was "to demonstrate that the authors of the *Critical Review* are Scotch scrubs and rascals, barbers, taylors, apothecaries, and surgeon's mates, who understand neither Greek, Latin, Spanish, French, nor English, nor any other language, art, or science, whatsoever, and that Scotland never produced any one man of genius, learning, or integrity." "Alas! poor Scotland!" Smollett ironically exclaims "What misfortune, that ever thou should'st have incurred the resentment of such a formidable hero, as the invincible and immaculate Sh——e!"¹⁰⁴ It is likely that Shebbeare had found out who had written the offending reviews in the *Critical*. Anyhow he held Smollett responsible and centered the attack on him. He scoffed at Smollett's Spanish, his *Regicide*, his *History*, his journeyman authors, his critical ability, his literary style, his grammar and his reasoning.

This raucous carping was one more voice added to the chorus of authors nettled by the *Critical Review*. No one except the few given unconditional praise, was without a complaint. The novel publishers complained that the critics did not read through the novels that they reviewed.¹⁰⁵ Writers who burned to visit personal vengeance upon their reviewers complained at the anonymity of the articles. The passage in *Humphrey Clinker* describing the retaliation for unfavorable reviews that descended on Smollett's head in the form of "anonymous libels, letters, and lampoons" is well-known. Smollett had the Occasional Critic in mind when he wrote Dr. John Moore¹⁰⁶ that the *Critical Review* had been "insulted and abused as a Scotch Tribunal." "Truth is," he wrote, "there is no Author so wrteched but he will meet with countenance in England, if he attacks our nation in any shape. You cannot conceive the Jealousy that prevails against us."

His reply to the *Occasional Critic* was vitriolic and coarse.¹⁰⁷ Smollett

Tribunal Reviewed. The last word in the subtitle should be "rejudged." Noyes's dating of Smollett's answer to the *Occasional Critic* in the *Critical* as September, 1757 should be October, 1757. ¹⁰⁴ *Critical Review*, Oct., 1757, 332-338, iv.

¹⁰⁵ In an article in the *Critical Review*, Jan., 1758, 28 ff., v, on the *History of Miss Sally Sable* the critic reminds the Messrs Noble that he had taken pains to analyze "this flimsy and miserable performance" because of their complaints, but they must not expect him to go to such trouble in the future.

¹⁰⁶ Noyes, *Letters of Tobias Smollett*, Letter 43, Jan. 2, 1758.

¹⁰⁷ *Critical Review*, Oct., 1757, 332-338, iv. This article is described by Arnold Whitridge, *op cit*. As an example of the typical coarseness of journalistic polemics of that day the following is cited. As Shebbeare's lungs rival the herald of Grubstreet and Tyburn, writes Smollett in this article, he would have made more money if he had printed his pamphlets on half-penny slips of brown paper and hawked them on the streets in person. Smollett printed in the *Critical Review*, Oct., 1757, 376, iv, a letter signed Philaethes, a person who was delighted by the discovery of such a comfortable use for the Occasional Critic's lucubrations. He preferred them "to the neck of a goose so warmly recommended by Pantagruel." There is a similar joke in Shebbeare's lampoon of Dr. Maty in *Lydia*.

recognizes that the whole attack had been levelled at him but forgives it as the natural effect of resentment at being detected and chastised as a "quack in politics, an enemy to his King and country, and a desperate incendiary, who by misrepresenting facts, and aspersing characters, endeavoured to raise a ferment in the nation, at a time when a concurrence of unfortunate incidents had produced a spirit of discontent among the people." Coming to the defense of Dr Blackwell, who had been attacked in the *Occasional Critic*, Smollett demonstrates that the classical knowledge of "this modern Zolus" is nothing but the hollow pretense of a "poor piddler"¹⁰⁸ The "impotent attacks of this furious wretch, upon the personal character of one of our associates, whom he has lately traduced in many instances"¹⁰⁹ and the scurilous and false assaults against "several gentlemen who never provoked him in the least" are due to the natural antipathy of malice to merit Shebbeare is like a carter who "in his drunkenness bespattered the first men of the kingdom," and who will besmirch all who touch him Let him alone and "he will soon fall into the hands of the constable and beadle of the parish."

Shebbeare replied to this blast with an *Appendix to the Occasional Critic*, which was even more personal than the *Occasional Critic* itself¹¹⁰ As a severe review of the latter had appeared in the *Monthly Review* before the *Appendix* was written, Shebbeare assails both the *Critical* and the *Monthly* The most offensive part of the pamphlet was a mock advertisement ridiculing Smollett¹¹¹ The *Critical* took no notice of the *Appendix* except to print a letter by a "gentleman of learning and character" in the University of Cambridge who was assailed in that pamphlet as the author of that part of Smollett's review of the *Occasional Critic* that dealt with Shebbeare's criticism of the *Polibius*.¹¹² The

¹⁰⁸ Shebbeare criticized his translation of a fragment of *Polibius*

¹⁰⁹ No doubt a reference to Dr William Smellie In the *Occasional Critic* Shebbeare pretended to believe that Smellie's *Treatise on Midwifery*, which Smollett saw through the press, was really Smollett's work

¹¹⁰ It must have been published in November, 1757

¹¹¹ Both H S Buck, *op. cit.*, and Arnold Whitridge, *op. cit.*, print this It runs as follows

"To be lett and entered upon immediately
An empty author

He is equally qualified to write tragedy, comedy, farces, history, novels, voyages, treatises on midwifery, in physic, and in all kinds of polite letters . . . He will undertake to praise all works, be they ever so bad . . . in the *Critical Review*, for very small gratuities . . . Besides himself he has under him several journeymen authors, so that all who chuse to have a subject fitted up . . . may be commodiously furnished at his house . . . N B. He chuses to work for those who have never employed him before and you may enquire after his character of most booksellers, except R——n and A M——r " It seems that Smollett and Millar were not friendly, but there is nothing to show that there was ill-feeling between Smollett and Rivington at this time.

¹¹² *Critical Review*, Dec, 1757; 552, iv The *Appendix* asserts an impudent falsehood,

*Monthly Review*¹¹³ observed that the *Appendix* made it obvious that the chastisement "bestowed on this ill-natured writer" in the last *Review* was ineffectual. The Monthly Reviewers should have known that although what they wrote gave him pain it did him no good. Though thou should'st bray a Fool in a mortar, yet will not his foolishness depart from him.

The chastisement just referred to was administered in Owen Ruffhead's review of the *Occasional Critic*¹¹⁴. Ruffhead decided to censure Shebbeare but without vindicating Smollett or the *Critical*. Indeed, he professed to see resemblances between the *Occasional Critic* and Smollett. It was with his eye upon Griffith's Scotch associate William Rose, and not upon Smollett, that he rebukes Shebbeare for treating the Scotch with "brutish insolence." This writer, Ruffhead asserts, stoops to personalities and carries on a "tedious and miserable Hypercriticism . . . in a most illiberal and abusive manner . . . he has even ransack'd the Jakes for comparisons and illustrations."¹¹⁵ Just because the Empress-Queen had the *Fourth Letter* translated into High Dutch does not establish the merit of that epistle, as its author seems to think.¹¹⁶ The disloyalty of this tract, the spread of which was no doubt encouraged by Britain's foreign enemies, "merited the severest reprehension," and al-

writes the Cambridge scholar, who could have been one of the editors of the *Critical*, Dr. Thomas Franklin, professor of Greek at Cambridge. He did not help Smollett with the article "being much better employed than in useless controversies with so abusive and scurrilous a writer as Dr. S—, who is hereby called upon publicly to recant his Lye, or to prove the truth of his assertion."¹¹³ *Monthly Review*, Dec., 1757, 562-563, xvii.

¹¹⁴ *Monthly Review*, Oct., 1757, 367-374, xvii. Ruffhead wrote reviews for both the *Monthly Review* and the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Griffiths may have given him some hints for the review of Shebbeare's pamphlet, and doubtless the review received the editor's approval before it was printed. Ruffhead's paper, the *Con-test*, supported the government.

¹¹⁵ Yet Ruffhead is not exactly refined. To the *Occasional Critic*'s quip addressed to the *Critical*, "Pray, like your countrymen, the Highlanders, have you not shown your *back-sides*, in stooping to become critics?" Ruffhead replies, "Here we will only observe that if *Buckhorse* was to answer this elegant question, he would probably reply, with the same spirit of St. Giles—Ask mine a-e. And, perhaps, such an answer might not be altogether unsuitable to such a question." *Buckhorse* was a hawker and an "underboxer at Broughton's" who was put in a novel, *Memoirs of the Noted Buckhorse* (1756).

¹¹⁶ Shebbeare had defended his *Fourth Letter* in the *Occasional Critic*. Ruffhead declares here that he would not collect instances of false grammar, etc., but does not keep his word. He points out the bad French in Shebbeare's *Le peuple instruit, ou les alliances dans lesquelles les ministres de la Grande Bretagne ont engagé la nation, etc., considérés dans une Quatrième lettre au peuple d'Angleterre* (Paris? 1756), a translation of the *Fourth Letter* or a part of it, which was defended in the *Occasional Critic*. Ruffhead declares that not even a hare-brained Frenchman would call himself, as Shebbeare does here, an Athenian orator addressing the people of England. He is more like "a Demosthenes of Moorfields haranguing a holiday crowd, through an iron grate." Unless his friends can keep him from pen and ink, "his exuberant spleen and folly may, one day, reduce him to this wretched state of declaration."

though we will not say whether or not the Critical Reviewer used the right way to censure it, it is true that the author of the pamphlet is a "stranger to our constitution," an "unworthy intruder in the Republic of Letters" and a "profound enemy to the peace of his country."

A patriotic author, continues Ruffhead, in attacking the ministry will not do it through their characters and before the vulgar. To stoop to harangue the mob in such a scurrilous and personal manner makes for the confusion of anarchy. Since Shebbeare seems deliberately to aim at inflaming the populace, he is especially dangerous.

That Shebbeare was a rabble-rouser was in the eyes of Ruffhead, Smollett and Hogarth unforgivable. In Hogarth's Third Election Print, "Polling," Shebbeare in fetters and with the infamous *Sixth Letter* peeping from his coat-pocket, is shown whispering in the ear of an idiot. To prompt the people on how to vote is presented as one of the worst forms of demagoguery.

Continuing with his review, Ruffhead declares that the Occasional Critic exposed his indecency, ignorance and lack of judgment in attacking the Critical Reviewers but nevertheless had in many instances accidentally stumbled upon truth. Although he accuses them of being perfect masters of the Blackguard style, he himself uses it. If one were to believe what each says about the other, both have several similarities. Both appear to be "physicians without practice, authors without learning, men without decency, gentlemen without manners, and . . . if their critical merit is no greater than his . . . the public will, probably be ready to add—Critics without judgment."¹¹⁷

With Ruffhead's article the smolder of ill-feeling between the two Reviews broke into flame. In a fit of irritation Smollett had previously told the *Monthly* that he would not dispute with "any low-bred, pedantic Syntax-monger, retained as a servant or associate to any bookseller, or bookseller's wife."¹¹⁸ Ruffhead's article appeared in October. In the

¹¹⁷ Without the decorum or restraint of gentlemen or scholars "these invective altercators, who presume to enter into literary disputes, with the genius and phraseology of Rag-Fair, ought to be whipt through the Republic of Letters, and driven among the herd whose manners they assimilate for if their ideas are low, their reflections mean, and their language indecent, where is the difference between them and the mob? . . . Such mean, envious, and illiberal competitors have brought Letters into disgrace, and have made the name of Author so disreputable that we have seen men of genius and merit creep into a Bookseller's shop with as much caution and secrecy as a married man would steal into a brothel."

¹¹⁸ This passage, which is from the brave declaration of independence and defiance, the *Letter to the Public, Critical Review*, April, 1756, 287-288, I, is cited by Arnold Whitridge, *op cit*, as an "unprovoked thrust" against Griffiths. Smollett knew or suspected that the offending article mentioned in the *Letter* (an attack on the *Critical* and its very first article, *Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1756, 141-142, xxvi) was by Ruffhead or another who wrote for the *Monthly*.

November *Critical* it was answered by the not very chivalric *To the Old Gentlewoman who directs the Monthly Review*¹¹⁹ Smollett professes to believe that it was Mrs Griffiths (and not Ruffhead) who had "squirted . . . malevolence at the authors of the *Critical Review*" in the *Monthly's* review of the *Occasional Critic*. He could have demonstrated, he claims, that with the exception of press errors and one or two slips of the pen every assertion of the *Occasional Critic* either false, frivolous or absurd. He points out the inconsistency of making a "strange pother" about decency and decorum and then making the coarse allusion to Buckhorse. After arguing against any similarity to Shebbeare, he suggests that Mrs Griffiths should have employed some sensible person to write the article.¹²⁰

In a defense of his *History* against an attack by Thomas Comber¹²¹ Smollett lists his enemies—"little inconsiderable curs barking at the moon" hereafter to be ignored. One was the despicable Dr. John Hill. Another, "the sage, the patriot, the sedate Dr. Sh——re [Shebbeare]," had attacked the *History* "tooth and nail" because of punishment meted out to him by articles in the *Critical* he supposed were by Smollett. And finally there were the "serene G——ths [Griffiths] and his spouse" who were enraged because they supposed that Smollett had set up the *Critical* in opposition to the *Monthly*. Consequently Griffiths had engaged this "obscure Grub," Comber, to bespatter the *History*.¹²²

Still another enemy soon appeared. By letter and pamphlet Dr. James Grainger assailed Smollett as the author of a severe article in the *Critical*.¹²³ When Grainger cast imputations upon his erudition, Smollett answered with what he imagined was about the worst thing he could say: "Spare your reflections, Dr. James Grainger, with respect to the Reviewer's learning . . . lest we declare the whole [letter] to be a scandalous

¹¹⁹ *Critical Review*, Nov., 1757, 469, rv. Goldsmith, who had just left the *Monthly* to write for the *Critical*, complained that Griffiths and his wife had tampered with his work. Perhaps this complaint suggested the inclusion of Mrs. Griffiths in the attack on the *Monthly*. See Benjamin C. Nangle, *op. cit.*, on the Griffiths' reaction to Smollett's article.

¹²⁰ Before this the *Monthly* had given Smollett's works very fair and in general very favorable reviews. A very sudden change in attitude may be seen by comparing the review of the first three volumes of the *History* (*Monthly Review*, June, 1757, 530-536, xvi, by Goldsmith) and the review of volume four (April, 1758, 289-305, xviii, by Ruffhead).

¹²¹ Comber's *A Vindication of the Great Revolution in England*, etc., was reviewed in the *Critical Review*, Sept., 1758, 226-239, vi.

¹²² Smollett states that the "respectable characters" whom Comber claims the *Critical* had "treated with indelicacy" are Shebbeare, Hill and Griffiths. He imagines them "sitting in close divan, animated with double pots, encouraged with double pay, by the right worshipful the proprietors of R——n (Rivington) to review their attacks against the *Complete History of England*." Smollett had reason to suspect some connection between Griffiths and Hill. In 1751 Griffiths printed a collection of Hill's "Inspectors," among them No. 14, which was very offensive to Smollett.

¹²³ Smollett's reply to Grainger is in the *Critical Review*, Feb., 1759, 141-158, vii.

piece of calumny, which you have repeated at third hand from your great pattern and brother critick, Dr S——re [Shebbeare] ” As one would expect, Griffiths came to Grainger's support¹²⁴ and charged that malice and private pique had been the motives for the attack on Grainger's *Tibullus*¹²⁵ Of course, Smollett was at fault in thinking that Griffiths would associate himself with Shebbeare In spite of their quarrel both Reviews were one in their enmity toward the Doctor This is made plain in an interesting spurious *Seventh Letter* The critic of the *Monthly*¹²⁶ points out that the *Letter* is “a banter upon upon Dr Shebbeare” and makes him “rail at his mortal enemies, the Reviewers ” Although the good Doctor's “Idea of a Patriot” is very queer, it can hardly be brought into agreement with his post-or-pillory philosophy He terrifies people with his false alarms A libeller, hireling, and hackney writer for every petty bookseller who chooses to employ him—all should applaud him except a “few growling, mean, low, vile [the author here adds forty-eight similar adjectives]¹²⁷ Scotch Gentlemen Critics ” And since Shebbeare had been arrested, the critic felt it safe to add: “He is a great philosopher, and possessed of such admirable moderation, that he suffers himself to be kicked out of every coffee-house in town, without being discomposed, or shewing the least resentment ”

The *Critical*,¹²⁸ in the same vein of animosity, called the same pamphlet “a facetious and severe burlesque upon the swaggering Pistol, who, by his ranting nonsense, has been endeavouring these several years to deceive and inflame the Nation.” The reviewer, probably Smollett, imagines a scene in which the Doctor, having taken his printer's devil for a bailiff's follower, breaks out into a hysterical eulogy of the liberty of the press With a licencer of the press there would be no more *Letters*, no great characters traduced, no ministers blackened, and no gentlemen Scotch critics abused

¹²⁴ The quarrel between the *Monthly* and the *Critical* was so widely known that a pamphleteer made it the subject of a *Battle of the Reviews*, which was printed about the time of Smollett's trial for libel against Admiral Knowles In the pamphlet Rhechoam Gruffy is Griffiths, Sampson MacJackson is (perhaps) William Rose, Paddy Fitzpatrick is Goldsmith and Sawney MacSmallhead is Smollett

¹²⁵ *Monthly Review*, March, 1759, 273–274, xx.

¹²⁶ *Monthly Review*, March, 1758, 274, xviii

¹²⁷ The subtitle of the *Occasional Critic* ends thus “ in which the . impartiality, abilities, pretensions, performances, designs, etc , etc , etc , etc , etc , etc , etc , etc , of the Gentleman authors of that work are placed in a true light ”

¹²⁸ *Critical Review*, April, 1758, 350, v. After Shebbeare had served his prison term a second spurious *Seventh Letter* appeared The Critical Reviewer (Dec., 1761, 477, xii) calls it a florid rhapsody inflated with bombast “The attention paid to certain inflammatory pamphlets under this title, during a disgraceful period of the Ad——n, hath encouraged other authors to hang up the same sign to the public. Of the *Seventh Letter* we may say in the words of Shakespeare, ‘Oldcastle died of sweat, but this is not the man’ ”

Three months before this unfriendly pamphlet was reviewed the notorious *Sixth Letter* had appeared, with its oft-quoted motto: "And I looked, and beheld a pale Horse and his name that sat upon him was Death, and Hell followed with him." Although not much more abusive than some of its predecessors, it was more direct in its attack upon the Georges, or as Shebbeare called them, the Presbyterian Messiahs. He charged that the serious troubles of the English began with King William and grew steadily more acute with the Georges' increasing preoccupation with Hanover. No one knows what the Stuarts might have brought, he argues, but anyone can plainly see what "came with a North-East wind from Germany." He wishes George I had drowned in the storm he encountered as he returned to England after signing the Treaty of Hanover. George II is treated to a mock eulogy ending with an ironic compliment: "And in this enlightened Age [he is] the best Judge of the sublime arts, to whom Doctor Hill hath dedicated his *God and Nature*, and his *Sleep of Plants*." Shebbeare had concluded his *Fourth Letter* with a direct appeal to George II to save England. The *Third Letter* ended with an appeal to Pitt to shield the nation against the rage of "German Harpies." Both George II and Pitt had failed him. The *Sixth Letter* calls upon "Lord Bolingbroke's Vision of a Patriot King" for national salvation. At last Shebbeare's real political convictions were unveiled for all to see.¹²⁹

The authorities were now forced to act. A general warrant was issued against Shebbeare, his printer and his publisher on January 12, 1758. Eleven days later all copies of a *Seventh Letter*, which was then being printed, were seized and suppressed.¹³⁰ To the Critical Reviewers the *Sixth Letter* seemed "an extravagant rhapsody" of nonsense, treason and vulgar abuse. "We in charity believe the author has really lost his senses, and hope, that instead of mounting the pillory, of which he seems to be so ambitious, he will attract the notice of some benevolent Christian, who will provide him lodging and proper attendance in Moorfields."¹³¹ The

¹²⁹ W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, II, 442, in commenting on the *Sixth Letter* declares that it really represented the common sentiment of the English people and army in their resentment at the preference given the Hanoverian. He refers to the ill-feeling between the English and the Hanoverians at the battle of Dettingen. In Vol. III, 64, Lecky notes the punishment for the "virulent libel against the House of Hanover" and states that Shebbeare later was "pensioned by Bute in order that he should defend the peace." The pension was obtained by George Grenville and John Phillips, not Bute.

¹³⁰ Arnold Whitridge, *op. cit.*, p. 27, gives the impression that the *Seventh* rather than the *Sixth Letter* caused the arrest. Likewise W. Tooke, editor of the Aldine edition of Charles Churchill (1866), in a note on "The Author" (verses 293-366) writes that the *Seventh Letter* caused the prosecution of Shebbeare.

¹³¹ *Critical Review*, Jan., 1758, 79, v. The critic's final remark is, "By the blessing of heaven, and the care of Dr. Battie, [who had just written a book on insanity] he may yet become good for something in his day and generation."

Monthly Reviewers were indignant and apprehensive.¹³² They feared that this "inflammatory letter" because of its "flaming licentiousness" might offer some designing minister a pretext for ending the liberty of the press. Every friend of liberty, therefore ought to express his abhorrence of such a "glaring abuse of liberty as is conspicuous in the pamphlets of this virulent Letter-writer."

On June 17 Shebbeare was tried for libel. The *Sixth Letter*, according to Lord Mansfield, nearly approached high treason. It was obvious that the Doctor had not a chance. So certain was the verdict that the jury was given the right to judge the question of law as well as the question of fact. On November 28 he was sentenced to pay a fine of five pounds, to serve three years in prison, to find security for his good behavior for seven years, and to stand in the pillory at Charing Cross on December 5. His political associates, seeing an opportunity to make political capital out of the pillorying, circulated thousands of bills inviting all to come to see the "British Champion." At the hour appointed a great crowd of people filled Charing Cross. They were astounded to see the Doctor being driven up the street in a smart coach instead of in the usual prison cart. They were surprised and amused when instead of placing hands and head in the pillory he stood upright between the upper and lower boards. And to shield him from the weather a liveried Irish chairman, hired for the occasion, held an umbrella over his head. These kindnesses were due to Beardmore, the undersheriff, an old friend of Shebbeare's and a co-worker on the *Monitor*, who in some way or other had been put in charge. The meaning of the concluding lines of Charles Churchill's attack on Shebbeare is clear.¹³³

Where is Shebbeare? Oh let not foul reproach,
Travelling thither in a City-coach,
The pillory dare to name the whole intent
Of that parade was fame, not punishment,
And that old, staunch Whig, Beardmore, standing by,
Can in full court give that report the lie!¹³⁴

¹³² *Monthly Review*, Jan., 1758, 93, xviii. The critic thoughtfully appended to his article a list of the *Monthly's* reviews of the preceding five letters. Curiosity about Shebbeare was at such a pitch that a hungry garreteer published a *Review of the Sixth Letter to the People of England, wherein the principal passages of that malignant piece are quoted at large and refuted*. This was reviewed in the *Critical Review*, April, 1758, 350, v, and in the *Monthly Review*, May, 1758, 486, xviii. The first reviewer points out that the author and publisher concealed their names for fear of being called seditious and derides the author's "schoolboy" comments that are "anything but refutations." The second reviewer thinks that the author shows proper abhorrence of the "licentiousness" of Shebbeare.

¹³³ "The Author" 1763. Verses 293-306 are a scathing indictment of Shebbeare. Beardmore for his part in this fiasco had to serve two months in prison and pay a fine of fifty pounds. Of course, he was no Whig. Churchill in calling him one is ironic.

After an hour of this farce the "British Champion," who from time to time rested by placing his hands "upon the holes of the pillory," got back into the coach and was driven toward prison amid the cheers of the crowd. Teague, the Irishman, came to him in the King's Bench and asked for more money. "Only consider the disgrace of the thing," he pleaded.¹³⁵ But it is doubtful whether Shebbeare had such fine susceptibilities. It is certain that he did not attribute the relative mildness of his punishment to the forbearance of the Hanoverian King as he should have done, according to the author of *A Letter of Consolation to Dr. Shebbeare*,¹³⁶ who accuses the Doctor of defamation, misrepresentation, and of offering "the most virulent and envenomed Abuse, the most flagrant Insults on his present Majesty, and his royal Father."

Although the King's Bench might have been, as Smollett said in *Sir Launcelot Greaves*, "full of mirth and jollity," Shebbeare did not relish it. His family was dependent upon him. He felt that he had been abandoned by his political associates. Perhaps he was a restless prisoner and fomented political strife in prison as he had outside. In his novelistic ac-

¹³⁴ William Mason in "An Epistle to Dr. Shebbeare" (1777) writes

"O for a thousand tongues! and every tongue
Like Johnson's, arm'd with words of six feet long,
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Then should my Tory numbers, old Shebbeare,
Tickle the tattered fragment of thy ear!"

In a note referring to this passage in relation to the Churchill verses quoted above, Mason declares that the Doctor has only to show his ears in public to prove Churchill wrong in saying that his ears were not harmed. Mason refers again to the Doctor's ears in the beginning of "An Heroic Epistle."

"Witness ye Hills, ye Johnsons, Scotts, Sheabbears (?)
Hark to my call, for some of you have ears."

¹³⁵ Dr. Johnson, like Teague, thought that dishonor clung to the pillory. In opposition to Boswell he maintained that Shebbeare "could not mouth and strut about as he used to do, after he had been there. People are not willing to ask a man to their table who has stood in the pillory." Allibone's *Dictionary*, "Shebbeare."

¹³⁶ *Memoirs of the Pillory being a consolatory Epistle to Dr. Shebbeare*, etc., 2nd ed. 1759, seems to be a similar effusion. The *Letter of Consolation* attacks the *Sixth Letter* and declares that Shebbeare under former kings, such as his beloved Stuarts, would have come off much worse. The *Critical Review*, Dec., 1758, 518, vi, in its article on this pamphlet states that "the person to whom this is addressed has no occasion for volatiles, or, if he had, he would find no flavour in this vapid performance," and believes that not the King but the people "who retrenched the dangerous prerogatives of the crown" are to be accredited with the humanity shown Shebbeare. The review in the *Monthly Review*, Dec., 1758, 583-584, xix, remarks that the instances of severe punishment given state libellers in the reigns of the Stuarts are intended to show the Doctor that he lives in milder and happier days.

count of the King's Bench¹³⁷ Smollett describes a Dr Crabshaw, a physician of "atrabilious aspect," and a brewer, his adversary, as demagogues "of warm and impetuous tempers," whose "intrigues have embroiled the whole place insomuch that it is dangerous to walk the street on account of the continual skirmishes of their partisans." But if Shebbeare had political friends within the prison, they were like those without and gave him little financial assistance. He complained that during all the three years of his confinement he did not get more than twenty guineas help "from all the world." Once, when very ill, he applied for permission to be "carried into the rules" a few hours "in a day," and although Lord Mansfield acceded to his petition, "the prayer of it was denied and defeated by Judge Foster."

Much of the time he was busy with pen and ink. After his projected history came to naught, he wrote a pamphlet in defense of the delinquent of Minden, Lord George Sackville.¹³⁸ As this nobleman was an intimate friend of Lord Bute, the writing of this seems to indicate that Shebbeare was making new connections and even trying to forget, for the nonce, his hatred of the Scotch. And then he bent to work with a will. George II was dead. The new monarch, who freely aired himself as Bolingbroke's Patriot King, seemed to offer a happy ending to all the prisoner's present woes. For him Shebbeare wrote the *History of the Sumatrans*,¹³⁹ which was completed, at least in its first form, some months before the author left prison.

Soon there were signs that the laudatory remarks in this work were appreciated in the right quarters. As early as 1762 it was rumored that

¹³⁷ *Sir Launcelot Greaves*, Ch. xx. Shebbeare may have suggested Crabshaw although Crabshaw is brave enough to fight while Ferret is cowardly and furtive.

¹³⁸ *An Answer to a Letter to a late Noble Commander of the British forces, etc.* (1759). An attack on this pamphlet was reviewed in the *Critical Review*, Nov., 1759, 410-411. Shebbeare's pamphlet is here referred to as "the production of the far-famed Dr. Sh---re, who has engaged in his lordship's vindication, either as a volunteer, or upon other motives, perhaps more interesting."

¹³⁹ The whole title is *The History of the Excellence and Decline of the Constitution, religion, laws, manners, and genius of the Sumatrans, and the Restoration thereof in the reign of Amurath the Third*. Norgate in the D.N.B. article on Shebbeare gives the date for this as 1763, but there was a two-volume edition printed by G. Kearsley as early as 1760. Shebbeare took more pains than usual with this work but as usual followed Bolingbroke in style and ideas. It is an attack on Whig policy and administration, and a panegyric of George III and his ministers. A review of Volume II appeared in the *Monthly Review*, March, 1763, 245, xxviii. The critic believes that the picture painted here of the happiness of the Sumatrans [British] during the reign of Amurath [George III] exaggerates. "The scene . . . is, we fear, too desirable to be real: indeed, we have more reasons than one to conceive, this writer to be no Prophet. But whatever his pretensions to prophecy, he certainly hath very little to panegyric, which, it must be allowed, is not the Doctor's talent: this volume being one of the most insipid and unentertaining of all his literary performances."

Shebbeare was to have a pension. A poet, celebrating the retirement of Newcastle, hails Bute in these terms:

In Caledonia see! a genius rise,
 A genius formed for deeds of high emprise

 Beneath his sway what *halcyon* days approach!
 While bare-foot Sawney vaults into his coach
 In more than native pride, the thistle glows
 With all the beauties of the faded rose
 S—e [Shebbeare] is mute place, pension, taxes cease,
 And faction wears the candid robes of peace ¹⁴⁰

Shebbeare and others had derided George II for failing to encourage artists and writers. Bute decided to make amends. Many a poor Scotchman, and Englishman too, now were provided with place and pension. A few men of real attainment like Smollett, who refused a pension but received financial support for *The Briton*,¹⁴¹ or Hogarth, now made sergeant-painter to the King, or Johnson, were honored too, but no more or no less than the less worthy. Hence the indignation of Macaulay, who resented the placing of Dr. Johnson on the same level with "a wretched scribbler named Shebbeare, who had nothing in common with Johnson except violent Jacobitism, and who had stood in the pillory for a libel on the Revolution."¹⁴² But the *Sixth Letter* was a libel on the Georges. Macaulay was inaccurate also in stating that Bute pensioned Shebbeare. For a Scotch minister to reward Britain's most notorious Scotch barter must have seemed absurd even to Bute. After Bute had withdrawn, George Grenville, at the request of Sir John Philips, granted the pension early in 1764. That this minister made quick use of Shebbeare's pen is indicated by the pamphlet written by the Doctor under Grenville's direction and sent by Walpole to Lord Hertford with the curious remark, "We do not ransack Newgate and the pillory for writers."¹⁴³

This granting of pensions is satirized in the *Adventures of an Atom*. Yak-strot [Bute] proposes to "display his liberality in patronizing genius and the arts" but is able to unearth only five men of genius in the whole

¹⁴⁰ "An Epistle to his Grace, the Duke of N—e, on his Resignation, By an Independent Whig," 1762. Reviewed in the *Critical Review*, July, 1762, 77, xiv.

¹⁴¹ In "The Author" Churchill calls Smollett a pensioner, saying that what makes Smollett write makes Johnson dumb. Possibly one of Smollett's motives for refusing the pension was his indignation at Shebbeare's being granted one. Another may have been the smallness of the grant. ¹⁴² See Macaulay's *The Earl of Chatham*.

¹⁴³ D N B "Shebbeare." Here Norgate also notes that Shebbeare engaged with the solicitor of the treasury in writing against Lord Chief Justice Pratt in a paper, *The Moderator*.

nation. "One was a secularized bonza [parson] from Ximo [Scotland], another a malcontent poet of Niphon [England], a third, a reformed comedian of Xicoco [Ireland], a fourth, an empyric, who had outlived his practice, and a fifth, a decayed apothecary, who was a baid, quack, author, chymist, philosopher, and simpler, by profession." These can be identified in turn as John Home, Dr Johnson, Thomas Sheridan, Shebbeare, and John Hill, the "tympanitical inspector."¹⁴⁴ All these together, Smollett disdainfully observes, were not given as much money as many a private nobleman spends on a kennel of hounds.

For accepting a pension Shebbeare has often been accused of forsaking his associates for his own advantage and of changing his political opinions with suspicious rapidity.¹⁴⁵ But the accusation is not entirely supported by the facts. The Doctor saw little or no inconsistency in changing from an enemy of George II into a champion of a Monarch who from early youth had been taught to scorn his grandfather as a weak king, and to worship Bolingbroke's Patriot King as an ideal. It was easy to forget that George III was a Hanoverian when his policies were like those advocated by the Doctor himself. It is said that the King in a conversation with Sir John Philips referred to Shebbeare "in very favorable terms." The King and the Doctor shared Bolingbroke's belief in the need of a powerful ruler. Shebbeare did not, therefore, change his political opinions to any extent. As to the abandonment of Pitt, that had happened long before. He had disappointed the Doctor, who thought that a minister ought to provide protection for a pamphleteer whose pen had helped him to the highest place in the government. The eulogy of Pitt in the *Third Letter* (1756) should have moved a mountain, but no, the Minister did not stay the hand of punishment. The Doctor paid the penalty. And this for writing words that were, as he said, less offensive than those the Prime Minister had spoken time and again in the House of Commons. Moreover Pitt had ill-treated Sir John Philips, who had applied to him in

¹⁴⁴ Arnold Whitridge, *op cit*, Ch. IV, points out that Seccombe identified the apothecary as Shebbeare. Whitridge is right in taking him as Dr John Hill, whose *Lucina sine Conubitu* is glanced at in a near-by passage describing how Pitt had blown the people up until they believed that "food was not necessary to the support of life; nor an intercourse of the sexes required for the propagation of species." Bute obtained for Hill the management of the Royal Gardens, worth 2000 pounds a year, but it is believed that the grant was not confirmed.

¹⁴⁵ E.g., E. A. Baker, *op cit*, v, 46, "... for Shebbeare, in spite of the apparent frankness of his views and fearlessness in asserting them, seems to have ratted, and made a suspiciously quick transit from pillory to pension." Also Arnold Whitridge, *op. cit*, p. 27. "After emerging from prison Shebbeare changed his tactics and devoted himself to the Court, even going so far as to attack his old hero, Pitt, for which abject tergiversation he was granted a pension of 400 pounds." But the pension was only 200 pounds a year.

behalf of Shebbeare. In other words, Pitt would have none of him. The Doctor, therefore cannot be said to have "abandoned" him. The blackest page on the Doctor's record is not that of tergiversation but the one of demagoguery and pillory-or-post opportunism.

In the following years the pensioner appeared at intervals as the champion of the King¹⁴⁶ and his various ministers. His name was seen occasionally in the *Critical* or *Monthly*, but as before in the midst of the same unflattering adjectives.¹⁴⁷ Neither his style nor his pet aversions changed. He went on hating women, William the Third, the Whigs and the Scotch. The last two pamphlets worthy of mention were full of spleen. The first, *An Answer to the Queries*, reviewed by Andrew Kippis,¹⁴⁸ is an attempted vindication of his conduct in regard to his projected history, an assault on Townshend and Lee for the speeches they made in disapproval of his pension, and an abusive outbreak against William the Third,¹⁴⁹ who is blackened to make George III appear brighter in contrast. It was the second, the "essay" on *Dr. Price's Observations*,¹⁵⁰ that moved William

¹⁴⁶ E.g., he defended the American policy of George III in the *Public Advertiser* and elsewhere. In 1774 he wrote a pamphlet attacking Burke, whom he did not like because of his parody of Bolingbroke and opposition to North.

¹⁴⁷ E.g., *Critical Review*, Dec., 1762, 380, xiv. In reviewing *One More Letter to the People of England By their old Friend*, the critic remarks, "What can be expected from a copy of such an original as the patriot S—— [Shebbeare], but scurrility, raving, and sedition." Allibone's cites the *Monthly Reviewer's* criticism of Shebbeare's *An Answer to the Printed Speech of Edmund Burke, Esq., April 19, 1774*. This was, according to the reviewer, composed of "slandorous invectives, coarse witticisms, vulgar obscene allusions, and scandalous epithets."

¹⁴⁸ *An Answer to the Queries contained in a Letter to Dr. Shebbeare, printed in the Public Ledger, Aug. 10, etc., etc.* (1774). *Monthly Review*, Jan., 1775, 31-35, lxi. Kippis grants that the Doctor makes a good excuse for disappointing the subscribers to his history, but states that the "scurrility to which he descends with respect to Mr. Townshend is disgraceful to any writer of tolerable talents, and as to Mr. Lee, Dr. Shebbeare's pious and charitable wish is, that *his exit* may be like that of Algernon Sidney." Kippis concludes with the observation that no Prince or administration of the Brunswick line, "if lunacy hath not possessed them, can approve of the raving positions, and the bitter spirit of this writer."

¹⁴⁹ The treatment of William here was resented by so many that Shebbeare hurt his cause much more than he helped it. Hugh Baillie's answer to this pamphlet was reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, Jan., 1775, 35-36, lxi.

In 1774 Fox protested in the House of Commons against the Whigs' coupling of the names of Johnson and Shebbeare together, saying that the government had pensioned a He-bear and a She-bear. In 1776 Wilkes spoke of them as "two famous doctors" who were the "state hirelings called pensioners," and whose names "disgraced the civil list."

¹⁵⁰ *An Essay on the Origin, Progress, and Establishment of National Society, in which Dr. Price's Observations, etc., are fairly examined and reflected*. This was reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, Sept., 1776, 240-241, lv. The critic notes many tenets repugnant to the principles of all free governments expressed here. Also examples of faulty reasoning, low coarse humor, and foul, intemperate, opprobrious language.

Mason to write his "Epistle to Dr. Shebbeare,"¹⁵¹ wherein the Doctor is addressed as—

Wretch! that from slander's filth art ever gleaning,
 Spite without spite, malice without meaning
 The same abusive, base, abandon'd thing,
 When pilloried, or pension'd by a king,
 Old as thou art, methinks, 'twere sage advice,
 That North should call thee off from hunting Pice.
 Some younger blood-hound of his bawling pack
 Might sorer gall his Presbyterian back
 Thy toothless jaws should free thee from the fight,
 Thous canst but mumble, when thou mean'st to bite

* * *

It was Shebbeare's fate to have his memory perpetuated chiefly through his enemies. And these he seemed to inspire with an animosity that was undying. Indeed, the only writer who has even been suspected of relenting in his hostility is Smollett. Evidence of such a change in attitude toward Shebbeare is supposed to be found in the *Continuation of the Complete History of England* (1760–65). Norgate¹⁵² writes that although Shebbeare had criticized both the *Critical Review* and the *History* (1757), the passage relating to the Doctor's prosecution in the revised edition of the *History* is "curiously laudatory." In her note on Shebbeare in the *Early Diary*¹⁵³ Mrs. Rame Ellis indignantly writes, "He [Shebbeare] was a Jacobite, so Mr. Strange and Miss Reid put up with him, and Smollett writes of him in his *History of England* as this good man." H. S. Buck¹⁵⁴ in observing that Smollett in his sketch of the liberal arts in the reign of George II makes amends by praising his former enemies Garrick, Fielding, Quin, Lyttleton and Akenside, states that "even Shebbeare steps forth here"¹⁵⁵ as 'this good man'." But Smollett, he hastens to add, was not known to have become personally reconciled with Shebbeare. With the

¹⁵¹ Only about a score of lines in this poem refer to Shebbeare. His name in the title shows that Mason counted on the notoriety of the Doctor to attract the attention of a large public. The poem was written in 1777, as by Malcolm MacGreggor, a name to irritate the Scotch barter Shebbeare, who is called by Mason in a prefatory note "a hackney scribbler of a newspaper," "a pensioner," and a "broken apothecary." The *Monthly Review* Dec., 1777, (488, LVII) thought "The Epistle" "a keen, acute, spirited satire on court connections, in which poor old Shebbeare comes in for 'stripes he was not formed to feel'."

¹⁵² D N B "Shebbeare." Norgate gives the amalgamated Hume and Smollett *History of England* (1855), x, 186, as his reference.

¹⁵³ *Early Diary* (ed. 1889), Feb. 20, 1774, I, 285.

¹⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

¹⁵⁵ In this context *here* is ambiguous. It should be taken to mean 'in the *History*,' but not 'in this passage.' Smollett never could have considered the Doctor important or even respectable enough to be listed with this distinguished group.

foregoing as his authorities E. A. Baker writes, “. . . but Smollett was not always in the same mind about Shebbeare.”¹⁵⁶

The passage in question follows a description of how a spy, Hensey, had a death sentence changed to exile, either because of information he gave the ministry or because the ministry considered him “so insensible and insignificant” In the first edition¹⁵⁷ it runs as follows:

The severity of the g——t [Government] was much about the same period [1758] exercised on Dr Shebbeare, a public writer, who in a series of printed letters to the people of England, had animadverted on the conduct of the M——y [Ministry] in the most acrimonious terms, stigmatized some great names with all the virulence of censure, and even assaulted the t——ne [throne] itself with oblique insinuation and ironical satire The M——y, incensed at the boldness, and still more enraged at the success, of this author, whose writings were bought with avidity by the public, determined to punish him severely for his arrogance and abuse, and he was apprehended by a warrant from the secretary's office His sixth letter to the people of England was pitched upon as a foundation of a prosecution After a short trial in the court of King's bench, he was found guilty of having written the sixth letter to the people of England, adjudged a libellous pamphlet, sentenced to stand in the pillory, to pay a small fine, to be imprisoned three years, and give security for his future behavior so that in effect, this man suffered more for having given vent to the unguarded effusions of mistaken zeal, couched in the language of passion and scurrility, than was inflicted on Hensey, a convicted traitor, who had acted as a spy for France, and betrayed his own country for hire.

One must not take the absence of the harsh language that marked Smollett's reviews of Shebbeare's pamphlets in the *Critical Review* as a sign of a change in personal attitude. Smollett is simply trying to be restrained and objective, as is befitting the historian Yet there is a Tory bias here He disapproves of the Whig ministry's lack of a sense of proportion in punishing Shebbeare too harshly and Hensey not harshly enough But disapproval of Whig justice is not approval of Shebbeare. The passage, as it stands, offers little to support the view that Smollett had undergone a change of mind in regard to his old enemy.

However, in a subsequent revision of the *Continuation*, someone, seeking to make Smollett's dissatisfaction with the punishment meted out to Shebbeare seem like righteous sympathy for him, inserted the word *good* to make that part of the sentence read, “this good man suffered more, etc” But the addition of *good* makes the first part of the paragraph seem absurd and out of harmony with the rest of it. If Smollett had made this addition it seems logical to suppose that he would have revised the whole

¹⁵⁶ *Op cit*, v, 47

¹⁵⁷ *Continuation of the Complete History of England*, 3v 1760 II, 408

passage to make it consistent. Indeed, there seems to be no evidence that he himself revised this passage. On the contrary it is highly probable that the *good* was inserted after his death.¹⁵⁸

In his other writings there is no indication that he altered his opinion of Shebbeare. Although Smollett's active participation in the *Critical Review* ended shortly after his release from the King's Bench in February, 1761, the animosity that characterizes the reviews of the *Letters* reappears in the *Adventures of an Atom* (1769) and in *Humphrey Clinker* (1771), where there are three or more scornful allusions¹⁵⁹ to the Doctor. Therefore it is extremely unlikely that Smollett ever changed his attitude. To the end of his days he must have considered Shebbeare a despicable rabble-rouser and quack no more worthy of friendship or sympathetic regard than a charlatan like "Dr." John Hill, another writer whom Smollett never ceased to despise.

* * *

The picture of the scurrilous Doctor, painted as it is almost entirely by his foes, is not flattering. His writings do little to change the impression. However, one of his biographers cautions us. "It is said, that those who should form a judgment of his character by his writings would be deceived, and that his disposition was better than these seem to promise, and indeed the manners in which he speaks of his connections exhibits traits of a liberal and benevolent mind."¹⁶⁰ Yet even this writer, after praising Shebbeare as a father, has to admit that he had a hot temper, as obstinate, and would not be contradicted. Shebbeare could, no doubt, feel loyalty and gratitude, but nuances escaped him, and he did not know restraint. A person was either to be attacked tooth and nail or embraced with ecstatic sentimental outbursts. Something of the churlishness of Johnson and the headlong intemperate anger of Smollett was in his temperament. He was full of gall, perverse, quarrelsome and inconsiderate of others.

¹⁵⁸ Lewis M. Knapp, *The Publication of Smollett's Complete History . . . and Continuation, The Library*, Fourth Series, xvi, 293-308, notes that in the amalgamation of Hume's and Smollett's histories (e.g., Cadell's edition in 1785) Anderson found "several omissions, transpositions and additions, for which no reason is assigned." It seems reasonable to suppose that the *good* was inserted at this time.

¹⁵⁹ There are contemptuous allusions to Shebbeare and his pillory-or-post opportunism in Davis's letter to Rev. Dustwich, in Jerry's letter to Sir Watkin Phillips concerning Dick Ivy, and in Matthew Bramble's letter about literary conditions in London. In the last the dogmatic, arrogant and presumptuous critic who, using politics as a criterion, "rejudged" writers of the past and called his contemporaries "dunces, pedants, plagiaries, quacks, and imposters," seems to refer to Shebbeare's opinions as set forth in the *Letters* of Batista Angeloni and the *Occasional Critic*.

¹⁶⁰ *European Magazine*, Aug., 1788, II, 83-87.

He was an egoist. Always he was so confident of his own wisdom and rectitude and importance that he counted those who differed with him as naught. Hence the general opinion that he was tough-skinned. Boswell said that ridicule cast upon him did not move him "so long as he could find reviews to write at six guineas per sheet and enemies to abuse at three shillings per pamphlet."¹⁶¹ He liked to play a churlish part. Fanny Burney describes how he referred to his wife in an insulting manner at Miss Reid's.¹⁶² Because his hostess was a Scotch woman, he insulted the Scotch. Because there were five women present, he insulted the female sex. Poor Fanny and Sissy "never presumed to open [their] lips for fear of being affronted" by the "growler." His egoism explains his pose as the great Patriot from whom alone could come salvation for England.

Related to this excessive self-esteem was a desperate audacity bordering on insolence and effrontery. Smollett admired Ferret's daring but thought it the rashness of a madman. In *Sir Launcelot Greaves* he writes that Ferret's attack on the government made many think he ought to be punished "for his presumption in reflecting so scurrilously on ministers and measures. . . . Of this sentiment was our adventurer [Sir Launcelot], though he could not help admiring the courage of the orator, and owning within himself, that he had mixed some melancholy truths with his scurrility."¹⁶³ But Smollett makes Ferret's courage a verbal one. Physically Ferret is a coward and runs away or hides when threatened with bodily injury. As we have seen, the author of a spurious *Seventh Letter* also describes Shebbeare as a coward. He is such a "philosopher" that "he allows himself to be kicked out of every coffee-house in town."¹⁶⁴ Perhaps there was some basis for this charge. There certainly is for the accusation of closeness in money matters. For instance, he is known to have bickered over the payments he was to receive from persons who engaged him to write.

His style was often censured for its slovenliness and abusive coarseness. That he could write a fairly respectable prose is proved by a biographical sketch, *The Character of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon*, which was published in the *European Magazine* shortly after his death.¹⁶⁵ Here

¹⁶¹ Cited by Allibone's from Boswell's Johnson, year 1783. Boswell, who was introduced to Shebbeare by General Oglethorpe, thought the Doctor's "knowledge and abilities much above the class of ordinary writers." Boswell admired Angeloni's *Letters*, and for some reason did not seem to be irritated in the least by Shebbeare's Scotch baiting.

¹⁶² *Early Diary*, Feb. 20, 1774.

¹⁶³ Ch. x. Part of this passage is an echo of Smollett's review of Shebbeare's *Third Letter* (1756).

¹⁶⁴ *Monthly Review*, March, 1758, 274, xviii.

¹⁶⁵ It is in the issue of Oct., 1788, pp. 283-286. It had probably been prepared for the edition of Clarendon's *History* that Shebbeare was not allowed to publish.

for once he had taken due care. However, he struck off his pamphlets and novels in such haste that a careless style was inevitable. It is chiefly owing to this mean style that these are now generally regarded merely as interesting records of the times. Shebbeare was often coarse in writing and in speech. Mrs. Raine Ellis, in a note to Fanny Burney's account of the Doctor at Miss Reid's, remarks that some sentences that Fanny wrote down "in amazement" had been crossed out, seemingly by another hand, as too "gross" to be suffered to stand in the manuscript.¹⁶⁶ Shebbeare was less discreet in company than Smollett, but when he wrote he certainly was no coarser than Smollett, or other polemical writers of his day. Bolingbroke declared that journalists have "ill manners, Impudence, a foul Mouth, and a fouler Heart,"¹⁶⁷ and his disciple shows that most of his master's words were only too true.

A comparison of Ferret in *Sir Launcelot Greaves* with the model reveals that Smollett had a surprisingly thorough understanding of Shebbeare's character. Ferret is not conceived in the spirit of unmitigated acrimony but rather in that of the amused astonishment caused by an original who touches on the preposterous but who is not yet a monster. He is furtive and grotesque, and even a little sinister, rather than repulsive. In spite of the caricaturist's simplification and exaggeration, the physical and mental features of Shebbeare are clearly recognizable,¹⁶⁸ as is shown by the description introducing Ferret.

The solitary guest had something very forbidding in his aspect, which was contracted by an habitual frown. His eyes were small and red, and so deep set in

¹⁶⁶ *Early Diary*, Feb. 20, 1774.

¹⁶⁷ *Dissertation on Parties*. Shebbeare had a hand in the *Monitor*, which he and his associates must have regarded as carrying on the work of the *Craftsman*.

¹⁶⁸ For instance, the sweeping eyebrows pulled down in a half-frown, one of the most striking features of the Bromley engraving of Shebbeare, are easily recognizable in Smollett's description. The engraving was printed in the *European Magazine*, Aug., 1788, 83. Here Shebbeare is represented as a plump Englishman in the late fifties, posing in a fez and loose coat. The finely curved upper lip, the small round chin and chubby cheeks give the lower part of the face a boyish look, but the long retreating forehead, with the fez, gives the upper part a hard Oriental cast.

In Ch. II Ferret is described as being so frightened that "his eyes retired within their sockets" and "his complexion, which was naturally of a copper hue," as shifting to a leaden color. Mason in his "Epistle to Dr. Shebbeare" assumes in the following that his face is bronzed.

"Enough of souls unless we waste a line
Shebbeare, to pay a compliment to thine
Which forg'd, of old, of strong Hibernian brass,
Shines through the Paris plaster of thy face,
And bronzes it, secure from shame, or sense,
To the flat glare of finish'd impudence."

the sockets, that each appeared like the unextinguished snuff of a farthing candle, gleaming through the horn of a dark lanthorn. His nostrils were elevated in scorn, as if his sense of smelling had been perpetually offended by some unsavoury odour, and he looked as if he wanted to shrink within himself from the impertinence of society. He wore a black periwig as straight as the pinions of a raven, and this covered with a hat flapped, and fastened to his head by a speckled handkerchief tied under his chin. He was wrapped in a greatcoat of brown frieze, under which he seemed to conceal a small bundle. His name was Ferret, and his character distinguished by three peculiarities. He was never seen to smile, he was never heard to speak in praise of any person whatsoever, and he was never known to give a direct answer to any question that was asked, but seemed, on all occasions, to be actuated by the most perverse spirit of contradiction.

The controversies between Sir Launcelot, to a certain extent the author's mouthpiece, and Ferret, who represents the political chicanery which is part of the evil against which Smollett's *Don Quixote* fights, echo much of the journalistic warfare that had taken place between Smollett as critic and Shebbeare as author of the *Letters*. For instance, Sir Launcelot's attack on Ferret for spreading false insinuations to poison the minds of his Majesty's subjects "in defiance of common honesty and common sense" is like a Smollett review in the *Critical*. In the clever mountebank scene, where Smollett, laughing at the dual nature of the Doctor, makes Ferret weave together an empiric's praise of his nostrum and a politician's dispraise of "High German quacks, that have blistered, sweated, bled and purged the nation into atrophy," one recognizes the Doctor's hatred of the Hanoverian foreign policy.

In describing Ferret's philosophy Smollett takes the opportunity to ridicule Shebbeare's opportunism and seemingly to cast a derisive glance at the sentimental primitivism of *Lydia*. For the benevolent state of nature as set forth in this novel Smollett substitutes Hobbes' state of nature where self-preservation is the only law. He has Ferret excuse the selfish cunning that freed him from Gobble's clutches but threw Sir Launcelot into them, with these words: "I look upon mankind to be in a state of nature, a truth which Hobbes has stumbled on by accident. I think every man has a right to avail himself of his talents, even at the expense of his fellow creatures; just as we see the fish, and other animals of creation, devouring one another." Accordingly he has a right to play cruelly with the hopes and fears of Crowe and Crabshaw when they seek to make use of his powers as a fortuneteller. But events show that Ferret is not consistent. When he himself becomes involved in a painful situation, he complains bitterly at the injustice of it.¹⁶⁹ He should have read

¹⁶⁹ When Ferret finds himself in debt he indulges in the following high-sounding sophistry "I have been oppressed and persecuted by the government for speaking truth; your

further in Hobbes and found out what was said about the rights of others

It seems that one or two of Ferret's traits came from Cadwallader Crabtree of *Peregrine Pickle*, although Shebbeare might have had them too. Both Ferret and Crabtree are misanthropic cynics. Penny's friendship turns into dislike when he concludes that Crabtree is a "morose cynic, not so much incensed against the follies and vices of mankind as delighted with the distress of his fellow creatures." Ferret is represented as unwilling to walk ten paces to save Captain Crowe from the gallows, and as consenting to frighten him at the vigil "merely in hope of seeing a fellow creature miserable." Ferret is even more indifferent to the suffering of others than Crabtree. Indeed to make others unhappy was essential to his own happiness. Smollett describes him as being constitutionally incapable of enjoying the serenity made possible by the financial security that came to him at the end of the novel. After a brief respite his "misanthropy" returned. "He could not bear to see his fellow creatures happy around him, and signified his disgust to Sir Launcelot, declaring his intention of returning to the metropolis, where he knew there would be always food sufficient for the ravenous appetite of his spleen."

How correct Smollett was in his estimate of Shebbeare's inability to change his nature was proved by later events. Neither Sir Launcelot's bounty nor Grenville's pension could alter what was fixed in the personality. The Doctor was a born Grub-streeter and political pamphleteer. Owing to the novelist's thorough comprehension of this character, Ferret is one of the most convincing of the minor figures in the novel of that day.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, he is interesting as a memento and as a kind of by-product of the animosity that arose between two typical eighteenth-century personalities, one a great novelist and the other an original whose character is more notable than his writings.

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omnipotent laws have reconciled contradictions. That which is acknowledged to be truth in fact, is construed falsehood in law, and great reason we have to boast of a constitution founded on the basis of absurdity."

¹⁷⁰ Eugene Joliat, *Smollett et la France* (1935), p. 206, in writing of the reception of *Sir Launcelot Greaves* in France, observes that *Le Drapeau Blanc*, June 10, 1824, gave the novel a favorable review because the Toryism of Smollett was pleasing to the ultra-royalists of that time. Mr. Joliat adds, "Le critique remarque surtout, dans le roman, le personnage de Ferret, un 'coureur de l'opposition,' un agitateur politique d'avant-garde, allant de ville en ville invectiver le gouvernement."

GOETHE AND IBSEN'S BUTTON-MOULDER

HENRIK IBSEN in his *Peer Gynt* has created a minor figure of absorbing interest—the Button-moulder—who embodies the poet's ideas regarding immortality. He appears grim and macabre as, with his huge ladle, he comes to fetch Peer's soul, yet there is a sort of Mephistophelian humor in his tone:

The Button-moulder

Your grave is dug ready, your coffin bespoke
The worms in your body will live at their ease;
But I have orders, without delay,
On Master's behalf to fetch in your soul!

Peer

It can't be! Like this, without any warning—!

The Button-moulder

It's an old tradition at burials and births
To appoint in secret the day of the feast,
With no warning at all to the guest of honor.¹

He explains that those human beings who have done something distinctive—either good or bad—live on in heaven or hell, these concepts being retained, while the vast majority, the great average, are, as Archer well translates it, again to be “merged in the mass” (p. 238) (at ga over i massen) by going into the Button-moulder's ladle. What is the provenience of this original figure, this “unorthodox symbol”?² The explanation lies partly in what biographers tell us of the dramatist's early life. We learn there why Ibsen chose precisely a button-moulder and not one of the many other comparable symbols:

Ibsen's Button-moulder was formed from one of the memories of his own childhood. In his boyhood days he himself had done some button-moulding, and we can imagine that he sometimes sat pondering the horror of being lost in the molten mass. Now the picture returned to him, and became to him the symbol of the wasted life which is blotted out.³

Before the appearance of the Button-moulder, there is an earlier reference to button-moulding in the scene toward the end of the third act in which Aase is rummaging among her ancient belongings. She comes upon an old casting-ladle (p. 96) and recalls that little Peer Gynt had

¹ P. 235. Page references to *Peer Gynt* are to Archer's translation (New York, 1908).

² P. G. La Chesnais, *Henrik Ibsen, Œuvres Complètes* (Paris, no date—appeared 1938), VIII, 64.

³ Halvdan Koht, *The Life of Ibsen* (New York, 1931), II, 31.

used it to play at button-moulding. In the fifth act the Button-moulder refers to this when he says, "You've worked at the craft" (p. 238).

We learn a bit more from the Danish novelist Vilhelm Bergsøe, who was Ibsen's companion during the composition of *Peer Gynt*. Bergsøe reports⁴ that one day, probably in July, 1867, they were walking along in silence when suddenly Ibsen amazed him with the question "Do you think one could represent a man on the stage with a casting ladle?" Bergsøe was puzzled and Ibsen did not explain. But the story indicates that Ibsen was searching for a suitable histrionic representation of his ideas on immortality and it is possible that on this very walk the Button-moulder was conceived.

The question of the poet's source for the Button-moulder is discussed by the chief commentator on this drama, the Belgian scholar H. Logemann.⁵ Logemann begins by dismissing as absurd the alleged provenience from the folktale of the smith, as claimed by Passarge, or from Oehlen-schlager's *Aladdin*, as alleged by J. Collin (p. 273), and goes on to state that the symbol contains rather common imagery, especially familiar from its use in the Bible; for which he cites

Jeremiah vi, 29. "The bellows are burned, the lead is consumed of the fire, the founder melteth in vain; for the wicked are not plucked away." Jeremiah ix, 7 "Therefore, thus sayeth the Lord of Hosts, Behold, I will melt them and try them; for how shall I do for the daughter of my people?" Ezekiel xxii, 20 "As they gather silver and brass and iron and tin, into the midst of the furnace, to blow the fire upon it, to melt it, so will I gather you in mine anger and in my fury, and I will leave you there and melt you." Malachi iii, 2, 3 "But who may abide the day of his coming? and who shall stand when he appeareth? For he is like a refiner's fire and like fuller's soap. And he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver, and he shall purify the sons of Levi and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering of righteousness."

Furthermore he mentions that Solveig's father had said to Peer (in the sketch): "Smelte dig, Luttre dig!" i.e., better your life, purify your soul. By further examples from this as well as other plays, he shows convincingly that Ibsen was familiar with this biblical imagery. Then he says (p. 277): "It is of course quite plain that *skabe om*, *smelte om*, *støbe om* all stand for the process of purification (*Luttre*) that the soul is to undergo, and that is precisely what Ibsen wished to express in the theory of the Button-moulder."

Strange to say, Logemann believes that Peer is to be condemned or at

⁴ *Henrik Ibsen paa Ischia* (Copenhagen, 1908), p. 212.

⁵ *A Commentary on Henrik Ibsen's Peer Gynt* (The Hague, 1917), pp. 313 ff. and much more explicitly, in an article, "The Caprices in Henrik Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*," *Edda*, vii (1917), 258-285 (page citations refer to this article).

least that a further encounter with the Button-moulder is to decide the question of his condemnation or salvation. The opposite view, held by most critics, is succinctly expressed by Giovanni Bach:

At last, on the brink of ultimate destruction, his death drawing near, Peer is saved through Solveig's unselfish and ennobling love, which kindles the latent spark of divinity within him, enabling him for once to face life unflinchingly and thereby to find himself ⁶

If we are in accord with this generally accepted view of Peer's end, we cannot find much meaning in Logemann's conclusion that Peer's soul is to be purified.

So we need not assume any direct influence of the use of similar imagery in *Aladdin* in order to explain the development of the little boy's childish amusement into an attribute of a messenger of Death. And we conclude that Ibsen's *Knappestøber* is a direct adaptation of the biblical imagery of purification to the chance words about Peer's youthful games, conceived as an afterthought some time in the July of 1867 (p. 286).

If Peer goes into the ladle he loses his identity, and how can "he" then be purified? One could just as reasonably speak of purifying a little tin soldier by tossing him into the mass in a ladle.

In order to arrive at a clearer notion than Logemann offers us regarding the Button-moulder, let us analyze this character a bit. First, we must consider on what basis he judges men, and secondly the punishment he metes out to those who lack personality—"a core." The Button-moulder informs Peer that he has "orders, without delay, on Master's behalf to fetch in your soul" (p. 235) because Peer is "no sinner on the so-called heroic scale," "but to call you a good man would be going too far," and "you're nor one thing nor t'other then, only so-so." This same ethical standard is applied also in Ibsen's *Brand*, is found in Kierkegaard, as well as in other Scandinavian writers whom Ibsen knew well. Hence, as Halvdan Koht indicates,⁷ we can look there for a source:

Then he meets his judge: the Button-moulder. Quite externally this meeting reminds one strongly of the "apocalyptic comedy" by J. L. Heiberg, *A Spirit after Death* (1840). Certain thoughts in the two dramas are closely associated: the soul in Heiberg is condemned for not great sins but for ordinary bourgeois paltriness, it had never cared for the things of the spirit, but had been content to live for material good and had never striven for a genuine personal existence. This draws a clear line from *A Spirit after Death*, through *Adam Homo*, to *Peer Gynt*. The line is raised a step upward for each of these works. In Heiberg it is still chiefly a philosophic-aesthetic demand that is made the test for the soul.

⁶ *The History of the Scandinavian Literatures*, Various authors (New York, 1938), pp. 39 f. ⁷ *The Life of Ibsen* (New York, 1931), II, 36 f.

Paludan-Muller makes it an ethical demand, and in Ibsen this ethical demand is sharpened to such an intensity that it bores itself burning into the soul he who does not follow his calling forfeits his right to life itself. He is worth no more than the chaff which the Almighty throws into the fire.

One may say that this thought could never have become so powerful a demand upon life and character had not Søren Kierkegaard's fiery spirit made an issue of it as he did, yet it is also true that Ibsen succeeded in giving it a searing quality which rendered it the very question of life and death to every man. The Button-moulder whom he made the judge and accuser, half humorous though he may seem, still moves in an atmosphere of ghastly horror much worse than either Mephistopheles in Heiberg or the *advocatus diaboli* in Paludan-Muller.

In Heiberg's and Paludan-Muller's dramas the paltry souls are condemned to hell (Adam Homo, to be sure, then is saved by his loving Alma and permitted to enter purgatory), while in Ibsen a strikingly different form of punishment is introduced, namely to be "merged in the mass." Did Ibsen derive it merely from his boyhood musings, as Koht seems to think, or did he have a literary source?

Ibsen's Boswell, John Paulsen, tells us that, just as Goethe venerated Shakespeare, so Ibsen studied Goethe, and not without results, he rarely mentioned Goethe, but when he did, it was with great admiration. Paulsen says that *Peer Gynt* particularly shows traces of Goethe's *Faust*. He calls attention to the form of the two works, rhymed couplets, often approaching colloquial speech interlarded with lyrical passages. He quotes Ibsen as saying of Goethe, "That he wrote *Faust* was the main thing."⁸

Furthermore, the manner of Faust's and Peer Gynt's salvation, brought about in part through a woman's devotion, is strikingly similar. Peer misquotes, true to character, "Das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns an." Halvdan Koht⁹ calls attention to the influence on Ibsen's views as expressed in his letter to Georg Brandes, February 17, 1871, of Goethe's words from the second part of *Faust*:

Nur der erwirbt sich Freiheit wie das Leben,
Der taglich sie erobern musz.

He who possesses liberty otherwise than as a thing to be striven for, possesses it dead and soulless, for the idea of liberty has undoubtedly this characteristic that it develops steadily during assimilation.¹⁰

While Horace and many other poets have expressed the same idea as the aged Faust:

Es kann die Spur von meinen Erdetagen
Nicht in Aeonon untergehen

⁸ *Erinnerungen an Henrik Ibsen* (Berlin: Fischer, 1907), pp. 66 and 73. See also A. Le Roy Andrews in *JEGP*, xii, 238-246. ⁹ *Op. cit.*, II, 83.

¹⁰ *Letters of Henrik Ibsen*, Translated by John N. Lørvik and Mary Morison (New York, 1905), p. 208.

it is very striking that Ibsen was positively haunted by this notion at the time when he was composing *Peer Gynt* in Ischia, as Bergsoe reports:¹¹

Moreover Ibsen was very self-confident and frequently expressed himself to the effect that he was not working for time, but for eternity, and when I replied that no author could attain that far, that even the greatest spirits were forgotten after the passage of thousands of years, he flew into a rage against me and said quite beside himself "Spare me your metaphysics If you rob me of eternity, you rob me of everything"

In other words, Ibsen himself was determined not to end in the Button-moulder's ladle, and he considered such a fate something gruesome and shameful Ibsen endowed *Peer Gynt* with his own horror of losing his identity, one of the appealing qualities possessed by this compromising weakling To less spirited beings the matter of survival or non-survival after death may be a matter of complacent indifference, but not to *Peer* and not to Ibsen, for them a merging with the elements was something to be avoided at all costs. The Button-moulder, in a magnificent passage, tells *Peer* of his great promise and dismal failure:

Now you were designed for a shining button
On the vest of the world, but your loop gave way,
So into the waste-box you needs must go,
And then, as they phrase it, be merged in the mass (p 238)

Peer in his replies seems quite as much "beside himself" as Ibsen had been in his talk with Bergsoe:

You're surely not meaning to melt me up,
With Dick, Tom and Hal into something new? (p 239)

No, I say! No! With both teeth and claws
I'll fight against this! Sooner anything else! (p 239)

I'll be damned if I do! (p. 241)

Evidently, in his view of after-life, Ibsen was aristocratic, i.e. he held that immortality was only for "the best," while the undistinguished majority would be merged with the elements I believe it can be shown that this conception also came to him from his reading of Goethe's great drama.

At the end of the *Helena* scenes in the third act of *Faust II* we learn the fate of the queen's servants, the maidens of the chorus, from the lips of *Panthalis* This leader of the chorus is so devoted to *Helen* that she will follow the queen into after-life, while the light-minded maidens of the chorus deserve no such distinction:

¹¹ Bergsoe, *op. cit.*, p 163

Wer keinen Namen sich erwarb, noch Edles will
 Gehört den Elementen an, so fahret hin!
 Mit meiner Königen zu sein verlangt mich heisz,
 Nicht nur Verdienst auch Treue wahrt uns die Person
 (9981-9984)

Bayard Taylor¹² comments on these lines.

Panthalis, the Chorage, is the only member of the Chorus who has manifested an individual character throughout the Interlude, consequently she remains it here, where the other members are about to be lost in the elements. We are reminded by what she says, of Goethe's vague surmises in regard to the future life. He hints on more than one occasion that a strong, independent individuality may preserve its *entelechie* (actual, distinctive being) while the mass of persons in whom the human elements are comparatively formless will continue to exist only in those elements. In 1829 (September 1) he said to Eckermann, "I do not doubt our permanent existence, for Nature cannot do without the *entelechie*. But we are not immortal in the same fashion, and in order to manifest oneself in the future life as a great *entelechie*, one must also become one." The subject seems to have been discussed with others, for we find Wilhelm von Humboldt, in 1830, writing to Frau von Wolzogen: "There is a spiritual individuality, but not everyone attains to it. As a peculiar, distinctive form of mind, it is eternal and immutable. Whatever cannot thus individually shape itself, may return into the universal life of Nature."

Other commentators on this passage cite a much earlier expression of the same thought by Goethe in a letter to Zelter, December 3, 1781:

... weil es ein Artikel meines Glaubens ist, dasz wir durch Standhaftigkeit und Treue in dem gegenwertigen Zustande, ganz allein der höheren Stufe eines folgenden werth und, sie zu betreten, fähig werden, es sey nun hier zeitlich oder dort ewig.

Faust, of course, was such an individual destined for immortality. It is worth noting that in the stage direction before line 11,825, where the angels are described, as bearing Faust's *Unsterbliches* to heaven, Goethe had written originally Faust's *Entelechie*. Because of his idealistic striving Faust attains to immortality, an event that is beautifully foreshadowed by Panthalis' phrasing of Goethe's profound conception of after-life. His view is soundly in conformity with our feelings of poetic justice, while of course it runs counter to the Christian dogma of eternal life for every single soul, even that of an hour-old babe; hence it avoids, also, for example, the pesky problem of infant damnation, regarding which the Scotch preacher said "God must do much in his official capacity that he would not do as a private individual." It hovers between our experience that the great have immortality in the memory of mankind and an intuitive belief in after-life which is found among most peoples. It strikes us as modern, in conformity with principles of science, e g., the indestructi-

¹² Faust, *The Second Part* (Boston, 1871), p. 431 (Note No. 126).

bility of matter. In the poem *Euphrosyne* Goethe presents the same idea, except that the "nameless" are here pictured as shades instead of being absorbed into the elements:

Nur die Muse gewahrt einiges Leben dem Tod
Denn gestaltlos schweben umher in Persephoneias
Reiche, massenweis, Schatten vom Namen getrennt,
Wen der Dichter aber geruhmt, der wandelt, gestaltet,
Einzeln, gesellet dem Chor aller Heroen sich zu

Eckermann reports a conversation of January 29, 1827, in the course of which Goethe spoke of his treatment of the Helena theme:

Auf den Gedanken, dass der Chor nicht wieder in die Unterwelt hinab will, sondern auf der heitern Oberfläche der Erde sich den Elementen zuwirft, tue ich mir wirklich etwas zu Gute

Es ist eine neue Art von Unsterblichkeit, sagte ich

This new type of immortality is discussed at length by Franz Koch¹³ in a monograph devoted especially to this subject. A brief quotation can make it apparent how close to Goethe stands Ibsen with his aristocratic view of society, his ever reiterated demand for self-realization, and his hatred of apathy rather than vice, as expressed, for example, in *Brand*.

Be passion's slave, be pleasure's thrall,
But be it utterly, all in all

Ob einer eine bedeutende Persönlichkeit ist und welches Schicksal, mit welcher Reinheit und Machtigkeit es sich in ihm verkörpert, das also ist das Entscheidende für die aristokratische Auffassung der Unsterblichkeitsidee, wie Goethe sie vertritt, und hat zunächst mit moralischer Wertung nichts zu tun. Ausserordentliche Menschen haben für Goethe den Rang von "groszen Naturerscheinungen," sie gelten ihm als "heilig," wobei garnicht in Betracht kommt, "ob solche Phänomene genutzt oder geschadet." Sie sind Beispiele wahrer Selbstverwirklichung.¹⁴

Goethe's conception of immortality was indeed an original one, and Panthalis' speech a poetic touch of which the author might well be proud. But it had nothing of the histrionic about it. It is a pleasing thought that the greatest dramatist of the nineteenth century should seize upon Goethe's idea and embody it in the vivid personality of the Button-moulder with his ominous ladle, his grim summons, and his picturesque humor, not forgetting his high ethical demand:

To be oneself is to slay oneself.

A. E. ZUCKER

¹³ *Goethe's Stellung zu Tod und Unsterblichkeit*, Goethe Gesellschaft (Weimar, 1932), pp 283 ff

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p 285. Koch here refers the reader to Goethe's Werke I, 48, 109 f., *Ueber die Verherrlichung der Helena*

A MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY DUTCH VIEW OF AMERICAN LIFE AND LETTERS

PERHAPS it would have been hard to find a writer on the continent of Europe during the second and third quarters of the last century who was so eager, so sympathetic, and so persistent a student of American life and letters as the Dutch poet, author, and critic, Everhardus Jan Potgieter (1808-75) ¹

To write of Everhardus Jan Potgieter in a year when Holland is in enemy hands is to be reminded first of all of what he wrote to his friend and fellow-editor of *De Gids*, Conraad Busken Huet, in July, 1869: "How does it strike you, do you not see the day dawning in which Europe, tired at last of its foolhardy worship of princes, will follow the example of the United States and form a great Federal Union?" ²

Potgieter very probably is a stranger to most of us, and if we are to be pleased by his interest in us, we shall need an introduction. About American indifference to Dutch literature he himself, in his fine novelle "Journey in the Rain," has the Hawthorne he has conjured up say to him: "I shall begin by offending your national pride: I know nothing about your literature . . . The complete neglect of the study of foreign languages in the States is a disgrace to us, shaming us as you do in this, you are enviable." ³ Potgieter was especially enviable. "He knew all the Germanic languages; he read and spoke High German, English, Swedish, Norwegian and Danish with uncommon facility, French literature was to him an open book and he seemed to have turned every page of it, he enjoyed the masterpieces of the Spanish and Italian authors and was able to appreciate these in the full beauty of the original. . . ." ⁴

A perusal of *De Gids* and a study of the eighteen volumes of Potgieter's collected works confirm the testimony. The many-sidedness and depth

¹ I want to acknowledge a general indebtedness in preparing this article to R. Pennink, "Potgieter en de Amerikaanse Letterkunde," *De Nieuwe Taalgids*, xxxiii (1929), 273-294.

² E. J. Potgieter, *Brieven aan Cd Busken Huet uitgegeven door G. Busken Huet* (Haarlem, 1902), II, 184. All quotations from Dutch authors in this article are given in English. The translations are mine. It seemed best to give the titles of Potgieter's works in English, the Dutch title of a work by him will be found in the footnote the first time the work is cited.

³ "Onderweg in den Regen," *De Gids*, 1864, IV, 446-447 (*De Werken van E. J. Potgieter Proza, Poezy, Kritiek verzameld onder toezicht van Joh. C. Zimmerman* [Haarlem, 1885, 1886], VII, 374. This work will hereafter be designated *Werken*).

⁴ Quoted by Dr. W. J. A. Jonckbloet, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (Groningen, 1892), IV, 184.

of Potgieter's studies are remarkable, the more so because he left school at thirteen and because he was by vocation throughout his life a mercantile house agent.⁵ The best product of his studies in the Scandinavian literatures—he was the first to introduce these to Holland and he did so effectively—were the two volumes of *The North in Scenes and Sketches*.⁶ As an example of his careful attention to French literature, one can single out his long critical review of Béranger's *Dernières chansons* and *Ma biographie*.⁷ A similarly penetrating study of an English poet—in the collected works this study runs to three hundred pages—is Potgieter's "George Crabbe."⁸ Byron and Scott he knew, of course, in Holland also these exerted an influence almost to contend with. He liked Burns. His own book-length translations from the English include Lamb's *Essays*, Bulwer's *Rienzi*, Beckford's *Vathek*, Hazlitt's *Table Talk*, and Leigh Hunt's *Studies and Sketches*.⁹ The most significant result of his pursuit of Italian literature is the astonishingly ambitious poetic study—or is it really a poem?—of Dante's life and experiences, "Florence."¹⁰ Written in Potgieter's unsuccessful variation of Dante's *terza rima*, "Florence" offers any student who wants to pursue Dante's influence upon modern literatures a challenging adventure. Goethe—but Goethe Potgieter had always on his tongue. "And as for our own history and literature," wrote a critic of his country, "few were so fully informed about and so completely absorbed in them."¹¹

It was as critic that Potgieter achieved most for the literature of Holland. "Potgieter was the first in The Netherlands to make the national literary criticism a separate branch of activity, the first out of whose reviews a book could be compiled which is its own *raison d'être*, and which is certain to live on."¹² His medium was *De Gids*, a literary critical journal which he edited from its first appearance in 1837 until 1865. The achievement of *De Gids* was so largely the product of Potgieter's inspiration and

⁵ For an account of Potgieter as business man, see P. N. Muller, "Potgieter ter Beurze," *De Gids*, 1886, iv, 411–420.

⁶ *Het Noorden, in Omtrekken en Tafereelen* (Amsterdam, 1836, 1840) (*Werken*, iii and iv).

⁷ *De Gids*, 1858, i, 119–129, 309–342, 440–467, 782–831 (*Werken*, xvii, 36–214).

⁸ "Een Blik naar Crabbe," *De Gids*, 1858, ii, 584–514 and "George Crabbe," *De Gids*, 1858, ii, 602–641, 780–819 and 1859, i, 105–156 and ii, 198–231, 799–877 (*Werken*, xvii, 252–412 and xviii, 1–141).

⁹ *Proeven van een Humorist* (Amsterdam, 1836), *Rienzi* (Deventer, 1836), *Vathek* (Amsterdam, 1837), *Tafelkout* (Amsterdam, 1840); *Studies en Schetsen* (Deventer, 1842).

¹⁰ *E. J. Potgieter Poezy* (Haarlem, 1868), i, 193–333, 337–438 (*Werken*, ix, 193–335, 337–441).

¹¹ Quoted by Jonckbloet, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, vi, 184.

¹² Cd Busken Huet, "Potgieter's Kritiek," *Litterarische Fantasiën* (Haarlem), xxii (1886), 35.

effort—he was substantially assisted by Bakhuizen van den Brink—that Zimmerman's nice summary of it is in place here.

Potgieter and his colleagues broke with the conventional, with the pathos and sentimentality, with the milk-and-water poetry, and with the puffing of events, deeds, and books which smacked of patriotism but were otherwise ordinary or banal, they returned to the study of Nature and immersed themselves in a regenerating bath of our national history—a history which to them was not solely a record of campaigns in the field but a story of the accomplishment of our forebears in every sphere in commerce, on sea, in industry, science, literature, and art. . . They conducted their criticism without pity, but also without respect of persons. A drop of biters in those many honey-laden cups seemed salutary to them. If the rod in their hands sometimes became a scourge, so much the better the time-embedded disease was not to be remedied by milder means. . . Dutch literature owed Potgieter and Van den Brink a cure of rejuvenation, the return to nature and truth, attention to local color and historical accuracy in its representations, a plastic realization of the object instead of personal impressions from it, and purer art forms. . .¹³

It was so. And the line which deserves italics in Zimmerman's account is the one about "the regenerating bath of our national history." "To love Old Holland, to hold up Old Holland before Young Holland: that was the dual purpose of Romanticism in The Netherlands, of the Artist and Critic Potgieter. . . ." So the poet Albert Verwey wrote in 1903.¹⁴ Potgieter withdrew from the staff of *De Gids* in 1865, leaving it, as Professor Barnouw has recently stated, "in the hands of respectable mediocrity."¹⁵ Twenty years later "Young Holland"—Willem Kloos, Frederik van Eeden, Albert Verwey, and others—founded a rival journal, *De Nieuwe Gids*. And these "men of the eighties" looked back to Potgieter as the best of their literary elders. Verwey wrote an appreciative interpretation of his life and Kloos in a sonnet "Aan Potgieter," addressed him as his "good Master," and called him "the one great poet of [his] time."

This is not the place to characterize the more than one hundred sixty original and translated poems, the sixty tales and sketches, the thirteen reviews of foreign and sixty-two reviews of Dutch literature, and the five articles on art which Potgieter contributed to *De Gids*. Nor is this the place to comment on the poems he contributed to the annual *Tesselschade* or published through other media as *Songs from Bontekoe*,¹⁶ "The Legacy

¹³ "Narede," *E. J. Potgieter's Verspreide en Nagelaten Werken*. . . uitgegeven onder toe ikt van Joh. C. Zimmerman (Haarlem), v (1876), 432–433.

¹⁴ *Het Leven van Potgieter* (Haarlem), pp. 242–243.

¹⁵ Adriaan J. Barnouw, *The Dutch* (Columbia University Press, 1940), p. 148.

¹⁶ *Liedekens van Bontekoe* (Amsterdam, 1840) (*Werken*, xii, 1–52).

of a Country Gentleman,"¹⁷ and "Florence " In prose and poetry alike, Potgieter was original, original to a fault. He was conscientiously true to his own patterns of thought, to his own modes of feeling. Consequently his style is sometimes peculiar and his meaning obscure. He depended on communicating the validity of his personality for his readers' attention. He would rather challenge, even annoy, them by an eccentricity than lull them into inattention by a hackneyed phrase or threadbare association.

In his "Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam," an essay which Busken Huet called "the most closely-knit, most artistic, and most distinguished prose piece that can be pointed to in our modern literature," Potgieter indicated where his treasure was and his heart also. The style is more fluent than was usual with him:

There was a time when the princes of Europe could not take up the balance of the nations except the maid of Holland, seated beside them at the bench, put her sword or her olive branch into the scale and sometimes tipped the beam, you who read this as well as I who write it were present a few years ago when she, having appeared with her party in the court of the Five Powers, was sentenced and put down by her equals and inferiors—There was a time when the flag of Holland was greeted as the mistress of the sea and was saluted wherever the morning, midday, or evening sun gilded the oceans of two hemispheres, a time when her admirals fixed a broom to the mast and, to use the virile language of the time, swept the scum from the seas; in a late assembly of Their Honors the States General, eloquent voices deplored Janmaat's inglorious respite from the sea¹⁸—There was a time when the merchants of Holland ventured to break the bonds laid upon them by the lords of the two Indies, and, more daring still, to brave the ends of the earth and find a passage "forbidden by nature," a time when the genius of trade earned a patent of nobility for herself by her marriage with learning, suppose if you can, God forbid it should happen, that Java were no longer to pour her treasures into our lap—say where then the serviceable ships of the merchant fleet would bend their prows, say where in North or in South America our love of enterprise has maintained connections, say where in China they remember us, or who in Australia knows us—There was a time when Holland longed for learning, valued learning, loved learning, and when in many a branch of study she became the oracle of the cultured world, when she did homage to the scholar—honoring the scholar in him without any other respect of person, a native and hence the object of her legitimate pride, or an exile and hence the object of her high-minded respect, a preserver of the old and therefore the guardian of treasures already achieved, or a crusader for the new and therefore the surety for her share in the conquest almost due, now—be it far from me, a novice in her temple, to judge as a blind man judging of colors—lend your ear

¹⁷ "De Nalatenschap van den Landjonker," *De Musen, Nederlandsch Tijdschrift* . . . , 1835, pp. 48-58, 154-159 (*De Werken*, xi, 151-165)

¹⁸ "Janmaat" is the personification of Holland at sea.

to the quarreling of her priests and deny if you can that the sacrifices laid on her altar are scanty and scarce, so scarce and so scanty that they explain and even justify the neighbor's indifference as he sees our rising wisp of smoke — There was a time when a Holland respected for her skill, envied for her wealth, and celebrated for her learning, wove the laurels of art into her threefold crown, when she had an ear for music and a feeling for poetry and revelled in both, a time, moreover, in which her school of painters evoked the wonder of Europe — an original school, born from her struggle for freedom, reproducing and making immortal the heroes of that struggle in a monument raised by that generation to itself . . . , a monument before whose splendor it befits us only to bow our heads in shame each time it reflects as in a mirror all the gifts, all the energies, all the virtues of that generation, until we, feeling what we once were and what we now are, gird ourselves . . . ¹⁹

That was the theme of Potgieter's gifted life. Busken Huet wrote that Potgieter thought the Dutch struggle for the national independence and the Republic of the Seven Provinces to which it gave birth — perfect, that he saw signs of life and vigor even in the civil and religious broils which accompanied it, that he loved and honored in the eighteenth century only that which it had in common with the seventeenth, and — what is more — that Holland's past was the rule of his faith in her future.²⁰

It was history that inspired him, history, as Zimmermann said, "not of campaigns in the field" but of the achievements of the past in every sphere. *De Gids* was primarily a literary journal but the editors thought of literature always in relation to the whole complex of the national life. Seven years after the first issue appeared, another journal, the *Spectator*, devoted exclusively to art, felt called upon to urge its claims for the integrity of the aesthetic over against the general culture of Potgieter and Van den Brink. Our own puristic times have taken the stand of the *Spectator*. Potgieter did not take it. He knew as well as anyone that literature is not a substitute for morals, patriotism, religion, or history — and he pointed it out to a public which needed the distinction. He knew that literature works its own effects in its own way. But what for him gave it much of its importance when successful in this was its relation to the national mind and life and character.

A burgher, fundamentally democratic by disposition and breeding; a liberal with idealistic hopes for the possibilities of freedom in democratic states,²¹ a patriot who derived his standards of excellence from the national past and insisted on their relevance to the present; a "man of

¹⁹ "Het Rijks-Museum te Amsterdam," *De Gids*, 1844, II, 18-19 (*Werken*, II, 100-102).

²⁰ "Potgieter's Kritek," *Letterarische Fantasien*, XXII, 22 ff.

²¹ For a discussion of how Potgieter's sympathies for America were related to his idealistic liberalism, see C. G. N. de Vooy, *Letterkundige Studreen* (Groningen, 1910), pp. 219 ff.

letters" who saw literature always in relation to the whole complex of the national culture, a hard student of comparative literature; a business man who thrilled to vigorous trade, a romanticist who could not resist "all that was young, stirring, and alive"²²—on the face of it, such a man might be a likely student of American life and letters

Potgieter was First of all, he liked the American dream:

America, you who turn none away from your shores, who not only write *e pluribus unum* on your banner, but have in very fact united the many-sided energies of your immigrants into the great white whole of a freely evolved and complete embodiment of all that is human, what a splendid spectacle you offer, what more does the world not expect of you? [Our] eye falls eagerly upon you, the rapidly developed, fortunate, free State, without king, nobility, or ecclesiastical caste, luring the peoples as by magic and exerting an immediate and irresistible influence upon them as unperceived as it is effective . . . a challenge to the present, a prophecy of the distant future

So he wrote in his "Emigration to the United States" in 1855.²³ The essay itself, prompted by the receipt of two letters from the Reverend Scholte's Dutch settlement at Pella, Iowa, is an interesting reconsideration of the causes of Dutch emigration to America. Potgieter was by no means convinced that the reasons alleged by the leaders of the emigrant parties to be the causes for emigration were sound, but he could not quarrel with the choice of destination: ". . . go to the United States, my friends . . . Westward the Star points the way"²⁴ As late as 1872 Potgieter transcribed the whole of Bishop Berkeley's poem and sent it to Huet at Java. With it he sent an article from the *New-York Shipping and Commercial List* which served as evidence for the fulfillment of Berkeley's vision.²⁵ Potgieter's American dream is romantic but it is also real. ". . . on the other side of the Ocean a society has developed, free from most of our antiquated prejudices, in which man, irrespective of who his forebears were, counts only for what *he is*."²⁶ Again, in a comment on Longfellow, also written in 1853, Potgieter referred to America as "a people which, even as ours in its youth, is pointing the world in new directions, believing, and meanwhile working"²⁷ He was continually seeing such parallels between the energy of the old Holland he loved and the energy of the young United States he admired. "Much as I should enjoy seeing you and your family again," he wrote to Busken Huet in 1870, "I believe that

²² Quoted by Pennink, "Potgieter en de Amerikaanse Letterkunde," p. 274

²³ "Landverhuizing naar de Vereenigde Staten," *De Gids*, 1855, I, 529-530 (*Werken*, VIII, 216-218)

²⁴ "Landverhuizing . . .," *De Gids*, 1855, I, 529 (*Werken*, VIII, 216).

²⁵ *Brieven aan Huet*, III, 180-183. See also page 236

²⁶ "Landverhuizing . . .," *De Gids*, 1855, I, 467 (*Werken*, VIII, 140).

²⁷ "Pietistische Poesij," *De Gids*, 1853, II, 314 (*Werken*, XV, 40).

if I had three or six months time, I should go the the United States”²⁸

Potgieter knew “the joy of hero-worship”²⁹ He was a hard student of Bancroft,³⁰ and from Bancroft he learned much about the three leaders of American life, Franklin, Washington, and Lincoln, whom he counted among his heroes In his “Béranger” he eagerly quoted Washington’s and Bancroft’s tributes to Benjamin Franklin, and in the same essay he drew Franklin into a significant digression on the subject of clothes and diplomacy³¹ Franklin has a place also in his poems “Mount Vernon” and “Abraham Lincoln.” Potgieter had come into possession of a rose which had grown on Washington’s grave: “If Potgieter, who revered the rose plucked from Washington’s grave as a relic and decorated his sitting room with it, had visited Washington’s country, ‘Abraham Lincoln’ would not have remained a fragment and ‘Mount Vernon’ would have been surpassed”³²

“Mount Vernon” and “Abraham Lincoln”—Dutch literature owes these to Potgieter’s study of American life The two can appropriately be named together, for the theme of both is slavery “Mount Vernon”³³ comprises twenty-four long stanzas divided into two groups of twelve, the first group entitled ‘1799’ and the second ‘1861.’ A published note to the poem explains the scheme: “Mount Vernon . . . was the property of George Washington and on it during the night of the 14th December he died,—Mount Vernon, where it was thought his remains were assured a well-earned rest, became in 1861 one of the points contested by the Divided States.” The poem is successful It begins with a stirring address to the sun which is casting its last rays through the window at the feet of the dying Washington, and it is the sun which serves effectively as a formal motif for the poem. Considering the temptation to sentimentality which the subject invites—occasionally Potgieter yielded to it—and the absence of great poems on the theme in our own literature, one is impressed by the effectiveness of “Mount Vernon.”

“Mount Vernon” is dated 1861. At the time of his death in 1875, Potgieter was engaged in writing a cycle of poems, or a cyclical poem, to be entitled “Abraham Lincoln.”³⁴ Zimmerman, who edited the manuscript for publication, stated that Potgieter had “with his usual painstaking thoroughness gathered the materials from all sides.”³⁵ Seven parts,

²⁸ *Brieven aan Huet*, III, 70.

²⁹ Pennink, “Potgieter en de Amerikaanse Letterkunde,” p. 293.

³⁰ For example, in “Landverhuizing . . .,” *De Gids*, 1855, I, 465–467, 494–498 (*Werken*, VIII, 137–139, 174–178), “Béranger,” *De Gids*, 1858, I, 815 (*Werken*, XVII, 190), and “Onder Weg in den Regen,” *De Gids*, 1864, II, 435–436 (*Werken*, VIII, 360).

³¹ *De Gids*, 1858, I, 814–815 (*Werken*, VII, 189–191)

³² Cd Busken Huet, “Potgieter Persoonlijke Herinneringen,” *Letterarische Fantasien en Krinkeken*, XIII, 73.

³³ *De Gids*, 1861, II, 914–932 (*Werken*, IX, 126–143).

³⁴ *Werken*, XII, 378–415.

³⁵ *Werken*, XII, 378 n.

each part consisting of one or more six-stanza groups, are extant: "Lincoln's Election," "Europe Hears the News," "Lincoln at the Capitol," "Fort Sumter," "Lincoln's Proclamation," "The Attitude of Europe," and "The Battle of Bull Run." In this poem, as in "Mount Vernon," Potgieter succeeds in giving his composition a feeling of weight and scope. Strangely enough, the person of Washington is more real in the first poem than the person of Lincoln is in the second. Coming to it from Whitman, Lindsay, and Sandburg, American readers will find the fragment of "Abraham Lincoln" unimpressive.

There were stains "on the great white whole" of the America Potgieter hoped for. Slavery was one of them. "God's image carved in ebonywood," he called the Negro in "Mount Vernon," "Abraham Lincoln," and "Salmagundi." He concluded his apostrophe of praise to America at the end of "Emigration to the United States" with a question which weighed heavily with him: "Brave, dazzling, stalwart Beauty,³⁶ who bear on your shield the arms of labor and liberty, why does there cling to your white robe the stain of Slavery, the blood of your African brother?"³⁷ In his poem "To New York," written in 1842, he had similarly asked: "Do you honor in Negroes the image of God?"³⁸ Moreover, his anxiety about the abuse of the slave very probably affected his choice of poems from Longfellow for translation in *De Gids*. "The Slave's Dream" appeared in 1843,³⁹ "The Slave Singing at Midnight"⁴⁰ and "The Good Part" in 1844,⁴¹ and "The Quadroon Girl" in 1845.⁴² "God's image carved in ebonywood," he wrote in 1851, "has found a champion in Longfellow who will overcome the prejudice."⁴³

The abuse of the Indian was another grief to Potgieter. Often, as in the poems "To New York," "Mount Vernon," and "Abraham Lincoln," he stood before America, as Pennink put it, almost in the rôle of a father-confessor.⁴⁴ The abuse of the Indian and the abuse of the slave were her arch-transgressions. His ethical concern for the Indian, too, is reflected in his choice of poems for translation. In 1839 he gave his readers Longfellow's "Burial of the Minnisink"⁴⁵ and Whittier's "The Indian's Tale."⁴⁶ His epigraph over Whittier's poem read: "The poor tribes of the

³⁶ Here the Dutch is untranslatable. "Slanke, schitterende, stoute, Schoone . . ."

³⁷ "Landverhuizing . . .," *De Gids*, 1855, I, 530

³⁸ "Aan New-York," *Nederlandsche Muzen-Almanak*, xxiv, 15-22 (*Werken*, ix, 22-28).

³⁹ "De Droom van den Slaaf," *De Gids*, 1843, II, 615-616 (*Werken*, xii, 227-229)

⁴⁰ "Het Zingen van den Slaaf," *De Gids*, 1844, II, 337-338 (*Werken*, ix, 45-46)

⁴¹ "Het Goede Deel," *De Gids*, 1744, II, 596-598 (*Werken*, xii, 237-240)

⁴² "Het Quarteronne-Meisje," *De Gids*, 1845, II, 310-312 (*Werken*, xii, 263-265).

⁴³ "Salmagundi," *De Gids*, 1851, I, 670 (*Werken*, vii, 361-362)

⁴⁴ Pennink, "Potgieter en de Amerikaanse Letterkunde," p. 287

⁴⁵ "Begravenis van den Minnisink," *De Gids*, 1839, II, 395-396 (*Werken*, xi, 321-323).

⁴⁶ "Weeklagt des Indiaans," *De Gids*, 1839, II, 123-124 (*Werken*, xi, 328-331)

West! The war, the whiskey, and the pestilence among the children were too much for them." That is a quotation taken from his own contribution to *De Gids* of 1838, "Mahaskah or the White Cloud" ⁴⁷ "Mahaskah" is a pleasant account of Indian life adapted entirely from American materials. First of all, Potgieter made use of the descriptions of Mahaskah and Young Mahaskah in Thomas L. M'Kenney and James Hall's *History of Indian Tribes in North America* ⁴⁸ Potgieter welcomed the volume as a token of belated justice to the Indians:

No longer tolerated, they were despised, and only now when Europe is transplanting herself to the other side of the Ocean, only now does history direct its research to a race which had only the wilderness as a witness and, accordingly, as the grave for its heroic deeds, a race which approached the altar of civilization only to be butchered upon it. Their fate arouses an interest as romantic as it is touching . . . There is a justice for the aborigine also. If Cooper has excited the interest of the old world in the red men by presenting them in a few of his romantic panoramas, now two of his countrymen have undertaken to write their history. . . ⁴⁹

Potgieter spoke of "eagerly following the American poets into those places of the New World . . . where only the wild horse and the man of nature have been" ⁵⁰ The "Mahaskah" itself shows his reading of the poets. He introduced the piece with an adaptation of and improvement upon Mrs. Sigourney's "The Indian's Welcome to the Pilgrim Fathers." ⁵¹ He translated and wove into his vignette John G. Brainard's "Far away from the hill side," ⁵² a poem based on Leather Stocking's determination "to quit the settlements of men for the unexplored forests of the west." ⁵³ To these, finally, he added Isaac McLellan's "Burial of One of the First Colonists in 1630," ⁵⁴ and Bryant's "An Indian at the Burying-place of his Fathers." ⁵⁵ Obviously, Potgieter was a student of the Indian. As early as 1839 he knew enough about the subject to share Mark Twain's notion of a Cooper Indian, for in this year he praised Miss Sedgwick's charac-

⁴⁷ "Mahaskah of de Witte Wolk," *De Gids*, 1838, II, 446-458 (*Werken*, VI, 203-221)

⁴⁸ Potgieter was using the first volume of the edition published by Campbell and Burns (London, 1837) ⁴⁹ *De Gids*, 1838, II, 447-448 (*Werken*, VI, 205-206).

⁵⁰ *De Gids*, 1838, II, 446 (*Werken*, VI, 204)

⁵¹ "De Ontmoeting der Oude en Nieuwe Wereld," *De Gids*, 1838, II, 446 (*Werken*, VI, 204)

⁵² The poem was published without title in John G. C. Brainard, *Occasional Pieces of Poetry* (New York, 1825), pp. 49-51

⁵³ Brainard, *Occasional Pieces of Poetry*, p. 49

⁵⁴ "Begrafenis van een' der eerste Kolonisten in 1630" Not included in McLellan's three published volumes of verse. I could not trace it in the journals of the period

⁵⁵ "De Indiaan op de Begraafplaats zijner Vaderen" The poem was first published in *Poems*, ed. Washington Irving (London, 1832), pp. 173-176.

terization of the red men in *Hope Leshe*, and added, "Don't tell me you have learned to know them from Cooper."⁵⁶

There were other features of American life which Potgieter mistrusted. The love of money was prominent among them. Potgieter had reason to know from his fine awareness of Dutch history that this is the root of evil. In the effective characterization of Holland embodied in the Jan of his "Jan, Jannetje and their youngest child," Potgieter has Jan say:

I was only a business man—don't think I despise him, no one in the world is more useful, a man who must know all kinds of things and all kinds of people, who must have the courage to undertake the most variegated enterprises, including the courage for war on water and on land, a man who must appreciate knowledge and art in order to stand up against competitors and remain abreast of his times—a business man, I was only a business man, I repeat. But then, when I had reached the apex of the growth of my character, I was most exposed to the threat of degeneration. Abundance enervates, slackens, emasculates. Instead of the strong, high-minded spirit which animated me in the days of my development, a pettiness of mind and an indifference of heart, characteristic of the newly rich, became mine. I grew vain and deluded, I became proud and lazy . . .⁵⁷

Potgieter, always the moral idealist, never the moralist, was in dead earnest when he pointed to what he thought were lapses or the symptoms of lapses in the American character. His attitude was that of a man who had high hopes for America, who hung breathlessly upon her fate, and who was anxious lest her pride should go before a fall. This attitude is characteristically revealed in "Mount Vernon." In it Potgieter points to the little band of Pilgrims. Their glory was the glory of struggle. Escaped from the ugly claw of persecution, they faced the new dangers of their physical environment. What inspired them to miracles of accomplishment was the Word of God ingrafted in their hearts. Potgieter asks them, now, whether they recognize this new generation as their own. It is a generation which blandly ignores purpose in life, takes no care to train its youth in discipline and loyalty, is willing to gamble anything and everything for profit, and not only chooses, but lives up to the motto: "The dollar only, the dollar is almighty."⁵⁸ So too in the poem "To New York" Potgieter had asked the city whether in its haughtiness and greed it was not offering sacrifices of gold upon its altars.⁵⁹ Always, however, his constructive idealism is apparent. He concludes "To New York" with the confident plea, "Shame us by surpassing us."

America had virtually no other faults to Potgieter. He was amused by

⁵⁶ *De Gids*, 1839, I, 146

⁵⁷ "Jan, Jannetje, en hun jongste Kind," *De Gids*, 1842, II, 44 (*Werken*, I, 29-30)

⁵⁸ "Mount Vernon," *De Gids*, 1861, II, 914-932 (*Werken*, IX, 126-143).

⁵⁹ *Werken*, IX, 28

her worship of size "Imagine, they are building a bridge over the father of waters, over the Mississippi *Young America* is confounding the whole world by so mammoth an undertaking . . . There is to be a tunnel with side aisles and arches supported by pillars Egyptian-Assyrian architecture, be ashamed, Memphis and Nineveh, bow your heads!"⁶⁰ Moreover, Potgieter had heard of the American sensitiveness to the criticism of foreigners. He construed it in our favor: "The citizen of the United States may make himself ridiculous by flying into a tantrum at every criticism of the foreigner. He is at least sensitive, and when the fit has blown over, there is a good chance that he will ask himself, 'Could there have been any truth in it?'"⁶¹

Potgieter, it is evident, liked his *Young America*. He took an affectionately patronizing attitude towards her, was often anxious about her, and continued to be studious of her past and present. He liked to conjure up the American scene and to imagine himself moving in it.⁶² He knew that scene well. In 1869 Huet had written an article about the Pacific Railroads, and when he sent it to Potgieter the accompanying map was missing. Potgieter wrote, "I regret this, and why? Because I plan to go to the States? No, but on however small a scale it may have been, it would have enabled me to point out to you with my finger how many opportunities you neglected to give your essay a little of the local color from which it would have gained so much."⁶³

Perhaps it was this interest in American life which aroused Potgieter's interest in American literature. "We cannot . . . say," wrote Pennink, "that Potgieter had a monopoly [in Holland] of the literary interest in the United States, but very likely it was he first and he only who viewed American literature more or less as a whole and remained interested in it continuously. . . ." ⁶⁴ Potgieter did indeed view American literature as a whole. His two brief, general surveys of it, the one in his review of Miss Sedgwick's *Linwood* and *Hope Leslie*,⁶⁵ the other in his novelle "Journey in the Rain,"⁶⁶ point to the range of his studies in American letters. He took care to be informed. He often read the American journals, thanks in part perhaps to the fact that he was a member of an "English and American Reading Society" at Amsterdam.⁶⁷ One can definitely trace his use of the *North American Review*, the *Knickerbocker*, the *American Literary Gazette*, the *Columbian*, and the *Atlantic Monthly*.⁶⁸

⁶⁰ *Brieven aan Huet*, II, 82.

⁶¹ *De Gids*, 1858, I, 461 (*Werken*, XVII, 133).

⁶² See, for example, *De Gids*, 1860, II, 870-871 and "Onderweg in den Regen," *De Gids*, 1864, IV, 452-453 (*Werken*, VIII, 381-382).

⁶³ *Brieven aan Huet*, II, 292.

⁶⁴ "Potgieter en de Amerikaanse Letterkunde," p. 277.

⁶⁵ *De Gids*, 1839, I, 135-149.

⁶⁶ *De Gids*, 1864, IV, 449-450 (*Werken*, VIII, 377-378).

⁶⁷ See *Brieven aan Huet*, II, 205.

⁶⁸ In 1872 Potgieter wrote Huet that he had found Frederick Hudson's *Journalism in the United States from 1690-1872* interesting.

Again and again while reading him one is surprised to note how soon after publication an American author's volume came into Potgieter's hands. At the time of his death he left a library, later given to the University of Amsterdam, which contained "besides a large amount of American historical writings, seventy-five items of American literature."⁶⁹

Potgieter had much to say of Cooper and Irving. ". . . It was especially through him, together with a few translators, that Holland shared in the general European admiration for Cooper and Irving."⁷⁰ In 1837, the first year of *De Gids*, Potgieter momentarily joined the translators of Cooper. He selected two excerpts from *A Residence in France with an Excursion up the Rhine and a Second Visit to Switzerland*, a book of travel which Cooper had published in Paris in 1836. He published the excerpts together with an introduction from which we learn that he intended to give the readers of *De Gids* portions of Cooper's travelogues from time to time. This intent he did not carry out. The Cooper he praised in the introduction is the Cooper of the sea tales. Potgieter could not agree with the judgment of the Muse who, distributing the world, gave Scott the earth, Moore heaven, and Byron hell—a disposition, Potgieter felt, more clever than just. But when Jonathan—Potgieter had been reading Irving, Paulding, and Willis—asked the same Muse that Neptune's triton be given to Cooper, no one could object:

We appeal to the judgment of those who have read his masterly panoramas in this kind—in fact we appeal precisely to the limited scope of his talent. Scott, Moore, and Byron have a range of powers, Cooper, to the contrary, you must leave at sea if you want to admire him. Please do not cast up his wildernesses, his *Savannahs*, his forests at me, what are these but another ocean, interminable spaces. I recognized Cooper but twice in his *Bravo*, once in an unfortunate reference to *The Spy*, once in the description of that stirring battle on the Adriatic—he saw in Venice only another Venus, borne out of the waves. Do not ask me to write of the *Heidemaer* and the *Headsman*. I do not like to hunt out the thorns on the rose, I deplore every mistaken application of talent or genius. . .⁷¹

In his "Mahaskah," written the following year, Potgieter admitted that Cooper had aroused Europe's interest in the Indian.⁷² However, in a review written in this same year of Steenberg van Goor's translation

⁶⁹ Pennink, "Potgieter en de Amerikaanse Letterkunde," p. 293. I regret not having had access to a book. Pennink mentions *Catalogus van de Bibliotheek van wijlen E. J. Potgieter aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam*. gegeven door Mej. E. J. Potgieter (Amsterdam, 1879).

⁷⁰ "Potgieter en de Amerikaanse Letterkunde," p. 277.

⁷¹ "John Fenimore Cooper op Reis," *De Gids*, 1837, II, 69-74. Potgieter's "Een Tuin achter het Huus" is a freely selected translation of the earlier parts of Letter VIII, "Excursion up the Rhine", Potgieter's "Louis Philippe en General Lafayette" is a translation of the footnote to Letter IV, "Residence in France," p. 49.

⁷² *De Gids*, 1838, II, 448 (*Werken*, VI, 206).

of J. P. R. James's *Mary of Burgundy*, Potgieter returned to his earlier judgment: "We regretted to notice that Cooper was not mentioned [in the translator's survey of foreign novels that had ruled the day in Holland], but Steenberg van Goor was touching only on novels that had ruled the day among us, and neither *The Spy* nor *The Pilot* were as satisfactorily received as they deserved to be."⁷³ In 1839, however, the Cooper of the Leather Stocking tales as well as the Cooper of *The Spy* and *The Rover* was praised:

Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving were, until a few years ago, the only writers who upheld the honor of the young New World among us Europeans in the department of polite letters. . . The fame of Chateaubriand was eclipsed by that of Cooper wherever panoramas of the wilderness and its natives were concerned. Cooper taught the world to be interested in a ship lost upon the waves, as though ropes, masts, and sails were so many animated beings, as though a heart were beating in the terrible rigging. . .

Unfortunately Cooper had not sustained his eminence:

But Cooper, alas, Cooper, taken in by the New World to the ridiculous extent of spurning the old, has set himself up as a censor of European civilization! And his *Travels*! Do not ask me to speak of them or of his latest work *Eve Effingham* or *Home*. . .⁷⁴

When, in 1857, Potgieter returned to the consideration of Cooper, he said nothing about the novels of the sea: "Out of the deluge of his writings James Fenimore Cooper will reach the peak of reputation among those who come after by means of *The Pathfinder* and *The Deerslayer*. The whole of the old world envies the new his creation of Leather Stocking; and yet, Europe in the dawn of her civilization must have seen the prototype of this man hundreds of times."⁷⁵ And Friedrich Nippold reported that when he first met Potgieter in 1860, Potgieter's talk had been all of Cooper and Irving, of Shakespeare and Scott.⁷⁶

Potgieter first mentioned Irving in a letter to Aernout Drost in 1833. The *Alhambra* was the occasion of the remark.⁷⁷ Five years later Potgieter singled out for praise the four books which to him seemed best among Irving's works:

. . . Irving still seems to find favor with our public, irrespective of how tedious he has become since his excellent *Sketch Book*, his choice *Bracebridge Hall*, his stirring *Tales of a Traveller*, and his masterly *Alhambra*.⁷⁸

⁷³ *De Gids*, 1838, I, 193.

⁷⁴ *De Gids*, 1839, I, 140.

⁷⁵ "Grond en Geschiedenis," *De Gids*, 1857, I, 86 (*Werken*, xv, 121-122).

⁷⁶ So Pennink ("Potgieter en de Amerikaanse Letterkunde," p. 289) has it from Nippold, *Mannen van Beteekenis in onze Dagen* (Haarlem, 1875).

⁷⁷ Noted by Pennink ("Potgieter en de Amerikaanse Letterkunde," p. 280) from J. M. de Waal's "Briefwisseling van Aernout Drost met Potgieter en Heye," *Tijdschrift van Nieuwe Taal en Letterkunde*, 1918, p. 117.

⁷⁸ *De Gids*, 1838, I, 193.

In 1839 Potgieter drew Irving into a comparison with Cooper: "More versatile, but not so original, was Irving: a resounding command of language, a talent for style which enabled him by one leap to come abreast of the novels of his mother country, mind and feeling, spirit and whim—these gave his sketches a popularity beyond the reach of his genial countryman"⁷⁹ Mind and feeling, spirit and whim—these were the very qualities which distinguished Potgieter's own tales and sketches.

There can be no doubt that Potgieter had Irving's work frequently in mind during the year 1842. He translated from the columns of the *Knickerbocker* the section of "The Crayon Papers" entitled "Don Juan A Spectral Romance"⁸⁰ Moreover, 1842 is the date of Potgieter's "To New York," and "To New York" is Potgieter's answer to the Irving who caricatured the Dutch. Albert Verwey thought well enough of the poem to introduce four stanzas from it into his *Life of Potgieter*, together with the comment: "How good the spirit of that seems to me, who, as a lad, wept tears of regret between the rocks of New Mexico because no American there had ever heard of a Dutch Indies, or of an Amsterdam other than the place where they sell diamonds. . . ."⁸¹

Potgieter suggests in the poem that the great city has become ashamed of her origins, has forgotten Hendrik Hudson and the doughty Dutch who accompanied him. In Albany alone a sham-token of remembrance remains. There on Saint Nicholas Eve they raise a toast "To Holland's King." Potgieter refuses the lifted cup. He knows from the way in which they have dismembered the Dutch language that theirs is no real appreciation of the best traditions of their people. As for Irving, Willis, Paulding, and the rest of the caricaturists, Potgieter is really a little hurt by their monstrosities:

Onz' voorzaat strekt karikatuur
 Van wie bij u vernuften heeten!
 Misdeeld van lijf, van geest beroofd,
 Zoo schetst gij hen in iedren bondel,
 Hen, 't volk de harpe waard van Vondel,
 Hen, 't volk de veder waard van Hooft!
 Ik zoek vergeefs naar één geregte,
 Van Irving af tot Willis toe,
 Die aan hun deugd zijn zegel hechte,
 Die Stuivesand geen onregt doe,
 Die Evertsen een eerkrans vlechte!⁸²

⁷⁹ *De Gids*, 1839, I, 140.

⁸⁰ "Don Juan Studies van Spoken," *De Gids*, 1842, II, 91-101. The original was first published in the *Knickerbocker*, XVIII, 247-253 (March, 1841) and later in *Wolfer's Roost and other Papers* (New York, 1855).

⁸¹ *Het Leven van Potgieter*, pp. 264-265.

⁸² "Aan New-York," *Werken*, IX, 25.

It would, however, be false to suggest that Potgieter was disposed to exaggerate the part played by Holland in the building of New York. In 1855, he wrote:

America is the sphere in which we have been the least successful, in the North [New York] as well as in the South [Brazil], the expectations of the forebears have proved vain. Even though the memory of a few Dutch generations lives on near New York in the names given to an attractive island or lovely estate, you know it, the efforts of our fathers at colonizing New Netherland failed. "Brazil neglected!" sang Otto Swier van Haren, and many of our readers, remembering that poet's couplet, will anticipate us in saying that fate has rebaptized the Dutch cities below as well as above the equator. New Amsterdam has become a strange sound on the banks of the Hudson, and who hearing Fernambucq named remembers that it was once called Mauritsstad?⁸³

In its undertone of ethical seriousness, its concern about indifference to the values of history and tradition, "To New York" resembles "Mount Vernon." In its praise of Holland's impressive past, it reminds of the "Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam," written two years later. In its proximity to humor, it suggests the riper, more seasoned response to Irving of "Journey in the Rain." It is because the poem is typical of Potgieter in all the qualities of his peculiar personality that it will remain permanently interesting to students of Dutch literature.

The year 1842 is also the year of Potgieter's "Jan, Jannetje, and their youngest child,"⁸⁴ a prose piece which achieves as a charming sketch what the "Rijksmuseum" two years later was to accomplish as a brilliant essay. Potgieter is at his genial, humorous, and whimsical best in the piece. The form allows him all the digressions, allusions, and insinuations he needed to be successful as a writer. "Jan, Jannetje . . ." is in all the schoolbooks: there is as much essential Holland in it as in an album of De Hoogh.

Indirectly, Irving contributed to "Jan, Jannetje . . ." In the "John Bull" of his *Sketch Book* he suggested to Potgieter what could be done towards embodying richly suggestive national types in the prose sketch. Irving had written:

There is no species of humor in which the English more excel, than that which consists in caricaturing and giving ludicrous appellations or nick-names. In this way they have whimsically designated not merely individuals but nations, and in their fondness for pushing a joke, they have spared not even themselves. One would think that in personifying itself, a nation would be apt to picture something grand, heroic, and imposing, but it is characteristic of the peculiar humour of the English, and of their love for what is blunt, comic, and familiar,

⁸³ "Landverhuizing . . ." *De Gids*, 1855, I, 486 (*Werken*, VIII, 163-164).

⁸⁴ *De Gids*, 1842, II, 22-46 (*Werken*, I, 1-33).

that they have embodied their national oddities in the figure of a sturdy, corpulent old fellow, with a three-cornered hat, red waistcoat, leather breeches and stout oaken cudgel

From that—and from the John Bulls and Brother Jonathans of Paulding, Willis, and Haliburton, whom Potgieter also knew—Potgieter caught the suggestion of what could be done towards embodying the time-honored Jan, who is Holland, in a prose sketch Potgieter's Jan is talking of his foreign relations:

"Hm! John Bull," he says, "whom I trust least when everything seems to be at its best between us. Hm, hm! Hans Moff," he adds . . . "who will be insistent now that he is making so much of those few beets Hm, hm! Monsieur, too, who ought to remember how well I cared for him when he was here. Even Jonathan, —well, well, who would not be boasting of a New York yet, if I had not laid out a New Amsterdam for him . . . No matter, better be envied than pitied."

For Irving's figure of a "sturdy, corpulent old fellow," Potgieter gives us his Jan: "He need not be ashamed of his stock . . . Let no one lift incredulous eyes when I say that about the year 1500 Jan was lying in diapers already and that now, as a sturdy fellow of sixty, he is still standing firmly on his feet . . ." John Bull is the father of a considerable family of boys: "His children have been brought up to different callings." So Jan Jan's whole family visit him on Old Year's Night—a convenient time for the national inventory. There is Janmaat—Jack Tar, if you wish, but in Holland, Janmaat, so long as a Dutch bottom remains afloat: "When, under the Spanish tyranny the need had grown dire at home, he kissed the anxious Jannetje goodbye. 'I'm leaving port, mother, but you'll see me again' And he kept his word like a man; he left in a nutshell and came home in a ship of the line" There are Jan Contant and Jan Crediet: "Their firm is not only found at every exchange in Europe: it is in both Indies, it is as good as the bank in China, their signatures are worth more than those of kings and kaisers." There are Jan Cordaat ("the healthiest, wholesomest, handsomest of Jan's children") and Jan Compagnie ("Whoever is master of Java can become the lord of India") There is Jan the Poët: "I who used to be called Jan the poet and who was that; who am now only Jan the Rhymer though I am improving." Jan Klaassen, the scholar, and Jan Kritiek, the critic, are there, and so are the noisy but indispensable Jantjes Goddome and Jan-nen Kalebas, Jan Hagel, and Jan Rap en zijn Maat. Both fathers, as Pennink notes, have seen better days, are having their gloomy moments. John Bull goes about "whistling thoughtfully to himself, with his head drooping down." Potgieter speaks of the "flagging spirit of the otherwise cheerful old man." Irving gave several pages to describing the family

mansion, "an old castelated manor house . . . a vast accumulation of parts erected in various tastes and ages" So Potgieter: "Jan still likes a reception hall as big as a church . . . even though his daily apartments no longer have the any, roomy, unrestricted quality he used to insist upon . . ." John Bull has a son who is a thorn in his flesh, "a noisy, rattle-pated fellow who neglects his business to frequent ale-houses . . ." Jan and Jannetje have their black sheep too But "the youngest child" who has a place even in Potgieter's title is not at all Irving's socialist son of a Tory father He is Jan Salie. To say who Jan Salie is would be to translate not only the whole of "Jan, Jannetje . . ." but the whole of Potgieter's works as well Jan Salie embodies all that Potgieter most disliked in Holland—the lethargy and tepidity, the lassitude and mediocrity in the national character. Irving concluded his sketch with the wish that John Bull might "long enjoy, on his paternal lands, a green, an honorable, and a merry old age And Potgieter ends his with the prayer "God bless you, Jan, you and yours" Potgieter's is the more personal, direct, and realistic of the two sketches Irving's sketch was but a catalysing agent for Potgieter's. But it was that, and the result was a fine one

In 1851 the editors of *De Gids* planned a critical miscellany to be conducted informally and published serially. Potgieter was soon left to write it alone Six installments were published under the title "Salmagundi" ⁸⁵ Pennink plausibly supposed that Potgieter was acknowledging the American origin of his title when he signed the "Emigration to the United States" with the name "The Salmagundist." ⁸⁶ The critical *pot-pourri* of *De Gids* owed little if anything besides title and scheme to Paulding and the Irvings. Potgieter soon found the form unsuitable to his way of writing, overloaded it with unassimilable elements, and abandoned it after a year.

There was another piece in the *Sketch Book* which had particularly impressed Potgieter. He mentioned it first while he was discussing George Crabbe's "Library" in 1858: "Forty years later the same theme, the Mutability of Literature, will be described by Washington Irving, not as poetry but as humour, a style which suits the subject better" ⁸⁷ Ten years later Potgieter still had the piece in mind, he was writing Huet. "You merely touch on 'the mutability of the forms of literature,' and if as you ask why I write the phrase in English you recall a sketch of Geoffrey Crayon, I believe I have gained my point." ⁸⁸

⁸⁵ *De Gids*, 1851, I, 501–536, 635–671, 743–781 and II, 74–105, 232–262, 355–387 (*Werken*, VII, 260–460 and VIII, 1–136). ⁸⁶ "Potgieter en de Amerikaanse Letterkunde," p. 281

⁸⁷ "George Crabbe," *De Gids*, 1858, II, 814 (*Werken*, XVII, 342).

⁸⁸ *Brieven aan Huet*, I, 155.

In his charming sketch, "Journey in the Rain,"⁸⁹ a sketch primarily concerned with Hawthorne, Potgieter returned to the theme of Irving's caricatures of the Dutch. In the *Knickerbocker History of New York*, Irving had presented the Dutchman as a passive, phlegmatic, imperturbable creature, and in "Rip van Winkle" he had described a meek, long-suffering, patient old soul "who could sit . . . and fish all day without a murmur, even though he should not be encouraged by a single nibble." Potgieter, in his sketch, has Hawthorne describe a Dutch angler who is certainly a blood-brother to the unruffled Rip:

Over against me, stretching out of the reeds, we would say, out of the rushes, you say, and rightly so, for it is a growth which flourishes and flutters in your marshes only—over against me I saw a fishing rod stretching out of the green. I studied it for a long while before I became aware of the hand that held the yellow pole, for that did not appear until the bobber indicated a bite—no, until the bobber had wholly disappeared. I was careful not to make a movement on my own part, had I done so, the hand might have been withdrawn again. For only very gradually a form emerged from the grey-green of the brush, its coat fading into colorlessness along with the landscape around us, dull-grey overhead, dull-grey underneath, and thick fog in the distance. Poor fisherman! he thought he had a bite and had himself been taken in, the fish was gone, and with it the bait. But, although the pole was raised high over the bulrushes then, it all happened without excitement, without a sign of the vehemence of disappointment, without impulsiveness. There was as little hint of perturbation in the movement of the hand which placed it next him in the deep-furrowed path as in the wave-ringlet which was left on the water by the upcast bobber, and which slowly thinned out and vanished. Whether all this would have happened so quietly, so unobtrusively, if a bass or eel had struggled at the end of the line, I do not know. I think not. The assumption that his delight in the catch would have robbed him of a bit of the calm which had proved too tough for disappointment was warranted, I thought, even though the way in which he brought a tobacco-box into view gave no evidence for it. The bright metal glimmered a little in the general dulness, but he beamed no grateful acknowledgment upon it. Wise fisherman! so far from pouncing upon the few strands of tobacco, his fingers slowly gathered them together. He put the snack in his mouth, new bait on the hook—fastened better than the first, no doubt—and the yellow pole again glided slowly through the green. Once more the figure was submerged in the rushes, imperceptible as the hand that governed the pole. But a beam brighter than the glimmer of the copper tobacco-case a moment ago flashed upon me from this scene and illuminated that virtue. . . .

The virtue of course is *imperturbability*, although the jarring of the coaches, in which Potgieter and Hawthorne are riding, conveniently prevents the word from being spoken.

⁸⁹ "Onderweg in den Regen," *De Gids*, 1864, iv, 427-453 (Werken, viii, 349-382)

Potgieter mentioned Willis in "To New York" as being among the writers who had not done justice to the Dutch of New Netherland. In 1842 also, Potgieter criticized Willis's *American Scenery* for lacking warmth,⁹⁰ but found "Wigwam versus Almack's" good enough for translation in *De Gids*.⁹¹ Moreover, Potgieter's "Salmagundi" contained a short translation from *American Scenery* in 1851.⁹²

From James Kirk Paulding, Potgieter translated "The Fountain of Youth—A Vision."⁹³ Thomas Chandler Haliburton published *The Clock-maker, or The Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick, of Slickville* in 1838. Two years later Potgieter shared a part of it with his subscribers by translating "How Jonathan Rules the World."⁹⁴ In 1839 Potgieter referred to David Crockett in a way which suggests that he knew this humorist well.⁹⁵ "Curtis, the humorist" has a place in the survey of American writers included in "Journey in the Rain."⁹⁶ A letter to Huet discloses that Potgieter knew at least one of Curtis's books. Potgieter advised Huet to review Edmond About's *Ahmed le Fellah* and wrote, "Use the *Nile Notes of a Howadji* when you do so . . . Do you remember G. W. Curtis's pleasant preface?"⁹⁷ Potgieter's interest in the American scene led him to give the readers of *De Gids* the twenty-eighth chapter of Mrs. Mary Clavers's *A New Home—Who'll Follow?*⁹⁸ In the *North American Review*, C. C. Felton had called the book "one of the most spirited and original works that has yet been produced in this country."⁹⁹ Very probably it was his interest in the American scene also which induced Potgieter to translate the whole of Mrs. Susan Ridley Sedgwick's *Allen Prescott Or the Fortunes of a New-England Boy*.¹⁰⁰ Potgieter stated in his Preface that "the pleasant sketches of town life, of the genuineness, the intelligence, and the goodness which distinguishes the people along these

⁹⁰ So Pennink (p. 284) has it from the *Nederlandsche Musen-Almanak*, 1842, p. 22.

⁹¹ "Wigwam contra Almack's," *De Gids*, 1842, II, 501-541.

⁹² *De Gids*, 1851, II, 239-240 (*Werken*, VIII, 59-61).

⁹³ "Verjonging," *De Gids*, 1844, II, 424-441. Paulding's vignette, never collected, appeared in the *Columbian*, I (February, 1844), 78-83.

⁹⁴ "Hoe Jonathan de Wereld Beet Heeft," *De Gids*, 1839, II, 385-393.

⁹⁵ *De Gids*, 1839, I, 141.

⁹⁶ *De Gids*, 1864, IV, 449 (*Werken*, VIII, 377).

⁹⁷ *Brieven aan Huet*, II, 122. Potgieter noted that the *Nile Notes of a Howadji* had been published in New York in 1851.

⁹⁸ "Wat Men Al te Leen Vraagt in het Vreemde Westen van America!" *De Gids*, 1841, II, 466-473.

⁹⁹ Vol. I, 223 (January, 1840). Potgieter very probably took the excerpt which he translated from Felton's review.

¹⁰⁰ *Allen Prescott Tooneelen uit Dorp en Stad in Nieuw-Engeland* (Deventer, 1840). The American edition was published anonymously in two volumes by Harper and Brothers in New York in 1834.

lovely waysides, doing homage to the humanity in man, are one of the principal merits of the book"¹⁰¹

One can hardly regard the numerous, short translations in *De Gids* as mere space-fillers, as the last resort of an editor who needs copy. Pen-nink remarks in this connection that Potgieter "might have plundered the whole of world literature for his miscellany"¹⁰² Moreover, most of the translations appear during the first years of *De Gids*, and the founders of the journal had committed themselves to high standards of selection in the matter of translations:

Not as a *youth* who, with an exaggerated but pardonable zeal, wants to reckon a new era of the national literature from the date of his first appearance, but as a *man* who is convinced that the head and heart of our public have higher needs than the booty pilfered, and often crudely pilfered, from French sheets can satisfy, and who, prompted by love and longing for knowledge and art, is daily keeping his eye on the fields of domestic and foreign literature, honoring the beautiful wherever it is found¹⁰³

To Catherine Maria Sedgwick's *Linwood or America* and *Hope Leslie*, Potgieter gave a long review in 1839.¹⁰⁴ He made it the occasion for presenting a bird's eye view of American literature. Some, though not all, of his detailed information about Miss Sedgwick he obtained from the *North American Review*.¹⁰⁵ Potgieter introduced several pages from both novels into his criticism. He praised the breadth of Miss Sedgwick's character portrayal in *Linwood*, and added:

There is both truth and simplicity in this sketch . . . The muse of Miss Sedgwick may not soar to a high plane, but she nowhere defiles those two nestimable gifts. Although she has neither philosophical depth nor poetic ardor, she nowhere denies the character of an intelligent and sensitive woman. Harry and Jasper, Herbert and Eliot are young people from the real world, not lovers who exist at all only because they have sweethearts . . .¹⁰⁶

The reviewer knew well from his experience of the second rate in the literature of his own country, if not in ours, that noble intentions do not make a novel:

For there was a time when you could be sure of being three-fourths of a success if only you prated about patriotism or religious zeal in the proper places. Disparagement of every foreign, puffing of every domestic event, much chatter about piety and forefathers, and success was assured.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ *De Gids*, 1842, I, 404

¹⁰² "Potgieter en de Amerikaanse Letterkunde," p. 283

¹⁰³ Quoted from the Prospectus of *De Gids* by Jonckbloet, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, VI, 172

¹⁰⁴ *De Gids*, 1839, I, 135-149.

¹⁰⁵ Vol. XLV, 475-481 (October, 1837).

¹⁰⁶ *De Gids*, 1839, I, 145.

¹⁰⁷ *De Gids*, 1839, I, 136-137

A Dutch ship's officer translated Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* in 1842¹⁰⁸ Potgieter was overwhelmingly pleased by the book and immediately made it the subject of an enthusiastic review¹⁰⁹ Remembering his unqualified praise of Cooper as a writer of sea tales, we may suspect that the eulogist of Janmaat was attracted to the subject The review shows that he was also attracted to the author The young Dana reminded Potgieter of the heroes of his own seventeenth century Potgieter relates how Richard Henry, Jr., left school because of illness:

The courage of the decision, as well as the choice of the journey, testifies to the resilience characteristic of a young nation To manipulate hawsers instead of poring over books, to brave the malice of wind and weather instead of keeping vigil with a lamp till midnight, to cut your way through ice when used to the comforts of a study—what a change! A pampered child would be as taken aback by it as by the purpose of the journey No pleasure jaunt, this, no cruise along the Archipelago. He went for hides to California—a destination which could not be reached except by sailing around that end of the world which Jacob le Maire, according to the *Spiegel der Australische Navigatie*, discovered the 29th January, 1616, and, in honor of the city of Hoorn, called Capo de Hoorn Forgive me for the inadvertent recollection of the youth of our own people .

Obviously Dana's book had fallen into good hands.

The same good sense which saved the young pupil of the muses from the stupid pride of refusing to work, when open air, exercise, and boundless vistas promised a cure for his peculiar disease, the same good sense which prompted him to begin on the lowest rung of the ladder in the merchant fleet, when it became apparent that he would have to give up his beloved Literature, this same good sense is reflected in the style of the novel Instead of the poetic student whom you expect, you meet the practical burgher Restrained in his borrowings from Greek and Latin authors with which students so much like to polish an insignificant tale, the young academian adapts himself wholly to his new conditions He reproduces the impressions these have made upon him with the same fidelity his forming in the school of the ancients has taught him to appreciate We have not in a long time read a book that is so simple, so virile, so true, and—what is of a higher order still—so informed by a love of humanity

It is significant of Potgieter's interest in the novel and its author that he selected as the epigraph over his review the line: "And I vowed that, if God should ever give me the means, I would do something to redress the grievances and relieve the sufferings of that class of beings, with whom my lot had so long been cast " Potgieter concluded the review by advising the Dutch Ministry of the Marine and the shipping firms to take over the distribution of the novel

¹⁰⁸ Potgieter was enthusiastic about the excellence of the translation by "one of our best ship's officers " *De Gids*, 1842, I, 550. ¹⁰⁹ *De Gids*, 1842, I, 535-550.

Potgieter had read of the Transcendentalists, of course. But it cannot be said that he was a student of the movement. We know that he owned the complete works of Emerson and many of the works of Thoreau.¹¹⁰ Emerson's name has a place in "Emigration to the United States,"¹¹¹ perhaps, however, because the correspondent at Pella had mentioned him. Potgieter wove a summary of the Transcendental movement into his novelle, "Journey in the Rain." Speaking to Hawthorne, he says:

I do not deny that your large public took a great interest in the efforts made by your best minds to determine how far the theses of the day, including those of Fourier, could be carried out in practice. The world—as they say in the States—kept its eye fixed upon the Transcendentalists at Concord. Emerson alone proved worthy of the pilgrimage to "the new Mecca," Emerson in the full bloom of his freely inquiring spirit. Around him what a group of budding intelligences, since become famous in various ways. Thoreau, the naturalist, Parker, the pious, no more so when he was pleading for reasonable religion than when he was contending for the abolition of slavery, Curtis the humorist, the formidable figure of Channing, the eloquent speaker, and finally, most remarkable of all, perhaps, Margaret Fuller, who shamed them by her gifts of mind and spirit, the magnet to which those men felt drawn and by which they were controlled.¹¹²

Besides, Potgieter in the same sketch gave Hawthorne a full account of the genesis and reception of the *Blithedale Romance*.

American poetry seemed to Potgieter to show symptoms of the same weakness which Jan the Poet had pointed to in the poetry of Holland.¹¹³ Concerning American verse Potgieter wrote in 1842:

Their poetry—permit me to be outspoken about it—savors of the same leaven which sometimes makes the enjoyment of our own more a matter of duty than of pleasure. There was a time in which a practical, a didactic, a religious *purpose* overloaded us with rhymes. The Americans have too little time to be sitting *empty-handed* in moments of relaxation making verses, and they, too, are a serious, reasoning people who listen attentively to sermons. Art is more likely to be a means to them than an end—you know the result!¹¹⁴

Longfellow was Potgieter's favorite American poet. Besides "The Burial of the Minnisink," "The Slave's Dream," "The Good Part," and "The Quadroon Girl," mentioned above, Potgieter translated "The Wreck of the Hesperus"¹¹⁵ and "Santa Filomena."¹¹⁶ In his note to "Santa Filomena" Potgieter pointed to Longfellow's religious tolerance:

¹¹⁰ Pennink, "Potgieter en de Amerikaanse Letterkunde," p. 293.

¹¹¹ *De Gids*, 1855, I, 513 (*Werken*, VIII, 197).

¹¹² *De Gids*, 1864, IV, 449 (*Werken*, VIII, 377).

¹¹³ *De Gids*, 1842, II, 35–36 (*Werken*, I, 19–20).

¹¹⁴ *De Gids*, 1839, I, 141.

¹¹⁵ "De Schipbreuk van den Hesperus," *De Gids*, 1843, II, 213–216 (*Werken*, XII, 218–222).

¹¹⁶ "Santa Filomena (Saint Nightingale)," *De Gids*, 1858, II, 256–258 (*Werken*, IX, 89).

Struck by a coincidence of name, inasmuch as Philomena means Nightingale, he saw no harm in thus referring to the virgin martyr under Diocletian, even though our distinguished contemporary belongs to the protestant faith. The singer of the "Psalm of Life," we know, is not one of those who in their adherence to notions derived from the Old Testament would rather ignore the first centuries of Christendom than try to work from both the past and present towards the development of a better future.¹¹⁷

While discussing Albertine Kehrér's *Gedichten* in 1853, Potgieter had reprinted the whole of the "Psalm of Life" and asked, "Who among our celebrated, spiritual singers will oblige us by translating the poem?"¹¹⁸ He was not satisfied with the response to his invitation, for in 1860 he asked, "What? Another unsuccessful translation of the 'Psalm of Life'?"¹¹⁹

Potgieter liked "Evangeline." Most of the final installment of his "Salmagundi" in 1851 was given to a prose reproduction of the tale.¹²⁰ "A simple story," he wrote, "which derives all its value from the manner in which it is told and is therefore doubly difficult to retell—not everyone has the talent for it."¹²¹ Potgieter had the talent. It is a pleasure to read his version. In 1857 the Dutch *Library of Foreign Classics*¹²² contained an excellent translation of the poem. In his review of this Potgieter wrote:

We run the danger of neglecting Longfellow in our survey. Be it far from us! We owe a translation of his "Evangeline" to the combined efforts of S. J. Vanden Bergh and B. Ph. de Kanter. We had previously given an indication of our sympathy for this masterpiece, which, together with the *Hermann und Dorothea*, belongs to our favorite reading. . . There is only one objection to introducing the poem into this Library: contemporary praise does not warrant giving a poem the title "classic."¹²³

And again in 1864 Potgieter mentioned "Evangeline." C. P. Tiele had included a translation of "The Village Blacksmith" in his *Gedichten* and Potgieter gave the poem special attention in his review of Tiele's work. He explained his choice:

Has our preference, perhaps, been dictated by the attractive volume *Poets of the West*¹²⁴ lying open before us, in which we can enjoy "The Village Blacksmith" twice: in the pithy lines and in the lively illustrations. . . But do you enjoy this pleasure yourselves, whether in the original of the American whose recently published new cycle of poems *Tales of a Wayside Inn* testifies to his many-sided

¹¹⁷ *De Gids*, 1858, II, 256.

¹¹⁸ *De Gids*, 1853, II, 315–316 (*Werken*, xv, 41–42).

¹¹⁹ *De Gids*, 1860, II, 871.

¹²⁰ *De Gids*, 1851, II, 367–387 (*Werken*, VIII, 108–136).

¹²¹ *De Gids*, 1851, II, 367 (*Werken*, VIII, 108).

¹²² *Bibliotheek van Buitenlandsche Klassieken* (Haarlem, 1857).

¹²³ *De Gids*, 1857, II, 835.

¹²⁴ *Poets of the West—a Selection of Favorite American Poems, with Memoirs of Their Authors* (New York, 1860).

studies, or in the translation of the Hollander who in many ways has a sympathy with the poet ¹²⁵

Naturally Potgieter, the student of the American Indian, noted "Hiawatha." He translated the last half of the Introduction to "The Song of Hiawatha," using it as his own introduction to a critical review of two books on Dutch history, W. J. Hofdijck's *Historische Landschappen* and *Het Nederlandsche Volk* ¹²⁶ "Charles Bossevain," he wrote to Huet in 1869, "is contemplating an attack on Longfellow in *De Gids* as being "too tame, too trite" ¹²⁷ No matter, this tameness and triteness—Potgieter enjoyed his Longfellow. Pennink suggests the reason: "That Potgieter . . . who loved the simple, the wholesomely emotional, the constructive, should like Longfellow is not surprising." ¹²⁸ And Potgieter knew Longfellow at his poetic best. The *Divine Comedy* had appeared in 1867, Potgieter's "Florence" in 1868. But in the Notes to "Florence"—in which long quotations from Irving ¹²⁹ and Lowell ¹³⁰ also have a place—Potgieter was already paying tribute to the translator. In his Notes, Potgieter translated five of the six sonnets introducing the several parts of Longfellow's *Comedy* ¹³¹ Finally, in "Journey in the Rain," Potgieter's maturest, most personal novelle, Longfellow is made to read a poem at the grave of Hawthorne. Obviously the Longfellow whom he had first translated in 1839 remained interesting and real to him throughout the years.

From Bryant Potgieter translated besides "The Indian at the Burying-place of his Fathers," mentioned above, the two poems, "The Future Life" ¹³² and "Life" ¹³³ Potgieter at no time commented on Bryant's poetry, except to say—with his usual up-to-date information about American books—that Irving had in 1836 introduced Bryant to England ¹³⁴ In 1843 Potgieter translated from the pages of the *Knickerbocker* Isaac McLellan's "Song of the Hawk." ¹³⁵ After introducing John G. Brainard's "Far away from the hill side" into "Mahaskah" in 1838, Potgieter stated that he regretted that poet's early death. Very probably, therefore, he had read Whittier's account of Brainard's life and work. ¹³⁶

¹²⁵ *De Gids*, 1864, I, 196 (*Werken*, xvi, 323)

¹²⁶ *De Gids*, 1857, I, 31–32 (*Werken*, xv, 52–53) ¹²⁷ *Brieven aan Huet*, II, 82.

¹²⁸ "Potgieter en de Amerikaanse Letterkunde," p. 288 ¹²⁹ *Werken*, IX, 392.

¹³⁰ *Werken*, IX, 417–418 ¹³¹ *Werken*, IX, 369–370, 376, 387–388.

¹³² "Het toekomstig Leven," *De Gids*, 1843, II, 663–664 (*Werken*, XII, 230–232).

¹³³ "Leven," *De Gids*, 1843, II, 152–156 (*Werken*, XII, 213–217)

¹³⁴ "Mahaskah," *De Gids*, 1838, II, 455 (*Werken*, VI, 217)

¹³⁵ "Het Lied van den Valk," *De Gids*, 1843, II, 334–336 (*Werken*, XII, 223–226) *Knickerbocker*, XIX, 125 (March, 1842)

¹³⁶ J. G. Whittier, *The Literary Remains of John G. C. Brainard with a Sketch of His Life* (Hartford, 1832)

To Potgieter's reading of Whittier, Dutch prose is partly indebted for "A Novelle?"¹³⁷ "A Novelle?" was written in 1864, the year of Potgieter's translation of "Maud Muller"¹³⁸ And "A Novelle?" is a metamorphosis in prose of Whittier's poem Potgieter begins the tale—it is a kind of exercise in the idyll—with a discussion of the advantages of prose over poetry Very likely he had "Maud Muller" in mind as he set about achieving in prose what Whittier had accomplished in verse "A Novelle?" is a frame story, and the inside story is the story of Whittier's Maud:

"It's a dream," the girl whispered to herself, "it's foolishness," she went on But the foolishness persisted, the dream was pleasant Eight days ago, no, it was nine now, it had happened, as twilight fell, that a gentleman's carriage had stopped at the door. "How long will it take?" she heard the gentleman ask, but look, she had the trough in front of the horse already, and he was already out of the chaise Such foolishness, that she could not forget the thrill of the friendly look he gave her The last rays were coming through the leafage "Is there no one here to give my thirsty horse a drink?" he had asked, and she had answered, "I'll do it." "But that is not for such a pretty" He had not finished the compliment, he had seen the pump, he had seen the bucket, with his gloved hand he worked the handle, the horse drank During the drinking she raised her eyes to him and saw that he, as he removed the yellow kid, was looking at her again She blushed It had been only a dream, those moments with him, and meant nothing, of course Yet she dared not close her eyes now, for then they would be standing together again in front of the horse, the creature was almost brushing her face with the long, white mane, she raised her hand to prevent it, but his was ahead of hers Their hands touched Such foolishness, to tremble as she thought of it He had simply forgotten that she was only Machteld

It is the story of "the rich repiner and household drudge" Echoes of the "sisters proud and vain," of "him who sat by the chimney lug, Dozing and grumbling o'er pipe and mug," of "the care and sorrow of childbirth pain," and even of the "new toy each day" are heard in "A Novelle?" also. Potgieter's novelle is much more than these details, of course; there are fifty-four pages for Whittier's three, and Potgieter's Machteld gets her prince.

Potgieter mentioned "The Raven" in his letters to Huet, and he commented on it, while reproducing almost the whole of it, in his review of Jacob van Lennep's interesting translation of the poem¹³⁹ We know that Potgieter owned the complete works of Poe¹⁴⁰ However, it is not surprising that he had nothing to say of the tales. Potgieter was not the man

¹³⁷ "Eene Novelle?" *De Gids*, 1864, III, 521-563 (*Werken*, VIII, 294-348)

¹³⁸ "Aafje," *De Gids*, 1864, IV, 485-492 (*Werken*, XII, 344-350)

¹³⁹ *De Gids*, 1860, II, 870-873

¹⁴⁰ Pennink, "Potgieter en de Amerikaanse Letterkunde," p. 293

to appreciate the fierce economy of Poe's technique. Nor was Potgieter the man to admire an author whose tales seemed to spring from nothing more palpable than an inexplicable faculty for tale-telling. To Poe, Potgieter, who usually shunned clichés, applied the cliché, "a man who in many respects left much to be desired."¹⁴¹

Nathaniel Hawthorne was, barring none outside of Dutch literature with the possible exception of Goethe, Potgieter's favorite author. None but the hackneyed phrase will do. he saw in Hawthorne a kindred soul. It must be said, however, that he fashioned Hawthorne somewhat after his own image. He saw, or fancied that he saw, many parallels between the American and himself. Generally well informed about our writers, he believed—or did he perhaps know better?—that Hawthorne was "an old bachelor" like himself.¹⁴² He knew that Hawthorne lived aloof from men and affairs. Potgieter, who would certainly have been an excellent family man—consider his relations to his Tante van Ulsen and to the Busken Huets—and who confesses to an uncommon sociability, thought of himself also as unhappily alone in the world. Potgieter saw tenderness in Hawthorne, and himself had tenderness—such sketches and tales as "Albert," "Anna," and "A Novelle?" prove it. Potgieter loved children, necessarily other people's children—"You're like my father," said little Gideon Huet, touched by Potgieter's affection.¹⁴³ And so, he thought, did Hawthorne. Potgieter was continually seeing mystery in the world of the actual. "How rich life is in mysteries," he wrote to Huet,¹⁴⁴ perhaps thinking of Hawthorne as he wrote, for the years of these letters to Huet are the years of Potgieter's spiritual companionship with Hawthorne. Hawthorne's early work had been unpopular, all of Potgieter's was. "I have noticed for years how unpopular I am—Krusseman's remittance of royalties confirms it again. I say this without bitterness: I do not want to become popular by the means one must use to obtain popularity."¹⁴⁵ The year before he had written, and was now almost certainly thinking, of Hawthorne: "The one strength he possessed became evident in the fact that he kept on writing, irrespective of how few his readers were. . . ."¹⁴⁶ Always, and in his most disillusioned moments, in moments when he felt most solitary in the pursuit of his artistic ideals, Potgieter thought of Hawthorne and found a comfort in the thought.

His first critical comment on Hawthorne is one of boundless praise. Potgieter wrote it in 1853: "No matter which way we search, we shall hunt in vain among all the eminent of our time for the equal of a Na-

¹⁴¹ *De Gids*, 1860, II, 871.

¹⁴² *De Gids*, 1864, IV, 445 (*Werken*, VIII, 372).

¹⁴³ Huet, "Persoonlijke Herinneringen," *Litterarische Fantasien en Kritieken*, XIII, 77.

¹⁴⁴ *Brieven aan Huet*, I, 9.

¹⁴⁵ *Brieven aan Huet*, I, 126-127.

¹⁴⁶ *De Gids*, 1864, IV, 445 (*Werken*, VIII, 372).

thaniel Hawthorne, whose range of values increases with each new work."¹⁴⁷ It is significant of Potgieter's companionship with Hawthorne that he spoke of him most in the most personal writing of his later years, in the letters to Huet, and in the novelle "Journey in the Rain." The references to Hawthorne in the letters abound. In July of 1864, the year of "Journey in the Rain," Potgieter wrote: "I read *Our Old Home* by Hawthorne and recommend it to Mevrouw, what a pity that it is his last book. Although this does not occur to one while reading it, he was here already 'half in the land of dreams' "¹⁴⁸ In January of 1865 he addressed young Gideon Huet in a statement which suggests how Potgieter constantly saw himself reflected in Hawthorne. "Yes, Gideon, I had hoped to do some good, and I brewed only ill, if Hawthorne had seen you he would have asked you many questions and have had no answer "¹⁴⁹ Again to Huet in April of 1865: "Have you read the introduction to the *Mosses from an Old Manse*? In substance it contains all that is most original in what Hawthorne later produced."¹⁵⁰ And as late as 1870, Potgieter admitted: "I completely lack the talent of a Hoffmann or a Hawthorne."¹⁵¹

But the best of Potgieter's tributes to Hawthorne, the best result, indeed, of Potgieter's sympathetic and persistent interest in American life and letters, is the novelle of 1864, "Journey in the Rain."¹⁵² Potgieter is at his ripest, most seasoned, and peculiar best in the prose of this piece. He is working in his favorite prose, he can "be inclusive without being tedious" in it, can remain true to his somewhat tortuous patterns of thought and private modes of feeling.

"Journey in the Rain" shows again how constantly Potgieter kept abreast of the literary situation in the United States. In July, 1864, the *Atlantic Monthly* published "A Scene from the Dolliver Romance" together with an introduction in which Oliver Wendell Holmes described the last days and funeral of Hawthorne. By December of the same year, *De Gids* had published "Journey in the Rain," in which elements of both the *Dolliver Romance* and Holmes's "Nathaniel Hawthorne" were embodied.

In the novelle Potgieter is in a reflective mood. He has spent the whole day futilely riding a cab through the Hague. It is raining. "To Scheveningen?" the cabman asks. Indeed not. He will not have the memories of a more cheerful day spent there obliterated. "To the tracks," then. The train to Amsterdam has arrived. But for him, and he sociable to a fault, there is no one in the coaches. A book then, a slender one, *Pansie*. This is

¹⁴⁷ *De Gids*, 1857, II, 265-266.

¹⁴⁹ *Brieven aan Huet*, I, 104.

¹⁵¹ *Brieven aan Huet*, III, 13.

¹⁴⁸ *Brieven aan Huet*, I, 55.

¹⁵⁰ *Brieven aan Huet*, I, 120.

¹⁵² *De Gids*, 1864, IV, 427-453 (*Werken*, VIII, 349-382).

good, this about old Dr Dolliver and little Pansie and the kitten. Through the clouds of blue smoke from his cigar he can see Pansie and the old man. Their dawdling at breakfast is delightful. Strange, the denser the smoke becomes, the more clearly the little group is relieved. He gives Pansie his hand, starts, and draws it back. What has he touched? The withered fingers of Dr Dolliver perhaps? No product of the imagination, this,—someone is seated opposite him in the coach. It is Hawthorne.

They talk. They talk of the imperturbability of the Dutch. They talk of children, of Hawthorne's success in picturing them—Pansie, Alice, Pearl and Little Annie. Hawthorne says that he knows the Dutch paintings and regrets that "one meets with so few children in them who do anything except to lie on their mother's lap, or stand alongside their mother's apron, or, at best, to play with—a doll." They talk of the *Blithedale Romance*, *The Marble Faun*, and *Our Old Home*. Hawthorne senses at last that his companion is an admirer. "You loved Hawthorne?" he asks. And Potgieter answers:

If hammer and chisel were at my disposal, I should want to see Goethe hewn out in marble at the moment when he, on his first visit to Rome, gazed up at the Juno Ludovisi, when the great man with all his lust for life was introduced to the world of the ancients—a world to which he transferred us also in his *Romische Elegien*. For Goethe represents classical humanism. I should want to see Hawthorne wrought out as he stood in the Capitol looking upon the Faun of Praxiteles, his forehead darkened by the many questions arising in him—questions which he tried to answer for us in his *Transformation*. For Hawthorne represents mysterious humor.

They talk of profounder subjects, touch at last upon the mystery which is art. Potgieter says:

People talk so glibly about *creating*, and yet Hawthorne would have been the first to acknowledge that although the poet consciously and deliberately gathers and arranges a mass of materials, the gift which permits him to say "Let there be light!" is none of his, but remains as mysterious to him as the God who gives it.

Hawthorne disappears as quietly as he came. Still indulging the dream suggested by the Dolliver romance, Potgieter sees himself transported to Concord:

I followed a group of men . . . Gently the path meandered to a hill-top, where the towering pines admitted a square of sunshine . . . On the coffin lay a manuscript—*Pansie* . . . Longfellow steps out of the group to read a poem. Where, you little ones all, Pearl, Annie, Pansie, where are you? Quick, a handful of flowers . . .

"Especially pleasing," wrote Professor Kalff, "is the characterization of Hawthorne in 'Journey in the Rain' . . . realism and imagination . . . an art which will seem impressive in proportion to the extent one knows

the narrative art of the American romancer, who, as perhaps no one else, knows how to exalt and spiritualize reality by a continuous contact with the mysteries of life around us "¹⁵³ "Nothing finer," said Busken Huet, "has been written in our language since the seventeenth century, finer in feeling, in expression, in noble satire . . ." "¹⁵⁴ "The composition is so choice," wrote Albert Verwey, also struggling with excerpts and paraphrase, "that I should like to reproduce the whole of it . . ." "¹⁵⁵

We can be pleased by the fact that so active, informed, and interesting a mind as Potgieter's was a student of our life and literature. We can quarrel with an aesthetik which goes to literature to find the national character and the national heart rather than a purely literary pleasure, but who with any other approach would have studied us so eagerly or hoped for us so much?

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¹⁵³ G. Kalf, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* (Groningen, 1912), VII, 459

¹⁵⁴ "Potgieter Persoonlijke Herinneringen," *Litterarische Fantasien en Kritieken* (Haarlem, n.d.), XIII, 40-41

¹⁵⁵ *Het Leven van Potgieter* (Haarlem, 1903)

THE ART OF THE FLASHLIGHT: VIOLENT TECHNIQUE IN *LES ROUGON-MACQUART*

THE average man pictures Zola as a writer of brutal novels, the patron-saint of all novelists labelled by present-day critics as naturalistic, vigorous, earthy, bestial, or disgusting. This much is obvious: any reader who scans the Rougon-Macquart cycle for violent effects finds a profusion of them in every one of the twenty novels.¹ Certain readers, however, feel that Zola's violence, no matter how obvious, is not entirely banal and is worthy, even, of careful study. Let us begin, therefore, by jotting down, in correct order and without regard for squeamish tastes, the really brutal moments of the series. A list of them resembles strikingly, at first glance, the programs of old melodrama. Perhaps, like such programs, our list also should be printed in various sensational sizes of type, for, as we shall see later on, Zola's work has distinct affinities with the melodrama. At any rate, here, in tabloid fashion, are the incidents we propose to study.

1 *La Fortune des Rougon*: march of the Republicans on Plassans at the time of the *coup d'état* of '51; the (accidental) gouging out of a gendarme's eye, the sadism of a degenerate youth practised upon the girl who spurned him, a prisoner shot by mistake by his own party (Zola irony), Republicans massacred in ambush; an innocent peasant's head smashed in and the hero's life taken by the vindictive gendarme, while the lad's helpless grandmother looks on.

2. *Son Excellence Eugène Rougon*: two attempts at seduction, one in a stable-full of horses, the other in the lady's boudoir, each attempt resisted successfully, one with a riding-whip, the second with the lighted end of a cigarette.

3. *La Curée*: an attempted rape, incest, husband confronting his guilty wife, that Amazonian lady bruising her lover's arm, a violent American gentleman (!), who not only threatens to beat his mistress, but leads cotillions at a breakneck pace.

4. *L'Argent*: another violent discovery of infidelity, mistreatment of a minor, the hero slaps and beats his mistress, another lady slapped by her lover, rape committed by a minor.

5 *Le Rêve*: this is one of Zola's "idylls," thus the only scene of violent action is a chase after billowing laundry on a windy day!

6 *La Conquête de Plassans*: the gradual insanity of two characters, a husband and wife, a final holocaust, planned by the deranged husband, in which five people perish—certainly one of the more violent moments in this, or any other novel.

7. *Pot-Bouille*: the violent rages of an idiot boy, a jealous husband twists his wife's arm; a rape, another vulgar domestic quarrel, a secret midnight *accouche-*

¹ *Les Rougon-Macquart*, 20 titles, 20 vols. of *Œuvres complètes*: *Émile Zola* (notes et commentaires de Maurice Le Blond, texte de l'édition Eugène Fasquelle), 46 vols. (Paris Bernouard, 1927-28).

ment (quite after the fashion of *Les Mystères de Paris*), and a murderous attack by the idiot

8. *Au bonheur des dames*: sadism—the cruelty and lack of humanity of the heroine's fellow-employees, defender throws a glass of wine in traducer's face, "un cri de mélodrame lui vint aux lèvres"

9. *La Faute de l'abbé Mouret*: a gruff old peasant hurls clods at his erring daughter, a fight with clods and stones between Jeanbernat and Archangias, a Christian Brother (!), the feud ends with Jeanbernat's severing Archangias' right ear. All this in a story otherwise "idyllic"

10. *Une Page d'amour* this is another of Zola's idylls, though it has a rather vigorous scene in which a husband, warned of his wife's assignation with another man, pursues the two, in vain

11. *Le Ventre de Paris*: a fight between two fishwomen in the market, using fish as weapons, cruelty of one child to another, a battle between two sisters.

12. *La Joie de vivre* the various semi-epileptic seizures of the heroine, she shakes and almost beats her rival, another attempt at seduction; and another *accouchement*; a suicide by hanging

13. *L'Assommoir*: a fight between two jealous women in a laundry establishment, using the laundry-sticks as weapons; mistreatment of a wife and child by a drunken man, horrible death of both mother and child, insanity of a chronic drunkard; his death and that of his wife

14. *L'Œuvre*: a sculptor almost crushed by a falling statue, the hero hangs himself

15. *La Bête humaine*: a jealous husband crushing his wife's hand, the homicidal mania of the hero, mistreatment of minors, a railway wreck, a suicide in a railway tunnel, a poisoning, two other murders and one accidental self-destruction

16. *Germinal*: the revolt of starving miners, discovery of a wife's infidelity, fight to the death between two rivals, death by cave-in, drowning, starvation, explosion, fusillade, etc., etc

17. *Nana*: a fight backstage, brutality of men; a suicide with shears, sadism of the heroine.

18. *La Terre*: the villain pushes his mother roughly against a wall, thus indirectly causing her death, a murderous fight with flails between two rivals, an imbecile youth attempts to violate his grandmother, she splits open his head, a murder with a scythe; death, strangling, burning, and general running amuck

19. *La Débâcle*: oddly enough, and by contrast, the violences in this novel of warfare seem to come at greater intervals than the foregoing, various scenes of death and suffering in battle and retreat, the execution of a civilian, burning of his body, a brawl with a murderous giant, and his execution by severing the jugular vein, while his own child looks on; summary executions during the Paris Commune; gasoline-throwers; accidental killing of one friend by another.

20. *Le Docteur Pascal*. the "terrible" anger of the hero, bleeding to death of an imbecile boy, and the death of his crazed great-great-grandmother, the spontaneous combustion of an old alcoholic.²

² Dickens uses this same incident in his *Bleak House*, and, on the score of its truthfulness, got himself into much argument with the critics: see his Preface to the novel Zola

I

Even a bare catalogue will indicate that these moments are not all equal. They may, indeed, be subject to contradictory tendencies, and for that reason must first be related to the form and frame of the story in which they occur. Doubtless, not one of the twenty novels in its pattern exactly resembles another; but there are certain strong similarities, which seem to indicate that Zola's plot-formulas pass through six characteristic stages. These stages we have tagged as Balzacian, Elizabethan, Serial Novel, Melodramatic, Palais-Royal, and Epic.

(1) Zola had the advantage (and disadvantage) of coming late in the nineteenth century, when the novel had become more self-conscious than ever before. Just as Balzac's theory was inspired by his predecessor, Scott, so Zola, in his turn, had the inspiration of Balzac, not only in conceiving the general structure of his cycle, but in planning the individual novels which composed it. This debt to Zola's predecessor is quite obvious. *La Fortune des Rougon*, first of the series and keystone of its structure, is most certainly indebted to *La Rabouilleuse*, and in particular to the provincial sequences of Balzac's work. There are many similarities: Zola's small town like Balzac's is composed of bitter "factions" or societies, the character of Antoine Macquart, a scapegrace Napoleonic veteran, suggests Balzac's Colonel Bridau; the timid Pierre Rougon may be compared with Balzac's Jean-Jacques, and the very name of the family recalls Balzac's Rougets—the more so because in both families hereditary traits skip a generation.³ Indeed, one could go so far as to say that, of the Rougon-Macquart tribe, Balzac furnished the Rougons, Zola supplied the Macquarts.

The critic Brunetière wisely pronounced *La Rabouilleuse* the most "naturalistic" novel of Balzac's.⁴ Certainly it must have been Zola's favorite; for he found therein much to suit his purpose and his theories. Overtones of the Balzacian story are frequent: in *La Terre*, for example, Jacqueline "La Cognette" has the rôle of servant-mistress quite like Balzac's fisher-girl. Other stories have their Balzacian parallels: *L'Œuvre* grows out of *La Rabouilleuse* (the story of Joseph Bridau) and *Le Chef-d'œuvre inconnu*; *Le Rêve* suggests in more than one place *Eugénie Grandet* and *Le Curé de Tours* (as does also *La Conquête de Plassans*), *L'Assommoir*, with its descriptions of murky stairwells and multi-colored puddles flowing into dirty courtyards, presents similarities to the tenement descriptions

may have found his "little blue flame" in the episode of Natasya Petrovna's blacksmith in Gogol's *Dead Souls*, but Gogol's intention is ironical, while Zola is extremely serious.

³ *La Fortune des Rougon*, pp. 47 ff., 52 ff., 90, 134, 148, also pp. 86, 109.

⁴ Ferdinand Brunetière, *Honoré de Balzac* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, [1905]), pp. 110-111.

in *Ferragus* and *L'Interdiction*.⁵ Other parallels could be noted, but they would merely overload the argument, and might—a thesis we do not hold—seem to deny the originality of Zola.

The disastrous effect of this reliance on Balzac is not that it hinders Zola's genius, but rather that it sometimes retards the activity of his novels. Thus, *La Fortune des Rougon*—the high points of which we have already listed—promises, in these disappointing moments, to be one of the most vigorous works in the series, but its plot is actually confused by Zola's too conscientious use of a Balzacian scenario. We regret that here our novelist had a model too clearly in mind: the moving and affecting story of the youthful hero is outweighed by the mass of detail which Zola, faithful to his master, feels he must record. In other words, Silvère Mouret is lost in Félicité Rougon's yellow drawing-room. Zola, having promised his reader in the first chapter the story of a vigorous youth, has betrayed his reader in the conclusion. Balzac, never promising so much excitement, can afford to while away more time in "yellow drawing-rooms." His novels, furthermore, seldom as neatly arranged as Zola's, often surpass them in a kind of divinely *accidental* quality: events transpire, sometimes, as it were against the very will of the author and in truly violent rhythm.⁶ Zola's "Balzacian novels" are less violent, because they are more self-conscious, because they contain a contradiction, an antithesis (passive Balzacianism vs. dynamic Creation). Here Zola the Disciple overpowers Zola the Poet.

(2) Zola's plot-weaving arrives at a second and more complex stage with a pattern best termed "Elizabethan." The title is justified, because the English plays of that epoch display frequently a similarly neat but complicated formula of plot and counterplot, of primary and secondary intrigue, of tragic and comic relief. Zola made the same effort to construct with two, even three, intrigues, and—making the Elizabethan parallel closer—usually one of his subordinate plots is comic. Thus, *La Terre* contains, beside the love-story of its two chief characters, the King Lear plot of Papa Chouan despoiled by his children, and a bitter-comic plot—the efforts to keep a (supposedly) innocent child ignorant of her father's scandalous business. *L'Assommoir* likewise has its first (or Gervaise-Coupeau) plot, which is tragic, and its second (or Lantier) plot, concerning the wrecking of successive households by this gentleman, which is comic. Exactly parallel is *La Bête humaine*, which, beside its

⁵ Balzac parallels *Terre*, pp. 95, 192–193, 324, 549, *Assommoir*, pp. 54, 132, 438, *Rêve*, pp. 10, 71, 93, 142, 158, also *Bonheur des Dames*, pp. 18, 236, *Pot-Bouille*, pp. 23, 140, 216, *Conquête de Plassans*, pp. 256, 264, *Curée*, pp. 90, 171. There are also overtones of the artist Manet in the iridescent puddles of *L'Assommoir*.

⁶ Cf. the present writer's "Speed as a Technique in the Novels of Balzac," *PMLA*, March, 1940.

brutally tragic story, has the tale of old Misard, the "worm who destroys an elephant" ⁷

The very multiplicity of these themes leads to more movement than does the Balzacian formula, but this construction offers, like the first, a temptation and a danger. The novelist must tread his way carefully through these double and triple imbroglios, and, often enough, he slights one at the expense of another. One example will suffice. We have already noted the complicated plan of *La Terre*. Within that structure, certainly the most sympathetic story is that of Jean Macquart and Françoise Mouche, yet Zola scandalously neglects the death scene of his heroine, presenting instead a full-length portrayal of a group of secondary characters at an inn, together with a minute reproduction of their conversation. Meanwhile, Françoise, a character in whom the reader has a prior interest, and whose death should mark the climax of the novel, is permitted to die almost unheeded by the author—a few scant pages, in contrast to the lengthy inn scene ⁸ This neglect is certainly a structural weakness, a tendency in the direction of passivity, and represents Zola's yielding to a temptation which we shall meet again later.

(3) Thus, an excessive use of sub-plot sometimes leads Zola to stray; and he strays not infrequently from the Elizabethan into a third and related stage, which might be labelled the "serial story." (Indeed, the Elizabethan tragedians, the melodramatists, and the serial-writers had in many respects the same concept of plot-construction.) This type of scenario is betrayed by an ill-considered hurrying or crowding, by hasty or illogical linking of incidents. Sometimes, to be sure, Zola emphasizes by this means his conception of "life's little ironies." Thus, in *L'Assommoir*, the mother-in-law becomes mortally ill, upsets the household, then just as suddenly recovers her health—for no very clear reason ⁹ There may be a staccato rhythm here, but it is none the less captious. Similarly, in the same novel, a drunkard *almost* kicks his wife to death twice before Zola finally permits him to succeed ¹⁰ Scenes like these make for suspense, in a way, and it may be that suspense is sufficient excuse for any method of plot construction, but they follow the formula of "continued in our next," the formula of *Le Juif errant* and *Les Mystères de Paris*.

Although the serial method succeeds very well in certain of Zola's novels—particularly in two masterpieces of vice and monomania (*L'As-*

⁷ Elizabethan construction. *Terre*, p. 313, *Bête humaine*, p. 277, ch. x, *Assommoir*, pp. 451, etc.

⁸ *Terre*, Part IV, ch. vi, cf. also the hasty conclusion of the lengthy marriage scene in the same novel.

⁹ Ironic construction. *Assommoir*, p. 293.

¹⁰ Serial construction. *Assommoir*, pp. 199–200, ch. vi.

sommoir and *Nana*)—it occasionally ceases to function even here. In both *L'Assommoir* and *Nana*, the important death scenes are slighted, passed over in perfunctory fashion. It is as though the serial novelist, after a busy day, had hurried to shut up shop. In one paragraph, Gervaise is allowed to die in her cubbyhole under the stairs, and the decomposition of *Nana*—fresh from her triumphs in distant lands—seems also remarkably prompt. After a very large and emphatic preparation, these incidents seem by contrast hurried and awkward. If this is violence, it is of a hasty kind, and betrays the powerful influence of the serial-scenario, with its uneven pace, hectic mood, and frenzied characters.

(4) Zola does not tarry long in this frantic stage, but moves to a fourth, which may be labelled, purely and simply, "melodrama." The main action of *La Bête humaine* is distinctly of this kind: a sanguinary crime-story, the tracking down of criminals, the pricking of conscience, and the destructive power of vice. To prove this novel's affinities with melodrama, we have only to read the first chapter: here, point for point, the author has followed the second act of *Henri III et sa cour*—even to the husband's crushing his wife's hand and arm as he dictates the letter of assignation.¹¹ Thus, from its very beginning, a story which might have become another *Crime and Punishment* really achieves nothing higher than melodrama. *L'Assommoir*, too, is frequently on the melodramatic level. In one chapter, the heroine decides to turn to the streets for a livelihood. There, in one night—by extension of the long arm of coincidence—she runs into almost every one of her acquaintances. The incident reaches its climax when, reduced to begging, she accosts a nocturnal stroller, who immediately begins to beg of her in turn—he is a neighbor and friend.¹² One could certainly establish other analogies between Zola's fiction and the Boulevard Theaters; yet, for all their theatrical obviousness, it must be admitted that these melodramatic plots have an activity of their own, and offer a more genuine opportunity for violence than do the other three types.

(5) But the novelist does not stop here. Zola favors another dramatic formula, which has affinities with the kind of comedy made illustrious by Eugène Labiche and performed until recently in time-honored fashion at the Palais-Royal Theater. The Palais-Royal is a temple of farce; and some of Zola's most characteristic works deserve a place inside that shrine. To be convinced of the relationship, we need only compare one of Labiche's typical farces of the 1860's—say, *La Cagnotte*—with one of

¹¹ Melodrama. *Bête humaine*, pp. 24–25, *Assommoir*, pp. 430 ff.

¹² The same coincidence was used by Édouard Brisebarre and Eugène Nus in the melodrama, *Les Pauvres de Paris*, adapted by Dion Boucicault as *The Streets of New York* (mother and son, begging in the street, meet one another).

Zola's "middle-class" novels—*Pot-Bouille*, for example. Their patterns are the same: marriage-brokers and go-betweens, mothers trying desperately to dispose of undowered daughters, fathers trying desperately to make or break liaisons with actresses. This formula, with its emphasis on bedrooms, dressing-gowns, night escapades, sudden flights, jealous husbands, and all the rest of the vulgar apparatus, represents a whole *Zeitgeist*—it is nothing short of "Second Empire." Even so idyllic a story as *Une Page d'amour* sinks occasionally into scenes that are pure farce.¹³

"Second Empire" seems to be an amalgam of Scarron's *Roman comique*, the medieval *fabliau*, and Paul de Kock. It is animated by a spirit of sadistic relief achieved through indignity and outrage heaped upon the characters. This sadism is seen in its lighter manifestation when, in *L'Assommoir*, Mme Lorilleux is inundated with a bowl of starch. But, in *La Terre*, far less pleasant materials are hurled, and certain incidents involving the peasant known as "Jésus-Christ" become absolutely unrelatable. In this fondness for mayhem, even words are hurled like missiles: "Tu es une . . . Il dit le mot." Fortunately, however, burlesque fantasy occasionally reaches the level of genuine irony. Thus, a poor but honest carpenter is expelled for daring to bring his wife to his room in a "respectable" apartment house which fairly crawls with illicit intrigue. A novelist too (is our author thinking of himself?) for writing "un tas de saletés" is marched off to the police station from that selfsame apartment house, while the other tenants continue their lecherous way.¹⁴ In such cases, Zola's farce merges with the epic. Indeed, by means of its very *va-et-vient*, this recipe is more active than the others—not even excepting the melodrama, for melodrama, even Zola's, smacks always of the 1830's, while his farce moves into the 1860's, and packs the punch of a more contemporary *Zeitgeist*. Still, it is rather distressing to have to admit that the most vigorous formula so far discovered is farcical, fit rather for the Palais-Royal than for the Théâtre-Français.

(6) The Zolaesque plot has progressed through five stages, and now reaches a sixth, which, in a way, comprehends them all—just as philosophy is said to comprehend the subordinate sciences. This is the "epic," a large pattern which fits not only whole novels but also phases of the plots already considered. Zola's epic may be defined as a formula which tran-

¹³ Farce: *Pot-Bouille*, ch. II, p. 360 (cf. Labiche), and *passim*, *Page d'amour*, pp. 262, 266. Compare also the bourgeois wedding-scenes in *Un Chapeau de paille d'Italie* and *L'Assommoir*.

¹⁴ Burlesque style: *Assommoir*, p. 137; *Terre*, pp. 225, 393, 452-453, *Fortune des Rougon*, pp. 110, 258, *Son Excellence Eugène Rougon*, pp. 145, 261, 350, *Curée*, pp. 119, 221, 258, 267-268, *Pot-Bouille*, pp. 129, 180, 309, 320, 398, *Faute de l'abbé Mouret*, p. 360, *Œuvre*, pp. 36, 361; *Nana*, chs. V, VIII; *Page d'amour*, pp. 262, 266.

scends all the others because in it people, things, and forces are all united in *an action*. Indeed, a greater number of Rougon-Macquart stories belong to this category than to any other. The great epics of disaster are well known (*La Débâcle*, *Germinal*). There are also epics of the soil (*La Terre*). There are biblical and saintly epics (*La Faute de l'abbé Mouret*, *Le Rêve*, and, to a lesser extent, *Le Docteur Pascal*). Finally, there are even epics of humor: *Pot-Bouille*, as we have seen, is more than farce—it is epic in its Olympian vigor. We can maintain, without exaggeration, that the one contribution of the nineteenth century to an ancient and aristocratic literary genre was the "vulgar epic," a novelty which Zola, even more than Hugo, successfully exploited. His epic genius, more than any other, conditions his episodes, and his epic plots, if for no other reason than their large-scale, dynamic simplicity, achieve the maximum of clarity and progression, activity and vigor.

This review of the six main structural stages of the Rougon-Macquart series leads to one obvious conclusion: all are not equally powerful. Some are more active than others, and, on this basis, the six are about equally divided. Of the less active types, the Balzacian plot is often too faithful to its model, the Elizabethan plot lacks unity sometimes, and often presents an unfinished appearance, the serial plot likewise occasionally neglects or mistreats those episodes which should be most vigorous. None of these types, as regards the presentation of violence, is quite as successful as the other three. Of these, the melodramatic plot lends itself to a kind of frantic violence; the Palais-Royal plot, despite its vulgar character, has a very sprightly activity, and the epic plot achieves a steady and inexorable progress. It is not necessary to judge or evaluate these plots from an esthetic point of view, nor need one contend that any one novel falls neatly or completely into only one category. Rather, we have seen how several of Zola's best (*L'Assommoir*, for example) grow kaleidoscopically from one pattern into another. Our conclusion is merely that, within the novels of the series, certain formulas are better calculated than others to favor the effects of motion, activity, and violence.

II

The violent moments of *Les Rougon-Macquart* are, therefore, differentiated, qualified, and subtilized by the plot-forms. Secondly, they are qualified by the characters who participate in them. Fortunately, this may be proved without treating every type of character in Zola's impressive list.¹⁵ One need merely indicate the distinctions which Zola set up between three concepts—the normal, the abnormal, and the animal.

To the searcher for the violent in Zola's pages, it is vaguely disquieting,

¹⁵ J. G. Patterson, *A Zola Dictionary* (London: Routledge, 1912).

even disappointing, to find as one of his most characteristic achievements (and one of his most noteworthy contributions to the later novel) his treatment of ordinary man. This would seem almost paradoxical, were it not for the necessity that confronts every artist of presenting, somewhere or somehow, a norm, a horizon line. Molière's plays have their *raison-neurs*, even Hamlet has in Horatio his norm. Zola, preoccupied as he is with the physical, achieves his norm in the person of the solid, vigorous man, a specimen of ordinary appetites and desires. With this figure the author is not uniformly successful—perhaps two or three times: certainly with Jean Macquart (of *La Terre* and *La Débâcle*) and Étienne Lantier (of *Germinal*) and, it may be, with Octave Mouret (the Octave of *Au bonheur des dames*) and perhaps His Excellency, Eugène. The first two are the best examples of the type. Both are *almost* masterpieces.

Jean and Étienne are by nature similar. It does not matter, for Zola's purpose, that Lantier is presented as devoured by overpowering rages: this fact is important only at the end of the story, and only to achieve suspense. Throughout the novel, he appears as an earnest, plodding mortal, with whose stupidities we come to sympathize. The ordinary man may have extraordinary biceps, but he rarely has excessive intelligence; and it is Zola's task to make his reader "warm" in friendly fashion to this hero—even as he renders friendship, of soldiers or civilians, a matter of physical warmth.¹⁶ Indeed, this may be taken as one of the essentials of the Naturalistic Novel: even so recent a work as Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* clings to the Zolaesque technique in the person of an ordinary but robust hero, and, to make the case completely Zolaesque, this hero's violent deeds are presented as entirely normal.

The search for the "ordinary" conditions the very style of the author. Consider, for example, the similes and metaphors favored by Zola. We give only a few.

comme crucifié . . . travaillé de terreur . . . le cœur barbouillé de malaise . . . un coup de sifflet comme le cri d'une femme violentée . . . Paris, qui, un à un, les dévorait . . . une envie d'homme brutal, celle de la prendre au mollet . . . la colère folle dont elle entendait le craquement dans sa nuque . . . des longues feuilles de bananier où deux amants pouvaient se cacher à l'aise . . . le ventre comme déboutonné au soleil . . . comme un juron de charretier entendu sur la porte d'une auberge . . . regard de femme enceinte qui a envie de manger quelque chose de malpropre . . . lèvres perverse d'une dame qui . . . etc , etc , etc¹⁷

¹⁶ Ordinary man throughout *La Terre*, *Germinal*, *La Débâcle*, physical warmth, *Débâcle*, p. 51.

¹⁷ Stylistics: *Terre*, pp. 251, 271, 399, *Bête humaine*, p. 34, *Assommoir*, pp. 6, 49–50, 431, *Son Excellence Eugène*, pp. 53, 65, 131, 193, 372, *Curée*, p. 45, *Argent*, p. 19, *Pot-Bouille*, p. 394, *Bonheur des dames*, p. 142, *Vente de Paris*, p. 23, *Œuvre*, pp. 20, 272.

All this violently colored language, which of course lends itself to the caricaturist's art,¹⁸ is the linguistic equivalent of Zola's ordinary man. One step farther: this language is "naked"—just like Zola's portraiture. There is no doubt that, for the naturalist, the physical norm is nudity; and the critic cannot disregard the fascination which naked flesh always exerted on Zola. Professor Whitcomb could write, many years ago: "The novel rarely portrays the unclothed human body", but this was before readers had become well acquainted with Zola and Naturalism.¹⁹ Flesh and fleshy desire become the norm, shaping Zola's descriptions and even the rhythms of his style. The Zolaesque conception and statement of human tragedy are summed up thus: "Mme Caroline, dans l'incurable désespoir de sa stérilité. . . ." And: "Le Docteur Pascal avec la face hantée d'un homme qui a perdu sa virilité d'homme."²⁰

It is because ordinary man and naked language form the horizon line of the Rougon-Macquart novels that the style of Zola seems at first so strange to the reader brought up on the Greco-Latin rhetoric of the French classics and even, in large measure, of Hugo and his generation. Zola, by contrast, was particularly successful in the use of vulgar language, in dignifying the common speech of the 60's and 70's. We meet it everywhere—metaphorical, earthy, and, above all, *physical*; "un qu'il fait bon ne pas rencontrer au coin d'un bois . . . gifler à lui retourner la tête . . . prendre la poudre d'escampette [cf. our contemporary American "take a powder"]," etc., etc. The Zolaesque transmutation of base language seems to have become another of the requirements of the Naturalistic Novelist: *The Grapes of Wrath*, for example, manages to raise commonplace speech to a sublimity at times quite Biblical.²¹ What is important for the present study, however, is this: many of the violences in the pages of Zola—of character, portraiture, and language—are keyed as entirely "normal."

Against this credit must be set a slight debit. Despite his vigor and his influence, the "ordinary" specimen in the Rougon-Macquart novels cannot be termed a complete success. For one thing, the type of Jean and Étienne appears at its best in about three novels out of twenty. For another, this character, which the reader's sympathies so demand in Naturalistic fiction, is, in the case of these novels, very often obscured and submerged by the plot—we have already noticed this shortcoming in *La*

¹⁸ Paul Reboux, Charles Muller, *A la manière de*, 2 vols (Paris: Grasset, 1914), I, 168-174.

¹⁹ Nudity: *Curée*, p. 262, *Faute de l'abbé Mouret*, pp. 267, 330, *Docteur Pascal*, p. 102, *Nana*, ch. XII, S. L. Whitcomb, *The Study of the Novel* (Boston: Heath, 1905), p. 114.

²⁰ *Argent*, p. 374, *Docteur Pascal*, p. 132.

²¹ Vulgarity: *Assommoir*, pp. 239, 382, etc., etc.

Terre Finally, he is denied a feminine counterpart. We must regret our inability to set beside Jean and Étienne an outstanding and similar portrait of the opposite sex. Zola's women tend to be allegories, either of Amazonian strength (Lisa Macquart, Nana, Renée Saccard, Clorinde Balbi), or of fecundity (Clotilde Saccard, Pauline Quenu), or of idealized beauty (Angélique Hubert, Albine), and the most "ordinary" of them, Catherine of *La Terre*, as we have seen, neither lives nor dies, quite, in Zola's pages.

At this point a reader might well exclaim: If Zola makes even his "normal" man violent, what will he do with the abnormal! Certainly there is no lack of extraordinary characters. The pages of *Les Rougon-Macquart* present the abnormal, with a kind of Hugo-like antithesis, in two main incarnations: the giant and the imbecile. Really, the antithesis does not exist, as every good *hugolâtre* will readily see. giant flesh and shrivelled intellect are actually one, both are heredity gone to seed, subnormal despite their low cunning. Of giants, a good half-dozen come to mind. *La Débâcle* presents the German spy, Goliath, a character quite like his namesake in *Le Juif errant*.²² There is Cabuche, a perfect Caliban, in *La Bête humaine*. There is Beaugé the Fleming in *Au bonheur des dames*. There is the magnificent portrait of two rival blacksmiths in *L'Assommoir*. Finally, *Le Ventre de Paris* has more than its share of giants: Marjolin, another Caliban; Alexandre, the colossus whose muscles the artist Claude so much admired, even "la belle Lisa" herself is a muscular giantess, who can fell Marjolin with one blow.²³

As these giants are all related by their lack of intelligence, so the imbeciles of Zola are united under the aura of an unsuitable and disquieting adolescence (even in the case of old Tante Dide, foundress of the dynasty). Victor Saccard, of *L'Argent*, represents the type perfectly. We need not dwell on this unpleasant and disturbing portrait of a half-man. He differs, in this unhealthy quality, from his prototypes, Hugo's ragamuffin Gavroche and Balzac's *saute-ruisseau* of Paris law-offices. Victor Saccard has many fellows among the Rougon-Macquart: pitiful Saturnin Jossérand, little Vincent, who resembles a snake rather than a child; the cretin girl, Désirée, ill-fated Hilarion, cross-eyed Augustine and green-eyed Jeanlin; finally, Charles, last of the dynasty, Maxime Saccard's idiot son, and—to crown the horrors—a sufferer from hemophilia.²⁴

²² Cf., also, his summary trial and execution to Milady's in *The Three Musketeers*.

²³ Giants *Débâcle*, pp 14, 496, 500, *Assommoir*, p 174, *Ventre de Paris*, pp 74, 123, 212, *Bonheur des Dames*, p 150.

²⁴ Imbecile and degenerate. *Argent*, p 161, *Pot-Bouille*, pp 44, 253, 352, 416, *Faute de l'abbé Mouret*, pp 35, 279, *Docteur Pascal*, pp 60, 68, 215, *Assommoir*, p 237, *Terre*, p 423, *Germinal*, pp 431 ff.

Yet, as if this list were not enough, Zola increases it generously: he presents even his "normal" adolescent characters under this same rather distressing halo. True, there are one or two handsome portraits in Zola's gallery: the figure of Silvère, young hero of *La Fortune des Rougon*, comes pleasantly to mind. But, with few exceptions, a sickly hue surrounds Zolaesque youth. Nana, as a precocious child, all too clearly foreshadows what she will become. A fisher-boy who is a husband at fourteen years has the same unpleasantly "premature" quality. A Zola girl is likely to grow up a tomboy or *galopin*—a favorite term and a favorite type of the author's. And as for Zola's boys—an unwholesome case of arrested adolescence, a disgustingly effeminate schoolboy, and a participant in youthful escapades which impress one as a farcical burlesque of seventeen-year-old folly: these are samples.²⁵

The same light illumines them all. And this is precisely the point: these adolescent and arrested-adolescent figures are portraits rather than characters. They never actually grow, never become—though the term "adolescence" in its etymological sense has a dynamic connotation. In this sense, clearly, Zola's one adolescent novel, his one study of growth, is *L'Œuvre*, and this work pales significantly when set beside Flaubert's *Éducation sentimentale*, which it superficially resembles. Zola, contrary to Flaubert, is interested only in the picture of adolescence. In fact, he is not interested in adolescence at all—only in puberty.²⁶

It is the same with his giants: they are pictures rather than forces in the story. One has but to compare the scene of amorous rivalry between two smiths in *L'Assommoir* (a scene admirable enough in itself) with Rubens' painting of Vulcan at the Forge to be convinced of this plastic quality. In Zola's abnormal characters, form outweighs force.

But if Zola's normal man is infrequent and sometimes overpowered, and if his abnormal and adolescent creatures (the two are actually only variants of one type) are drawn toward a plastic ideal, what remains? The type toward which all these conceptions tend—the Animal.

Zola's characters lead logically to the animalistic concept. Indeed, some of the most successful of them are pictured as animals: one is likened to a great, purring cat, another "se dressait et sifflait ainsi qu'une couleuvre", and a cretin boy resembles a snake.²⁷ Finally, what is Zola's "normal man" if not an animal? But, in addition to these, real animals become important characters in his novels. Out of the epic pages of *La*

²⁵ Adolescent *Assommoir*, p. 159, *Ventre de Paris*, p. 73, *Bonheur des dames*, pp. 7-8, *Faute de l'abbé Mouret*, p. 166, *Docteur Pascal*, p. 29, *Fortune des Rougon*, p. 20, *Curée*, pp. 43, 104. ²⁶ Cf. *Faute de l'abbé Mouret*, pp. 267, 330.

²⁷ Comparison to animals *Rêve*, p. 14, *Curée*, p. 186, *Faute de l'abbé Mouret*, p. 35, *Germinal*, *passim*, *Conquête de Plassans*, pp. 264, 347.

Débâcle, it is impossible to forget the death of the horse, Zéphirine, as recounted by a cavalryman, and the aimless charging of the wild, riderless mounts after the battle, eating one another or being killed by the soldiers for food. Elsewhere animals take important rôles. The distress of a household is made more poignant by the starving of the horse, or the death of an old watch-dog emphasizes pathetically the wasting of the years. In *Germinal*, the story of two mine-horses, Trompette and Bataille, has the dignity of a sub-plot: the corpse of Trompette remains throughout the scene of riot as a kind of grisly symbol, and the death of Bataille, drowned in the caverns underground, is for the heroine a picture of her own doom. Even the chase after a tame rabbit, Pologne, led by the degenerate Jeanlin, is detailed in *Germinal* at great length, and gives rhythm and impetus to the rebellion which is its background. Through this gathering the chase weaves in and out, making the vindictive miners seem passive by comparison.

Animals swarm through these novels: the geese that accompany a tomboyish, thieving peasant girl, a cat dying under a grating, Louis-Napoléon's hunting dogs, the goats and chickens and even ants that belong to an imbecile girl, and the favorite horses of various gentlemen. A gruesome episode in *Le Ventre de Paris* is the forced feeding of pigeons for market. In *Nana*, the green-room cat becomes a demoniacal symbol of roving eroticism, and the racehorse, in a climactic scene, actually symbolizes the heroine herself. And—to carry the process to its absurd extreme—there is the scene of the wreck in *La Bête humaine*, with the dying locomotive beside the dying dray-horse. Here, it would seem, Zola has overstepped himself. He stresses equally the death of the horse and of the mechanical beast, and, by so doing, he weakens the center of interest of his composition. It should be the locomotive, not the animal, which claims our attention. The episode must be mentioned as indicating the extreme to which Zola's fondness for animal characters led him. The Naturalistic Novelist—it appears—ends logically as a Zoophile.²⁸

However, by the very force of their pathos, animals do live and breathe in the pages of *Les Rougon-Macquart*—a privilege which is not always

²⁸ Animals. *Bête humaine*, pp. 294, 302, *Terre*, pp. 52, 103, 316, 337, *Débâcle*, pp. 88, 387, 399, 422, 424, 425, *Rêve*, p. 30, *Docteur Pascal*, pp. 239, 283, *Page d'amour*, p. 44, *Jose de vivre*, pp. 48, 124, 161, 187, 230–233, *Eugène Rougon*, pp. 62, 122, 195, *Faute de l'abbé Mouret*, pp. 34, 79–81, 267, 279, 399, *Ventre de Paris*, pp. 206, 294, *Nana*, chs. v, x, *Argent*, p. 385, *Germinal*, Part IV, ch. vii, Part VI, ch. v, Part VII, ch. v.—Note, incidentally, that a tortoise is a leading character throughout one whole chapter of Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*. Cf. also Frank Norris's shepherd in *The Octopus* who can hypnotize a whole flock of sheep. Also compare the heartrending description in *La Débâcle*: "Il fallut près de cinq minutes au cheval pour mourir"—its reproachful eyes on the men to the last moment—with the leopardess in Balzac's *Passion dans le désert*.

permitted normal man, abnormal man, or adolescent man. When Zola wearied of the panting appetites of his own humans, he turned with something like relief to the less frantic, more "natural" movement of his beasts. Each age has its own rebellion. A hatred of speech accompanies every hyper-articulate era. Rousseau turned to Primitivism, Vigny took refuge in Quietism, Zola sought relief in Animalism. The animal completes the other Zola creatures just as the "epic" completes his patterns, and, finally, animals make apparent an important fact. Zola's characters, like his formulas, are drawn toward both an active and passive pole, and progress through several stages. They begin with normal "ordinary" activity, pass, in the abnormal concept, through a kind of picturesque phase, and finally emerge, at the most rarified level, as animals.

III

The violent moments of the twenty Rougon-Macquart novels, qualified by the patterns of the stories in which they occur and by the characters who participate in them, must now be considered in their immediate context.

Obviously, violence of an incidental nature and in a minor degree is frequent enough, and serves mainly to aid in creating the atmosphere of commonplace, brutal "news" or "atrocity story" in which Zola likes to immerse his novels. Thus, throughout *L'Assommoir*, the characters comment on various notorious affairs of the day, which are never mentioned again and have, of course, no direct relation to the plot: a Zouave who cut off his mistress's nose with a razor, a woman found dead in the street, and other atrocities. Similarly, in *La Bête humaine*, there is the casual mention of various accidents along the railway, such as a cow cut in two by an express train. In *Au bonheur des dames*: "Vous avez lu, cet homme qui a guillotiné sa maîtresse d'un coup de rasoir?" Zola, like one of his characters—Gilquém, who loved to imagine disasters—"avait le goût des imaginations atroces."²⁹ These little incidents, however sanguinary, are nevertheless quite external to the action of the Rougon-Macquart novels. Over and above the obvious fact that Zola finds almost all brutality attractive, they prove little. They are merely the "small change" of violence.

Zola exploits other violent incidents much more pretentiously. These

²⁹ Incidental brutality: *Bête humaine*, pp. 46, 139, *Débâcle*, p. 81, *Terre*, pp. 392, 464, 467, 481; *Assommoir*, pp. 109, 139, 233, 273, *Docteur Pascal*, p. 283, *Joie de vivre*, pp. 81, 182, 269, *Ventre de Paris*, pp. 15, 99, *Bonheur des dames*, pp. 181, 348, *Conquête de Plasans*, pp. 212, 217, *Rêve*, p. 179, *Curée*, p. 130, *Fortune des Rougon*, pp. 148, 333, *Son Excellence Eugène*, p. 99.—We must note again a resemblance to Eugène Labiche and his sadistic farcical subjects: for example, *L'Affaire de la rue de Louvaine*.

expansive moments are usually found in association with the pattern which we have called epic. Three epic frescoes may be recalled, among many: *La Fortune des Rougon*, *Germinal*, and *La Débâcle*. The march on Plassans of the rural and sentimental Republicans of '51, the aimless marauding of a crowd of starving miners, aimlessness which turns pitifully and ironically into open rebellion, and the march, betrayal, defeat, and dispersal of a vast army around Metz in 1870. these are certainly subjects of breathless movement, worthy of any artist. And Zola chooses to depict them precisely after the fashion of a color-artist. In *Germinal*, the scenes come before our eyes in pictures—from the meeting of the dissatisfied miners in the woods,³⁰ and the horrible and fantastic parade of blood-satiated women past the barn in which are hiding a terror-stricken group of townsfolk, down to the final catastrophe before the mine-pit: all of them are episodes caught at their crisis, mobs photographed at the right moment, gestures immobilized and set down, fixed for observation. Zola seems to be at work here with a camera: indeed, the scene at the mine pit is a true flash-light picture. The whole band of workers, and the individuals which make it up, are caught at the moment of the fusillade: their death or escape, the destruction of their hopes, their very gestures are listed. A further important qualification: the lens of Zola's camera is always set at wide focus. The frightful parade viewed through a chink in the barn door very soon outgrows that narrow frame, and expands into as extensive a diorama as the mine-pit tragedy.

Scenes like these, needless to say, are to some extent an inheritance. Zola and the literature of the 'eighties had been prepared for this technique by a doughty Romantic, Victor Hugo. What is the *Légende des siècles* but a great procession—one might almost say, a mural? Doubtless Hugo was inspired by a mural-artist and by a generation that delighted in the colorful costume-pageantry of Sir Walter Scott. But, in the case of Zola, we can be sure that the arrival of photography in the mid-nineteenth century had influenced—consciously or unconsciously—the men of letters, and the power and precision of these flash-lights of his derive, at least in part, from the new form of vision which his century had created.

In proof both of the photographic affinities of Zola's art and its relationship with Hugo's, there occurs throughout his novels a phenomenon which we would call "the Romantic vantage point." Here, instead of the author, it is an actual personage of the story who achieves the all-embracing, ego-flattering, object-belittling view. The murderer, Roubaud smoking his pipe on the roof of the station at Le Havre, is master of all he surveys. A green-room cat, looking down from the dizzy height of dressing-room stairs, seems to envisage a host of lustful histories. The crafty

³⁰ A scene which has its parallel in the stealthy meeting of Balzac's Chouans

priest, at his high window which embraces a view of the back-gardens of three ridiculous little households of Plassans, literally overtops these ineffectual societies, just as the evil figure of the usurer, La Méchain, seems to dominate the crowded Stock Exchange. Even the crows which fly away, croaking, after a pompous ground-breaking ceremony, have an ironic vantage: animals of ill-omen dominate the Second Empire itself.³¹

Indeed, Zola seems to have bequeathed this technique to the *bas-fonds* of literature. It has become a commonplace in twentieth-century "thrillers." Gaston Leroux, certainly, was influenced by Zola when he created his "Phantom of the Opera," a fantastic and evil figure who presides over the destinies of the Paris Opéra, or when he made the hero of another "penny-dreadful" the familiar demon dominating hypnotically the affairs of a great department store (cf. *Au bonheur des dames*). This is Zola "in the bargain basement."

Zola uses his vantage-point, however, for other effects than mere picturesque romanticism. Indeed, even his novels which do not pretend to be epics of revolt or of defeat have the same wide focus and camera-angle. Almost every one of the works has at least one scene into which the whole of the *dramatis personae* are gathered. Funerals make particularly effective group-portraits of this kind. Student gatherings, public meetings, processions, carriages whirling by in the Bois de Boulogne or along the Champs-Élysées—all these moments serve Zola's purpose admirably.³² They permit him to assemble his cast of characters, like the *diable boiteux*, to take the lid off houses and places, and to study groups minutely and individually while still keeping them in check collectively. It is a technique of holding reality in suspension.

But his use of the *dramatis personae* is for Zola both a technique and a temptation. He insists on it in every novel: his miners assemble in taverns and woodland clearings, his gentlemen banquet in high- and half-society, those ironically parallel worlds, his conspirators gather in their back-rooms, his characters assemble at art exhibits, "big sales," evening musicales, the Stock Exchange, a politician's office, family feasts, and the "salon jaune" of the Rougons at Plassans.³³ He insists that we meet the

³¹ "Romantic vantage point" *Bête humaine*, p. 161, *Nana*, ch. v, *Ventre de Paris*, p. 183, ch. iv, *Page d'amour*, pp. 130, 321, 346, *Bonheur des dames*, p. 318, *Conquête de Plassans*, p. 109, *Rêve*, ch. iv, *Argent*, p. 356, *Eugène Rougon*, p. 281, *Fortune des Rougon*, p. 341.

³² Note how the rhythm of carriages is a favorite device with novelists of this period—in Flaubert's *Éducation sentimentale*, in Daudet's *Le Nabab* and in Maupassant's story, *A cheval*.—Also the funeral processions in Balzac's *Père Goriot*, *Ferragus*, in *L'Éducation sentimentale* and *Le Nabab* (where the bust of Balzac presides over the description), and, finally, in the related art of painting, Gustave Courbet's celebrated "Funeral at Ornans."

³³ Cf. the irony of the finale—Rougons at supper while their nephew is being shot—with Frank Norris's imitation in the supper-table scene of *The Octopus*.

personnel of an infantry company, the passengers aboard a train, the peasants telling their stories by night in a warm cow-stall.³⁴ There is even a lunatic asylum, in which Zola assembles five generations of his Family Zola's sense of the *dramatis personae* obtrudes in the most unexpected places: for example, the sardonic finale of *La Conquête de Plassans* finds the whole society of a little town seated in comfortable chairs on the sidewalk and watching a disastrous fire, and finally, the very saints carved on the portals of a cathedral come to life for Zola, and people his story of *Le Rêve*. His cast of characters holds a dangerous fascination for him—not as characters, but *per se*. He cannot refrain from naming these folk over and over again, he brings them all together at the same time, there is never an absentee—until one wonders whether, in *Au bonheur des dames*, the clientele of the store is not a very restricted one, after all! Even the great train wreck, in *La Bête humaine*, is less an episode in action than a wide-focussed description of the *dramatis personae*: it resembles a diorama of a wreck.³⁵

This desire to collect, to name and rename, leads to another technique, which we would call, borrowing a musical term, the art of the “refrain.” Like the arts of the catalogue and the vantage-point, this likewise is epic in its effect, and consists in reviewing one or more times the same characters in the same situations or poses. The battle scenes of *La Débâcle* best exemplify the trick. Here, as the company retreats, we catch horrid, Dantesque glimpses: a Zouave, his beard and hair on fire, and alive, the little trumpeter, Gaude, dead like Roland at Roncesvalles, with his trumpet to his lips, the bodies of two artillerymen—the rider and his helper—“mariés jusque dans la mort”, finally, the corpse of Rochas, the old Napoleonic sergeant, with whom “a legend ended.” Later, when the grieving farm-girl traverses the same field in search of her dead lover, she looks on the figures—wax-works, they almost seem—in precisely the same order.³⁶ Out of that great field of dead, they are made to serve the author's purpose on two occasions. This parallel rhythm is epic, but there is a certain “gloating” quality to the action even here while the author holds up his characters one after another to the light and examines them. Here too—as in the tavern scenes of *La Terre*—the novel becomes stalled.

Thus, Zola's epic flash-lights tend to pass through such stages as his Romantic vantage-point, his excessive use of the *dramatis personae*, and

³⁴ Cf. a similar scene in Balzac's *Médecin de campagne*.

³⁵ The *dramatis personae* *Docteur Pascal*, pp. 72, 116–117 (survey of living members of the Family), *Nana*, chs. III, IV, V, *Œuvre*, ch. XI, *Ventre de Paris*, pp. 123, 310, *Page d'amour*, pp. 331, 334, *Pot-Bouille*, pp. 102, 421 (singing of the *Huguenots* chorus), *Rêve*, pp. 30, 180, *Curée*, p. 304, *Eugène Rougon*, p. 56, etc., etc.

³⁶ The epic refrain *Débâcle*, pp. 343, 397, 355, 356, 396. Cf. the *dramatis personae* of the stalled train and of the railroad wreck, *Bête humaine*, pp. 206, 299.

his related use of the refrain, into the pictorial and graphic presentation of violence. His episodes, like his plots and characters, have both a plastic and a dynamic guise. It is quite true that, as the author drew nearer the end of the Second Empire and of his series (most of his novels take place in the late years of Napoleon III), the epic formulas and examples of violence increase,³⁷ but, precisely along with them, the plastic quality of the novels increases also (*Germinal*, *Nana*, *La Terre*, *La Débâcle*)—which further proves that epic breadth and plastic precision progress together.

The growth in plasticity of Zola's episodes illustrates an antithesis between *suspension* and *suspense*. The art of suspension is mainly pictorial, the art of suspense relies mainly on concentration. Suspension, wide-framed and graphic, occurs often in the Rougon-Macquart novels, narrow-framed moments of concentrated suspense are fewer.

In a way, it is a pity that Zola's great work was done before the days of the moving-picture. Certainly its technique would have appealed to him. His dramatis personae do indeed represent a sort of foreshadowing of the cinema, but there are also examples of true "silent movie" in his work: Jacques Lantier's glimpse of a murder, perfectly lighted and posed, through the windows of a passing train, and the silent picture of degradation which Gervaise sees through the window of a grog-shop. Perfect moving-pictures are also the following scenes: the nihilist Souvarine, after watching, motionless, a particularly brutal fight, calmly lights a cigarette, and turns away, an old woman watches until the roofer Lantier falls from his perilous perch, then quietly shuts her window.³⁸ This brings the action to a truly legitimate stop.

This poignant and "concentrated" power has caused Zola's fights to be much admired. The laundry-scene in *L'Assommoir*,³⁹ the struggle between Jean and the land-hungry Buteau in *La Terre*, and the battle between Étienne and the sex-drunk Chaval in *Germinal* are, indeed, masterpieces of suspense, of retribution, of a kind of moral sadism. There is never a moment's doubt where our sympathies lie. Insult and offense are piled upon the sympathetic character until, at the last moment, he turns, avenges himself and the reader's thirst for justice at the same time.

³⁷ Contrary to Balzac and Dumas, with whom the violent technique tends to decrease with the years.

³⁸ Moving-picture technique *Bête humaine*, p. 60, *Assommoir*, pp. 233, 355, *Germinal*, Part VI, ch. III, *Assommoir*, p. 199. Mark Twain used a similar suspension in his description of the opening of the battle of Orleans in *Joan of Arc* (girl at window with watering-can), Barbey d'Aurevilly also in *Le Chevalier Des Touches* (rescue scene, old woman at window).

³⁹ Note how Zola uses the rhythm of the laundry-sticks to give unity to the episode—another case of "pattern" in the novel.

Here is Zola's action at its most physical: the suspense in these cases is built upon our fear of bodily harm, motivated by justice, consummated sadistically, and is cleverly drawn out to the very limit of the reader's endurance⁴⁰

Sadism occurs also at three lesser degrees of poignancy—domestic, infant, and adolescent. By their very excess, the instances of husbands twisting their wives' arms, or otherwise mistreating them, finally become commonplace; for Zola seems to hold married life in very low esteem. The grand "aristocratic" passion of Dumas' *Henri III* has sunk to the bourgeois level of the Second Empire.⁴¹ A more moving, more inexorable sadism is the mistreatment of children, instances of which we have already mentioned. *L'Assommoir* reaches a height of poignancy in the story of little Lahe Bijard—a story quite English in its brutality (as the Latins like to imagine the English⁴²). A third type of sadism which Zola exploits effectively, so effectively as to make it peculiarly his own, is the rendering of embarrassment. The most memorable scene of this kind would certainly be Denise Baudu's entrance as a new employee into the department store, the supercilious smiles of the older clerks, their overt sneers at her provincial dress and clumsy bearing. The author pushes cruelty to the point where his reader suffers embarrassment with his heroine—a trick since appropriated by the American novelist, Booth Tarkington, particularly in his stories of adolescence, *Seventeen* and *Alice Adams*.⁴³ Indeed, it must be admitted that there is something peculiarly "adolescent" about this third sadistic theme.

Concentrated sadism probably reaches its apogee in two moments of the Rougon-Macquart novels. The first is the climax of *La Bête humaine*. Here, after long suspense, the homicidal mania of Jacques Lantier seizes fatal hold upon him, and he finds release by slaying his mistress. The incident is accomplished with a violent economy of words (not a slighting of the subject, such as we have noticed in other episodes, but real economy). The woman suddenly sees her doom written in the gold-

⁴⁰ Fights *Assommoir*, pp. 19, 29, *Terre*, pp. 285, 308, 316, 332, *Nana*, ch. vi, *Ventre de Paris*, p. 135.

⁴¹ Domestic sadism: *Pot-Bouille*, pp. 269, etc.; *Nana*, chs. vii, viii, xii, *Argent*, pp. 341, 375-376.

⁴² Cf. Mario Praz, *The Romantic Agony* (London: Oxford, 1922), pp. 413 ff.; G. Polti, *Les Trente-Six Situations dramatiques* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1895), p. 132, also a similar theme in Thomas Burke's "The Chink and the Child" (in *Lamphouse Nights*, New York: McBride, 1917) and the more famous motion picture founded thereon, *Broken Blossoms*; also James Joyce's *Counterparts* (1914).

⁴³ Embarrassment: *Bonheur des dames*, pp. 123, 242, *Ventre de Paris*, p. 130, *Assommoir*, p. 211.

flecked eyes⁴⁴ of the crazed man, and utters the one word: "Pourquoi?" This "pourquoi" is melodrama, to be sure, but even its relations with melodrama cannot lessen the violent effectiveness of the scene

The last episode which must be mentioned is the horrible catastrophe of *La Conquête de Plassans*, in which the priest's mother dies avenging him, her teeth biting the throat of the insane murderer, Mouret. Yet this episode, gruesome as it is, tends nevertheless in the pictorial direction. It is epic, it is even Classic: the figure of the abbé's mother, carrying him from the burning room on her back, merely pictures the escape of Eneas and Anchises from burning Troy, the rôles and sexes reversed.⁴⁵ We have made a complete circle in our search for violence, and have returned to the plastic.

IV

Plot, Character, and Incident in *Les Rougon-Macquart* all reveal a dichotomy. The work of Zola sways between two poles, he himself wavered between two temptations. His plots, as we have seen, progress through passive or active stages. His characters are either pictorial or animal. His episodes depend on extended suspension or concentrated suspense. He strives toward various, sometimes conflicting, art-ideals—spatial and temporal, graphic and musical, plastic and athletic. Here is a work with an allegiance to two very different genuises.

These contradictory tendencies can perhaps best be summed up, in the case of Émile Zola, as an antagonism between scene and situation. There is, to the best of our knowledge, little attempt to differentiate clearly these two concepts, even on the part of critics. The dramatic situation has found its expounder in the inimitable, often fantastic, and always intriguing work of Georges Polti,⁴⁶ but—again to the best of our knowledge—there has never been a hardy soul to undertake a similar classification of "scenes" in fiction or drama. Without delving too deeply into the distinction, we may define Scene as largely pictorial, Situation as kinetic.⁴⁷ Scene is drawn toward the graphic arts; situation is drawn toward the arts of time, the dance, and athletics. The novel, as a

⁴⁴ *Bête humaine*, p. 335. Zola likes to give his villains and abnormal characters yellowish eyes: the gold-specked eyes of Buteau (*Terre*, p. 443) and the greenish eyes of little Jeanlin (*Germinal*, p. 432).

⁴⁵ *Conquête de Plassans*, p. 347.—Cf. the epic ending of *Germinal* (p. 532), where La Maheude resembles Niobe surrounded by her dead. Or the scene of Vulcan at the forge, referred to above.

⁴⁶ Georges Polti, *Les Trente-Six Situations dramatiques* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1895). Cf. Carl E. W. L. Dahlstrom, "The Analysis of Literary Situation," *PMLA*, LI (Sept. 1936), 872-889 (based on Polti's classification).

⁴⁷ Polti's dramatic formulas always take the equation of a struggle between forces.

comprehensive form, embraces both tendencies, and so Zola, in his violent technique, sought two orientations⁴⁸

If this is so, in which guise was Zola more effective, original, and influential? In other words, how can one locate his violent technique with relation to Past, Present, and Future?

Certainly, as regards the past, Zola's work and his technique make real progress. His novels rise from the servile Balzac scenario to real situation, in the Classic sense and often on the Classic model, and Zola ends by creating his own mythology much after the manner of Hugo. For, though Zola's novels may often begin in Balzacian rhythm, his catastrophes are most often classical. We have already called attention to some of these, but additional proof is to be found by referring again to Polti's little book. He lists almost every one of Zola's novels as illustrating types of dramatic situation (a greater number than he does for any other novelist), and, frequently, Zola's titles stand side by side with those of the Greek tragedians.

At the same time, we have seen how much of this violent technique derived from the methods of the popular school, serial novel or melodrama; or was at any rate related to them. We have seen how deeply Zola was in debt to Victor Hugo for many of his broad-scale devices. We have seen also how much he in turn bequeathed to later popular and sensational literature (the Romantic vantage-point, the familiar demon of the great *place*, department store or opera-house). But this is of small moment: the caste-line between vulgar and refined literature, between literature for the people and literature for posterity, is not as strictly drawn as many would insist.

As regards Zola's relation to his own period, we can link him with the Impressionist painters and with the Parnassian poets. There is a type of vision peculiar to the late nineteenth century, seen in such Zolaesque phrases as "poussière d'or du soleil" or "poudroiement de lueurs"⁴⁹—phrases which show that Zola, like the hero of *L'Œuvre*, like the Impressionist painters in general, like Leconte de Lisle in such a poem as *Midy*, was trying to render the feel of the atmosphere, to give substance to the quality of light and sight, and most of all to depict the Scene or Landscape that forever confronts our waking vision. In the descriptions of the late nineteenth century—whether by novelists, poets, or painters—the very air becomes corporeal and *thick*; and, for that reason, it sometimes *immobilizes* the picture.⁵⁰ Indeed, the Impressionist painters conceived

⁴⁸ Cf. the antithesis between Posture and Gesture in the present writer's "Violence in the Dramas and Dramatizations of Dumas père," *Romantic Review*, October, 1940.

⁴⁹ Light *Bête humaine*, p. 92, *Curée*, p. 41, *Ventre de Paris*, p. 13, *Œuvre*, throughout.

⁵⁰ Perhaps the classic instance of this "arrested motion" is seen in the famous passage from *Germinie Lacerteux* which describes "l'entrée aux champs."

of sunlight as a fixative, just as the Naturalistic novelists liked to render moving carriage-wheels, a favorite subject of theirs, not as dynamism and direction but as sheen and shimmer. This plastic and immobilizing tendency, therefore, marks a counter-balance to the melodramatic and vulgar phases of Zola's violence.

Perhaps the best way to locate Zola in the Past, Present, and Future of his century is to borrow a simile from grammatical terminology. It may not be too far-fetched to sum up the history of French fiction, in the nineteenth century, as an effort to get out of the Past Definite into the Imperfect tense. These tenses, of course, are used only as symbols for a spiritual effort, not for the actual mechanics of style. With Balzac (save perhaps in the critic's favored oddity, *Eugène Grandet*), the novel is still in the Preterite, and as such marks Balzac as one of the last of the great Classical tradition. Certainly Flaubert's importance and influence can hardly be judged on the *amount* he wrote, nor even on its intrinsic excellence, but rather on an artistry that drew Mme Bovary out of the realm of history and into the realm of life: days, weeks, hours, and minutes are moulded by the Imperfect sense and tense which Flaubert imparts to his novel. And Hugo—that much maligned and much neglected novelist—by very reason of the gestures and attitudes into which he throws his characters, must be accepted as an improver upon Balzac's model and as an influence upon Zola. Finally, with Zola, the Parnassians, and the Impressionists, art becomes mainly imperfective—a kind of dazzling, sunlit or flash-lighted mass against which stands out a face, a gesture, or a transient mood. Whether the Past Definite or the Imperfect is the more active tense may remain a debatable point: the undebatable fact is that the novel throughout the nineteenth century gained in richness and complexity by acquiring a stronger concept of the Imperfect, and Zola's violent effects are the richer for that gain.

In this most important respect, the art of Zola links him closely with the generation of 1900–1914, and with the novel of today. For what is his technique of the *dramatis personae*, his suspension of action, his review and *reprise* of personages in tavern or drawing room, but an adumbration of the technique later to be associated with the name of Marcel Proust? The art which is in Zola's case merely one side of his talent, a kind of balance against the melodramatic violence he strove for, becomes in the case of Proust the entire preoccupation and striving of the novelist. Compare any one of Zola's gatherings with a similar scene in Proust. The two, ironically-contrasting supper-scenes of *Nana* are but a foreshadowing of the snobbish, finicking description of the Duchess of Guermante's drawing-room, through which Proust picks his way in the same

manner as Zola, though without Zola's sense of balance. Suspension has become for the later novelist not a means, but an end in itself. Thus, if all of Zola's other talents—his lyric, his epic, his melodrama, his grim farce, his Second-Empire spirit—were negligible, a study of his work would still be necessary for the seeds of the twentieth-century French novel

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AUF DEN SPUREN VON HAUPTMANN'S
FLORIAN GEYER (I)

GERHART HAUPTMANN hat in seinem *Florian Geyer* den großartigen Versuch gemacht, eine um vier Jahrhunderte zurückliegende Zeit mit den Mitteln naturalistischer Technik auf der Bühne lebendig zu machen. Dem Drama in seiner Eigenschaft als Wortkunstwerk gegenüber stellte sich der Dichter die Forderung, einen Dialog zu schaffen, der im Leser und Hörer die Illusion erwecken müsse, er vernehme unmittelbar die Sprache von Menschen der deutschen Reformationszeit, genau so, als wäre der Dialog vor vier Jahrhunderten auf Schallplatten aufgenommen und für unsre Zeit aufbewahrt worden. Es galt mithin, den Satzbau, die Wortformen, den Wortschatz und die ganze Fülle jener bildlichen Wendungen, die den charakteristischen Stil einer Epoche ausmachen, mit möglichster Treue nachzubilden. Um dieses Ziel auch nur annähernd zu erreichen, war—von der höheren, eigentlich schöpferischen Befähigung ganz abgesehen—zweierlei vonnöten: erstens eine außerordentliche Gabe der Einfühlung in das Leben einer vergangenen Zeit und sodann ein gewissenhaftes Studium des aus jener Zeit überlieferten Schrifttums.

In welchem Grade es Hauptmann geglückt ist, sich in das Leben jener unruhigen Zeit einzufühlen, darüber läßt sich streiten. Kurz nach dem Erscheinen des *Florian Geyer* tat ein verdienter Historiker den Ausspruch über Hauptmanns "interessante aber unholde Dichtung," es sei immerhin möglich, daß sich für jede Wendung der Hauptmannschen Sprache ein Beleg aus dem Schrifttum jener Zeit werde beibringen lassen, daß aber Hauptmann das Geringste von dem Geist jener Zeit begriffen hatte, sei mit der größten Entschiedenheit zu verneinen.¹ Schien der vollständige damalige Mißerfolg des *Florian Geyer* auf der Bühne diesem Urteil recht zu geben, so haben sich die Zeiten inzwischen gewandelt, und der *Florian Geyer* ist nachgerade zu einem Grundbestandteil des deutschen Mythos geworden. Was aber den andern Punkt, Hauptmanns Studium der Quellen, angeht, darüber muß es möglich sein, zu dauernden, wissenschaftlich einwandfreien Ergebnissen zu gelangen. Eine—sehr zu

¹ Max Lenz, "Florian Geyer," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, LXXXIV (1896), pp. 97–127. Worthich heißt es dort: "Vielmehr zeigt seine Dichtung weder in den Persönlichkeiten noch in der Abschilderung der Zustände und Anschauungen noch auch in der Sprechweise selbst etwas von dem Geist der Quellen, trotzdem er diese offenbar sehr viel fleißiger studiert hat als einer seiner Vorgänger, und die Redewendungen, mit denen er die Sprache des 16. Jahrhunderts nachbildet, sich vielleicht sämtlich in der Literatur nachweisen lassen mögen. . . Aber niemals benahmen sie sich, wie ich sie kenne, weder Edelleute noch Bürger und Bauern so rude wie Hauptmanns Helden in jeder Szene." (pp. 97–98).

wunschende—kritische Ausgabe unsrer Dichtung mußte es sich, neben vielen andern Gesichtspunkten, angelegen sein lassen, Hauptmanns Beziehungen zu seinen Quellen eingehend zu erforschen, sowohl in sachlicher wie in sprachlicher Hinsicht

Vorwiegend der sprachlichen Seite eines solchen Unternehmens wollen die im Folgenden dargebotenen Ergebnisse unsrer Forschung dienen. Um gleich eine weitere Einschränkung zu machen: Es geht hier in erster Linie darum, den Wortlaut der Quellen anzuführen, die auf Hauptmanns Sprache deutlich abgefarbt haben, wogegen der an sich sehr wichtige Gesichtspunkt, wie Hauptmann das aus den Quellen geschöpfte Sprachgut sich zu eigen gemacht und dem Stil seiner Dichtung angeglichen hat, hier nur beiläufig gestreift werden kann. Denn um einen sicheren Überblick über Hauptmanns Arbeitsweise in diesem Drama zu gewinnen und das Verhältnis von Entlehnung, Angleichung und schöpferischer Durchdringung des Stoffes gerecht abzuwägen, dazu gehört meines Erachtens vor allem, daß der entlehnte Sprachstoff erst einmal in annähernder Vollständigkeit kenntlich gemacht werde.

Daß die Erforschung der Quellen die Beurteilung der schöpferischen Leistung einer Dichtung zu fordern geeignet ist, bedarf keiner weiteren Erörterung. Im *Florian Geyer* aber liegen die Verhältnisse so eigen, daß die Erschließung einer Quelle außerdem gelegentlich einen Kommentar zum Verständnis schwieriger Stellen bietet. Ja, es werden sogar Fälle zu verzeichnen sein, wo die Quelle überhaupt erst den Schlüssel zu einer sonst völlig dunklen Stelle bietet. Mindestens ebenso wichtig erweist sich in unserm Fall die Quellenforschung für die Herstellung eines zuverlässigen Textes der Dichtung. Ich habe bereits anderwärts eine Anzahl von Proben veröffentlicht,² die auf diese Seite unsrer Forschung ein schlagendes Licht werfen. Wir werden im Laufe unsrer Untersuchung noch auf eine ganze Reihe von Fällen stoßen, wo offenbare Verderbnis des Textes der Dichtung vorliegt, sei es, daß eine Flüchtigkeit im Manuskript des Verfassers, sei es, daß ein Versehen des Setzers daran die Schuld trägt.

Über einige Quellen Hauptmanns liegen bereits gründliche Untersuchungen vor. Heinrich Lemcke³ hat 1918 nachgewiesen, daß Hauptmann die *Lebensbeschreibung des Gotz von Berlichingen* sorgfältig gelesen und sich eine ganze Reihe von charakteristischen Worten und Wendungen daraus zu eigen gemacht hat. Und Helene Hermann⁴ hat

² "Zur Textkritik von Hauptmanns *Florian Geyer*, *MFDU*, xxxiii (1941), pp. 198–202.

³ "Gotz von Berlichingen in Gerhart Hauptmanns *Florian Geyer*," *Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum Geschichte und Deutsche Literatur*, xli (1918), pp. 460–474.

⁴ "Andreas Gryphius als Quelle für Gerhart Hauptmann," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, clxxxviii (1922), 307–324.

1922 ihre Entdeckung veröffentlicht, daß Hauptmann dem *Horribilicribrifax* seines Landsmanns Gryphius, der freilich mehr als ein Jahrhundert nach dem Bauernkrieg schrieb, den Wortlaut einer stattlichen Reihe sehr wirkungsvoller Stellen verdankt ^{4a}

Die gegenwärtige Untersuchung nun bemüht sich, nachdem sie eine Nachlese zu Hauptmanns Benutzung des Gryphius vorausgeschickt hat, zu zeigen, was Hauptmann der Dichtung des 16. Jahrhunderts verdankt. Zuerst werden Hauptmanns Anleihen bei Thomas Murner gemustert. Sodann wird der Niederschlag von Hauptmanns Studium des Hans Sachs kenntlich gemacht. Hierauf wird die Herkunft der in den *Florian Geyer* eingestreuten Strophen und Verse aufgezeigt. Da es sich bei letzteren größtenteils um Volksheder bzw. historische Lieder handelt, werden als Nachtrag eine Reihe von Ausdrücken besprochen, die Hauptmann augenscheinlich aus der Lektüre des Volksliedes geschöpft hat.

Ein späterer Beitrag, für den das Material bereits vorliegt, soll in erster Linie Hauptmanns sprachliche Anlehnung an die von ihm benutzten Chronisten des 16. Jahrhunderts, Thomas Zweifel, Lorenz Fries, Michael Eisenhart, eingehend erörtern. Sodann soll er über Hauptmanns sprachliche Anleihen bei neueren Historikern, Wilhelm Zimmermann, David Friedrich Strauß, Johannes Janssen berichten. Diese letztere Gruppe bildet zugleich Hauptmanns unmittelbare Quelle für eine ganze Reihe bedeutender Stellen, die letzten Endes auf Schriften Huttens, Luthers, Munzers zurückgehen.

Um Mißverständnissen vorzubeugen sei gesagt, daß das hier aufgestellte Programm nur Schriften umfaßt, die für jedes unbefangene Auge eindeutiges Zeugnis unmittelbarer Benutzung geben. Es steht für mich außer Frage, daß Hauptmann außer den hier genannten noch eine ganze Menge weiterer Bücher fleißig studiert und ausgezogen hat. Möglicherweise gibt das Hauptmannarchiv einmal Aufschluß darüber. Immerhin besteht starker Grund zu der Annahme, daß wir die Mehrzahl der von Hauptmann benutzten Werke bereits namhaft gemacht haben. Zu diesem Schluß bin ich durch die Erwägung gelangt, daß von der Gesamtzahl der Worte und Wendungen archaischer Prägung im *Florian Geyer* bereits weit über die Hälfte mit einer bestimmten Quelle in Zusammenhang gebracht werden können. Unter diesen gibt es allerdings eine ganze Anzahl, die in der Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts so häufig begegnen, daß es verlorene Mühe wäre, sie einer bestimmten Quelle zuzuweisen zu wollen, wo Hauptmann sie doch bei mehr als einem Verfasser

^{4a} Nachdem diese Arbeit abgeschlossen und für *PMLA* angenommen war, erschien eine Arbeit von Carroll H. Owen "Hauptmann's Sources for *Florian Geyer*" in *GR* xvi (1941), 286-303. Eine spätere Veröffentlichung wird sich damit befassen. Einige zusätzliche Anmerkungen—durch Buchstaben gekennzeichnet—nehmen schon hier auf Owen Bezug.

gefunden haben muß.⁵ Nun wäre es freilich andererseits denkbar, daß unter den Wendungen, deren Quelle noch nicht ermittelt ist, sich einige befanden, die Hauptmann selbst geprägt haben konnte, insgleichen solche, die er der mündlichen Überlieferung seiner Heimat verdankt. Theoretisch ist beides zuzugeben, anhaltendes Suchen hat jedoch in so zahlreichen Fällen zum Erfolg geführt, daß man zu der Überzeugung genötigt wird. Für schlechthin jede Wendung archaischer Prägung mußte es gelingen, eine schriftliche Quelle beizubringen, aus der sie Hauptmann geschöpft hat. Vielleicht läßt sich der hundertprozentige Nachweis nie erbringen; als heuristisches Prinzip aber beansprucht der Satz uneingeschränkte Gültigkeit.

Zum Schluß möchte ich es mir gestatten, einen Einzelfall zu beleuchten, der als beispielhaft gelten darf, was die Kreuz- und Quersfahrten des Suchens betrifft. Er besitzt schon deshalb einen eigenen Reiz, weil es ihm, trotz vieler sich hoffnungsvoll anlassenden Versuche ihm beizukommen, bis auf diese Stunde geglückt ist, sein neckendes Inkognito zu bewahren.

In Kratzers Wirtshaus zu Rothenburg sagt der deutsche Schulmeister Jos Frankenheim, auf Marei anspielend: "Eine Spindel im Sack, das Meidlin im Haus, das Stroh in den Bottschuhen mögen sich nit verbergen" (FG 156).⁶

Das ist, in seiner Dreigliedrigkeit, ein Satz von unverkennbar sprichwortlichem Klang. Ich erinnere mich, bald nachdem ich den Quellen des *Florian Geyer* nachzuspüren begonnen hatte, im *Grimm* ("Deutsches Wörterbuch") und im *Wander* ("Deutsches Sprichwörterlexikon") unter "Spindel" nachgeschlagen zu haben, aber ohne Erfolg. Die erste positive Bestätigung meiner Witterung fand ich in dem "Hurenlied," Nr. 229 des *Ambraser Liederbuchs von 1582*,⁷ dessen zweite Strophe, in Ausführung des Gedankens, daß eine Hure ihren Charakter nicht verleugnen kann, mit den ironischen Versen schließt:

ein solchs mag sich einer spindel gleich
in einem sack verbergen.

⁵ Dies trifft auch zu auf Konstruktionen wie "Zuvor aber waren sie Herolde senden" (FG 81) oder altertümliche Partizipialformen wie "daß alle . . . vor großer Freud" and schreiende durch die Kammern geloffen" (FG 185)

⁶ Unsere Zitate folgen der Gesamtausgabe des *Dramatischen Werks*. "Erste bis funfte Auflage der Ausgabe zum 70. Geburtstag des Dichters 1932" Von der sechsten Auflage an weist der Text jedenfalls eine wichtige Änderung auf. Das Wort des Sartorius gegen Ende des ersten Akts "Der deutschen Zwietracht mitten ins Herz!" (FG 106), wird nun auf Geyer übertragen!

⁷ Herausgegeben von Joseph Bergmann (Stuttgart, 1845), = Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins Stuttgart, Band XII.

Damit war die Sprichwortlichkeit der Wendung bestätigt und eines der drei Glieder gefunden. Später stieß ich beim Lesen der schönen Facsimileausgabe von Brants *Narrenschiff*⁸ in Kapitel 39 auf die Verse:

Dann narren rott, vnd büler wergk,
Eyn statt gebuwen vff eym bergk
Vnd strow das yn den schühen lyt
Die vier verbergen sich keyn zyt

Diese viergliedrige Maxime brachte ein zweites Glied des gesuchten Sprichworts. Da erinnerte ich mich, daß Geiler von Kaisersberg ja über das *Narrenschiff* gepredigt hat. Ich hatte glücklicherweise den ersten Band von Scheibles *Kloster* (Stuttgart, 1845) bei der Hand, schlug darin die Predigt zum 39. Kapitel nach und fand zu meiner Freude den Satz (S. 436):

Vier ding sin, die man nit verbergen kann, ein statt auff einem hohen Berg, die lieb oder Bulerey, das Strow in den schuen, vnnnd des Narren rath, das funfft wirt noch hinzu gethon ein spintel im sack, vnd ein verborgene Hur im Hauß

Da waren nun alle drei Glieder beisammen, allerdings in anderer Anordnung und etwas verandertem Wortlaut. Nun schlug ich von neuem im *Grimm* nach, in der Hoffnung, daß die ungewöhnliche Form "Bottschuhen" vielleicht weiter helfen würde. Und in der Tat, unter "Bottschuh" fand ich Zitat und Beleg (I, Sp. 278):

ein spill im sack und das meitlin im hus und strow in bottschuhen mogen sich nit verbergen. Keisersb. post. 3, 61.

Das Rätsel war gelöst, Wortlaut und Urheber unsres Sprichworts waren gefunden. Aber woher hatte es Hauptmann? Der Beleg deutete auf den dritten Band der 1522 gedruckten Postille. Soweit konnte sich doch der lobliche Forschungseifer eines Dichters nicht verstiegen haben, an so entlegener Stelle ein Sprichwort aufzuspüren! Doch das Quellenverzeichnis des D. W.'s schien weiterzuhelfen. Dort stand unter Keisersberg zu lesen:

xiv postill. Straszb. 1522 4 theile, die Wackernagels lesebuch III, I s. 51 näher angibt, wo man überhaupt sp. 5-68 schöne Stellen ausgehoben findet.

In gespanntester Erwartung holte ich mir den *Wackernagel*, hoffte ich doch, daß mir bei dem Charakter dieses Werkes neben der gesuchten Stelle noch eine Reihe von anderen dabei in den Schoß fallen würden. Aber die Enttäuschung war bitter. Jene Postillenpredigt befand sich nicht unter den ausgewählten Stücken, und von der "Spindel" fand sich auch bei wiederholtem Lesen keine Spur — Der *Wackernagel* hat versagt,

⁸ Herausgegeben von Franz Schulz (Straßburg, 1913)

gewiß aber werden die Geilerstücke im *Kurschner* (Band XII, Teil 2) die Losung bringen, dachte ich zuversichtlich. Doch wieder hatte ich eine getauschte Hoffnung zu buchen. Nun wandte ich mich, was ich längst hatte tun sollen, an Zarnckes Kommentar in seiner Ausgabe des *Narrenschiffs* ⁹ Und die vielgerühmte Zuverlässigkeit Zarnckes bestand die Probe. Zarncke brachte eine lange Anmerkung (S. 375), die damit begann, daß er Geilers lateinische Fassung unsers Sprichworts zitierte (In sacco fusa, Meretrix in aede reclusa Nequit occultari Nec stramen in solutari). Aber Zarncke verschmahte es, die deutsche Übersetzung daneben zu drucken! Stunde die dabei, dann wäre es ausgemacht, wurde jeder meinen, daß Zarncke Hauptmann das Sprichwort vermittelt habe. Also wieder eine blinde Fahrte! Aber Zarncke verweist u. a. auf eine Variante unsers Sprichworts bei Sebastian Franck und zitiert diesen: "Strouw im schüh, spindel im sack vnd ein hûr in einem hauß guckend allweg herauß." Diese Variante fuhrte mich zurück zu *Wander*, und im *Wander* fand ich einen Hinweis auf August Stobers Zeitschrift "Alsatia," ¹⁰ die in dem die Jahre 1862–67 umfassenden Band als Beitrag des Herausgebers eine Sammlung von 496 Sprichwörtern aus den Schriften Geilers bringt, darunter das von der Spindel, wie wir es aus *Florian Geyer* kennen.—Konnte Hauptmann es dorthin haben? Es ist denkbar, aber reichlich unwahrscheinlich. Hatte ihn ein gelehrter Freund auf diese ziemlich entlegene Fundgrube hingewiesen, so hatte sich Hauptmann vermutlich mehr daraus geholt, was nicht der Fall zu sein scheint. ¹¹ Überhaupt scheint es mir ausgemacht, daß ein Dichter wie Hauptmann weit mehr dazu neigt, aus einem lebendigen Zusammenhang ein Wort herauszugreifen und sich anzueignen, als seinen Vorrat aus trocken aufgereihten Sammlungen zu beziehen (Rilke freilich hat, laut eigenem Zeugnis, viel in Grimms Wörterbuch gelesen).—Seit Kenntnisnahme der "Alsatia" bin ich noch auf Spuren unsres Sprichworts in Murners *Mühle von Schwandelsheim* (Vers. 1392 f.) und in Scheidts *Grobrianus* (Braunes Neudrucke 34–35, Randglosse zu S. 108) gestoßen, ohne dadurch der Losung der Frage näher gekommen zu sein. Als ich dann schließlich entdeckte, welche ergiebige Fundgrube für Hauptmann Janssens *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes* geworden ist, erwartete ich von Seite zu Seite, daß mir unsre Wendung entgegenspringen werde, aber auch diese Hoffnung ist zu Wasser geworden. Da heißt es eben, die Fühlhörner ausgestreckt halten und dem Glück vertrauen!

⁹ Sebastian Brants *Narrenschiff*. Herausgegeben von Friedrich Zarncke (Leipzig: Georg Wigands Verlag, 1854).

¹⁰ "Alsatia." Beiträge zur elsassischen Geschichte, Sage, Sitte und Sprache, herausgegeben von August Stober 1862–1867 (Mulhausen, 1868).

¹¹ Vgl. aber den Nachtrag (Nr. 9) zu unserm Abschnitt Die Strophen und Verse

Zu guter Letzt konnte man sich ja an den greisen Gewaltigen persönlich um Auskunft wenden. Aber wäre ich Hauptmann, so würde ich dem Betreffenden in der Gestalt des kühlen Nickelmanns im Traum erscheinen und ihm unter piffigem Augenzwinkern die ermunternden Worte zurufen: "Such, Schratlein, such!"

GRYPHIUS

Bereits vor zwei Jahrzehnten hat Helene Herrmann ihre überraschende Entdeckung veröffentlicht, daß Gerhart Hauptmann für sein Bauernkriegsdrama bei seinem schlesischen Landsmann zu Gast gegangen ist.¹² Es gelang ihr, eine ganze Reihe von Wendungen, Sätzen, sogar längeren Stellen aus dem *Florian Geyer* anzuführen, die Hauptmann aus dem *Horribilicribrifax* des Gryphius wortlich übernommen hat. Noch erstaunlicher aber als die Tatsache der Entlehnung aus dem abgelegenen Lustspiel des 17. Jahrhunderts war der geistvoll geführte Nachweis, daß es sich bei den Hauptstellen nicht im entferntesten um mechanische Übernahme handelte, sondern durchaus um Neuschöpfung. Für diesen Vorgang, der es der belebenden Phantasie des geborenen Gestalters ermöglichte, aus dem oden, niedrigen, skurrilen Stoff dieser pedantischen Literaturkomödie bedeutende Stücke herauszuheben, sie in die ganz andere Luft seines Dramas organisch zu verpflanzen und sie Situationen einzuverleiben, die nicht die entfernteste motivische Verwandtschaft mit den Vorgängen des Lustspiels aufweisen, so daß unter anderm das Trocken-Pedantische eine scharf charakterisierende, das Lappische eine ruhrende, das Possenhafte eine im Tiefsten erschütternde Wirkung zu erzielen imstande ist,—für diesen Vorgang hat Helene Herrmann den Begriff des schöpferischen Plagiats geprägt.

Erneute Durchsicht des *Horribilicribrifax* hat nun noch eine Reihe weiterer Stellen ergeben, die Hauptmann nachweislich von Gryphius übernommen hat. Diese sollen im Folgenden als eine kleine Nachlese zu Helene Herrmanns Ausführungen namhaft gemacht und besprochen werden. Im allgemeinen von geringerem Belang als die von Helene Herrmann herausgehobenen Stellen, sind sie eher dazu geeignet, die handwerkliche als die schöpferische Seite der Hauptmannschen Produktion zu beleuchten.

Zuerst fallen eine Reihe von Stellen ins Auge, die, der Sprache oder Herkunft nach lateinisch, dem Rektor Besenmeyer in den Mund gelegt sind und ihn als Träger humanistischer Bildung kennzeichnen. Die Belege aus dem *Florian Geyer* beziehen sich, wie oben erwähnt, auf die Gesamtausgabe, Das Dramatische Werk, 1932, erste bis fünfte Ausgabe;

¹² Vgl. Anm. 4.

die aus dem *Horribilicribrifax* auf den Gryphiusband (Band 29) von Kurschners Deutscher National-Literatur (*DNL* S. 237–326), der in einem Anhang (S. 326–328) die fremdsprachigen Ausdrücke des Lustspiels erläutert.

(1) *FG* 77: "Necdum omnis hebet effoeto in corpore sanguis: noch ist nicht alles Blut im alten Leibe vertrocknet" Dieses Virgilzitat deckt sich völlig mit Gryphius' lateinischem Text bis auf die Form hebet, *DNL* 286: haebet, ebenso die Übersetzung in den Erläuterungen, 327, bis auf ein vorangestelltes "und"

(2) *FG* 107: "Divinavit"—*DNL* 258.

(3) *FG* 107: "Pruriunt mihi dentes."—*DNL* 275. "pruriunt ipsi dentes." Hier hat Hauptmann die benutzte Stelle seinem Dialog angeglichen

(4) *FG* 107: "Allen Menschen geziemt es, mit allem Fleiß zu streben, daß sie ihr Leben nicht lautlos wie das Vieh hinbringen, sagt Sallust." *DNL* 284 steht der lateinische Text, und in den Erläuterungen 327 steht die von Hauptmann zitierte Übersetzung.

(5) *FG* 163: "O Cordolio, o cordolio!"—*DNL* 281: "Ich rede von meinem cordolio." Hier scheint Hauptmann die von Gryphius gebrauchte Dativform in anderer Konstruktion unbekümmert übernommen zu haben. Vielleicht war die ausdrucksvolle Klangwirkung der Klage dabei ausschlaggebend

Bekanntlich ist Hauptmann nicht über die Quarta hinausgekommen, und er wird in späteren Jahren schwerlich Gelegenheit gehabt haben, seinem Latein nachzuhelfen. Eine bessere Fundgrube für seine Zwecke als das von lateinischen Wendungen strotzende, polyglott gelehrte Lustspiel seines Landsmanns hatte Hauptmann kaum finden können. Die Benutzung der Erläuterungen beweist, daß er es in der Kurschnerschen Ausgabe gelesen hat. Eine Vermutung darüber, wie Hauptmann bei der Arbeit am *Florian Geyer* auf den Gryphius gestoßen sein mag, möchte ich nicht unterdrücken. Seine wichtigste Quelle für den Verlauf der Rothenburger Ereignisse fand Hauptmann in Thomas Zweifels Chronik, die ihm als Band 139 der "Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins Stuttgart" vorlag. Nun stehen aber Gryphius' Lustspiele als Band 138 derselben Sammlung unmittelbar neben der benutzten Chronik. Da wird ihn die Neugier des Dramatikers verführt haben, in dem Lustspielbände zu blättern. Als er dann in Auftritte hineingeriet, die mit lateinischen und griechischen Wendungen gespickt waren, wird ihm irgend ein Hinweis auf die mit Erläuterungen versehene Ausgabe der *DNL* zugekommen sein. Von dieser Sammlung hat er, wie sich zeigen läßt, andre Bände eifrig benutzt.

(6) *FG* 145: "gedrauscht." In *DNL* 290 mit "studiert" übersetzt.

Dieser Ausdruck ware als Nachtrag zu dem zu buchen, was Helene Herrmann über die Quelle der hebraischen Wörter und Wendungen bemerkt, die der Rede des Juden Joslein beigemischt sind

(7) *FG* 112. Als der betrunkene Schaferhans bei Erwähnung des Ketzers Karlstatt einen Koller bekommt und seinem frommen Grimm in wüsten Drohungen freien Lauf läßt, äußert der Wirt zu andern beiseit: "Muskaten in Warmbier sind gut vor die Mutterkrankheit" Der trockene Witz dieser Glosse sprichwortlichen Gepräges wirkt natürlich lebendiger, als wenn der Wirt gesagt hatte: "Dem hysterischen Kerl mußte man ein beruhigendes Tranklein verordnen." Bei Gryphius, *DNL* 257, findet sich dieselbe Redensart in einem Gemenge von Unsinn, wo der gelehrte Sempronius mit seinen lateinischen und griechischen Brocken und die schwerhorige alte Kupplerin Cyrille aneinander vorbeireden. Daß Hauptmann aus diesem Wust von Mißverständnissen und Lautverdrehungen ein solches Korn hat herausklauben können, setzt in Erstaunen. In der Sicherheit des Zugriffs bewahrt sich der Meister des dramatischen Dialogs

(8) *FG* 144 sagt der Jude: "Ist ein gut Geschäft für die Herren, oder ich will ung'rische Gulden fortan nit meh' zweimal zahlen" Der Sinn dieser Redensart (auf den es freilich nicht ankommt) wird bei Gryphius deutlich, wo die alte Kupplerin behauptet, sie habe einen Gulden zu wenig bekommen. Aber das Fraulein erwidert, *DNL* 270. "Zehlet noch einmahl! ich habe recht gezehlet." Worauf die Alte einlenkt mit den Worten: "Es ist war: ungrische Gulden soll man zweymahl zehlen." Bei dieser Anleihe ging es Hauptmann offenbar nur um den Anschein kulturhistorischer Färbung.

(9) *FG* 193. Sogar bei dem ergreifenden Auftritt, wo Geyer seinen Schwager um ein Asyl bittet, scheint Gryphius Pate gestanden zu haben. Dort sagt Wilhelm von Grumbach, mit plötzlichem Entschluß "Komm! geh dort hinein! Kann ich Hunde und Katzen leiden, so kann ich dich auch eine Nacht leiden . . ." Man vergleiche damit den narischen Liebesbrief des Sempronius, worin es heißt, *DNL* 274: ". . . und wie ein Krancker sich nach nichts sehnet, als nach seinem Artzt, ita ego vehementer opto nur einen Augenblick [Augen-Blick] eurer Clemenz, welchen ihr doch Hunden und Katzen nicht mißzugonnen pfeget" Hier beschränkt sich die Ubereinstimmung allerdings auf die Hunde und Katzen, aber bei der Mannigfaltigkeit der Faden, die von Gryphius zu Hauptmann hinüberschießen, halte ich es für durchaus wahrscheinlich, daß die Wendung des Lustspiels Hauptmann bei seinem Schreiben im Ohr geklungen hat.

(10) *FG* 109. Der Hausierer preist seine Bücher an, unter andern reformatorischen Flugschriften jene berühmte, schon aus der ersten Hälfte

des 15. Jahrhunderts stammende "Reformation Kaiser Sigmunds". Da schreit ihn der dem alten Glauben ergebene Schaferhans an: "Friß Flechtenmacher, sch Siedeschneider!" Man versteht, daß es sich um einen unflätigen Anwurf handelt. Darüber hinaus aber wird kein noch so guter Kenner des Dramas die Stelle erläutern können, ohne den Gryphius zu Rate zu ziehen. Dort, *DNL*, 272, ruft der Diener Diego der alten Kupplerin, die Blut gespien hat, zu: "Purgiere dich Teuffel! friß Flechtenmacher! schieß Siedeschneider! wische den Ars an Feuermauerkehrer!" Offenbar handelt es sich um die Übertragung auf die Alte einer jener unflätigen Redensarten, in denen man den Teufel zum besten hatte, war doch der Teufel in jener Zeit ein uberaus beliebter Gegenstand des Volkswitzes. Darüberhinaus scheint der Schalk, der das Wort aufgebracht hat, die Angehörigen der betreffenden Innungen zu hanseln, was ja auch ganz dem Brauch der Zeit entspricht. So sind viele Streiche Till Eulenspiegels offensichtlich nur dazu erfunden, die Angehörigen der verschiedenen Handwerkszünfte der Reihe nach durchzuhecheln. Ähnlichem begegnet man in Fischarts *Gargantua* (Braune, Neudrucke 65–67), wo ein Trunkner grohlt: "Obehe, wir fressen Bauren, vnd sauffen Edelleut, vnnnd scheissen Mönch . . ." (132); und wenige Seiten später: ". . . die Schneider zum Arßwisch, Ich fress dich sampt deinen Låusen, Fang hinden an, so hast den Senff zum besten" (140) — Offenbar wollte Hauptmann auch auf die derbsten Auswuchse des Volkshumors in seinem kulturhistorischen Drama nicht verzichten, fand es dann aber doch geraten, die Anspielung für die Öffentlichkeit bis zur Unverständlichkeit zu verkürzen. In seinem Manuskript wird gewiß der ganze Passus zu finden sein.

Was die Unverständlichkeit betrifft, steht diese Stelle durchaus nicht vereinzelt in unserm Drama. Ich werde im Lauf dieser Arbeit Gelegenheit haben, auf eine ganze Reihe von Anspielungen, versteckten Zitierten und dunklen Redensarten hinzuweisen, zu denen nur die genaue Kenntnis des Schrifttums des 16. Jahrhunderts den Schlüssel bietet. Damit ist eine problematische Seite des ganzen Unterfangens berührt, das 16. Jahrhundert auf dem Wege naturalistischer Technik im Lesedrama und auf der Bühne zu verlebendigen.

MURNER

Von allen Schriftstellern der Reformationszeit hat Thomas Murner die Sprache des *Florian Geyer* am stärksten befruchtet. Hauptmann hat Murners *Narrenbeschwörung* und *Schelmenzunft* gelesen und daraus eine Menge kraftiger, derber, anschaulicher, überhaupt volkstümlicher Wendungen sich zu eigen gemacht. Viele der namhaft zu machenden Wendungen finden sich nun freilich nicht nur bei Murner, sondern auch

bein andern Zeitgenossen, Vorgängern und Nachfolgern, die Hauptmann zum Teil sicher auch gelesen hat. Es laßt sich daher in vielen Fällen nicht mit Sicherheit sagen, daß Hauptmann einen bestimmten Ausdruck Murner verdankt. Diesem Einwand zuvorkommend, werde ich zuerst eine Wendung besprechen, die Hauptmann nur aus unmittelbarer Kenntnis Murners haben kann. Damit ist dann für die überwiegende Mehrzahl der weiter anzureihenden Fälle der Wahrscheinlichkeitsbeweis erbracht, daß sie ebenfalls aus der Lektüre Murners geschöpft sind.

Murners Schriften werden hier nach der im *Kurschner* enthaltenen Auswahl (*DNL*, Band xvii) zitiert, die Hauptmann jedenfalls benutzt hat, die *Narrenbeschwörung* als *N*, die *Schelmzunft* als *S*. Den ebenfalls im *Kurschner* enthaltenen *Großen Lutherischen Narren* hat Hauptmann wohl nur flüchtig oder gar nicht gelesen. Ich habe keine Wendung im *Florian Geyer* gefunden, die sich mit Sicherheit auf dieses Werk zurückführen ließe.

(1) *FG* 136. Die Baurischen haben, als es bereits schlimm um ihre Sache steht, einen Landtag nach Schweinfurt zusammenberufen. Wir befinden uns im Rathaussaal, wo eine kleine Gruppe der Ankommenden harrt.

Rektor Besenmeyer tritt ein: Bona dies.

Löffelholz: Bene veneritis nobis

Rektor Besenmeyer Bist du krank, Bruder?

Löffelholz. Ich denke wohl. Es steht sehr übel um mich, hat mich ein elender Gaul vor die Brust geschlagen.

Rektor Besenmeyer. Bruder, tritt ab, leg' dich nieder

Löffelholz Ich? Bewahr' mich Gott. Soll mich der Henker im Bette finden?

Rektor Besenmeyer. Sieht es so übel aus um den Handel, Bruder?

Löffelholz: Es wird ein klaglicher Landtag werden.

Rektor Besenmeyer. Sursum corda!

Löffelholz Sursum corda—facht Essen an.

Rektor Besenmeyer ist näher hinzugetreten: Mich will bedunken, liebe Bruder, als sei die Tagsatzung ein klein zu spät beschehen.

Das energische "sursum corda" des Rektors will ohne Zweifel den gesunkenen Mut des kranken Gefährten neu beleben. Was für ein Sinn verbirgt sich aber in dessen Antwort, in der Wiederholung der liturgischen Wendung und dem ratselhaften Nachsatz, "facht Essen an"? Gibt sie die Ermutigung zurück, etwa im Sinne von: Kopf hoch und Waffen geschmiedet!? Spricht Löffelholz die Worte in elegischem Tonfall, mit einer Anspielung auf die Marterfeuer, die das Los der unglücklichen Gefangenen sein werden, wenn der Schwabische Bund gesiegt hat? Man versuche es mit allen möglichen Deutungen. Dann aber lese man das 21. Stück der *Schelmzunft* und darin die Verse, *S* 916–917:

Beneveneritis nobis, her Grobian,
Sursum corda, facht essen an.

Hier wird ein Vertreter des von Sebastian Brant im *Narrenschiff* kreierten neuen Sankt Grobiansordens eingeführt, ein Unflat, der, mit Brant und Murner zu reden, "die Sau kront," einer der, von Murner auf lateinisch begrüßt, mit ironischem Pathos im Kirchenton den Gruß zurückgibt, um gleich daran die Aufforderung zu knüpfen: Jetzt tragt mir aber auf, was ihr habt! Und nun gehts an ein Fressen und Rulpsen, und auf die saftigen Bissen folgen die saftigen Zoten!

Vielleicht gilt es ein Strauben zu überwinden, ehe sich uns nun aus der Quelle der Sinn der Löffelholzschen Replik erschließt. Sie ist ein mit bitterster Ironie geladenes Zitat, auf die Vollerei der Bauernfuhrer vom Schläge des Jakob Kohl gemunzt. Wir wollen hoffen, der wackere Rektor versteht die Anspielung; er muß dies aber, falls überhaupt, durch sein Mienenspiel zum Ausdruck bringen, denn seine nächsten Worte geben dem Dialog eine völlig neue Richtung. Kein Leser wäre freilich ohne das Murnersche Zitat dem Sinn der Stelle auf die Spur gekommen.—Das Rätsel wäre gelöst, nicht aber die Rätselfrage, wie Hauptmann sich die Wirkungsmöglichkeit dieser Stelle gedacht haben kann. Hat er etwa, allerhöchstem Beispiel folgend, in seinen Dialog dies und das hineingeheimnißt, sei es zu seinem Privatvergnügen, sei es, damit die Gelehrten auch etwas an ihm zu kommentieren haben mochten?

(2) FG 60–61: "Itzt meinen sie, daß sie es Gott wollen abtrotzen, wann sie den Teufel zum Abt über sich setzen, und daß er werde einen jeden lusbuhel unter ihnen zum Herren machen."—Lusbuhel (Laushügel), hier ein Schimpfwort zur Bezeichnung der Bauern, findet allgemeinere Anwendung bei Murner, wo er die modische Haarpflege durch seine satirische Hechel zieht. N 8620–26:

Vorab so ist es kruselecht
Um holzln bunden, wider schlecht,
Gebisst, geflochten wider krum
Mit sidnen schmieren ummendum,
Und der lusbuhel ist bedeckt
Mit huben; unser lus ersteckt,
Das sie kein luft nit mugen hon.

(3) FG 65: "der Bauer will alleweil auf der faulen Haut liegen . . . Aber der Pflug ist ihm zu schwer worden,"—Vgl. S 250–252:

Den schelmen ist der pflûg zû schwere,
Und wellent sich nit dornoch bucken—
Ein schelmen bein hand si im rucken!

(4) *FG* 65: "Wird er [der Bauer] itzt aber bei Eiden und Pffichten gemahnt, oha, so ist er der Junker Dorflinger . . ." Vgl. *N* 1447–50:

Din vater was ein handwerksman,
Du laßt dich junkherr liegen an
Junkher Dorflinger ist din nam,
Do her all dine fruntschaft kam.

Zu beachten ist, daß sich mit der Betonung der Sinn der Stelle bei Hauptmann verschiebt.

(5) *FG* 77, ebf 116.

Der Schultheiß · Setzt Euch, Bruder Rektor, Ihr seid mude!
Rektor Besenmeyer · Schutt' dich der Ritt, Bruder Schultheiß!

Bei dieser Stelle, die auf Müdigkeit anspielt und die Aufforderung zum Sitzen enthält, wird der heutige Leser nur zu leicht auf eine ganz falsche Fahrte geraten. Mit Reiten hat die Stelle nichts zu tun. Es handelt sich um eine, hier zur Beteuerung abgeblaßte Verwünschung: Moge das Fieber dich schütteln! Sie findet sich bei Murner, *N* und *S* ungezählte Male (mit Varianten). Auch Hans Sachs bedient sich gern dieser Formel. Vgl. *N* 7311–12.

Wol uß, das uch der ritten schitt,
Zû gûtem welsch le febre quartan!

und *N* 3229–30:

So sagent sie "Das der ritt schutt
Den munch in sinen hals hin in!"

(6) *FG* 80. Auf die Erwähnung des Geruchts, man wolle Götz von Berlichingen zum obersten Hauptmann machen, entgegnet Löffelholz sarkastisch: "Das hat Hans Furzlin ersonnen."—Diese Wendung von sprichwortlichem Klang mag Hauptmann einem in der Einleitung enthaltenen Murnerzitat entnommen haben *DNL* xvii (Erste Abteilung), lxi:

Du düst eben wie Hanß Furtzlin, der wolt buwen und fienß an, ein huß ganz abzubrechen, darnach uber π iar wolt er ein nuwes buwen, also daß er die π iar im regen saß, und nit so witzig was, daß er sich des alten huß solt behelffen, biß er ein nuwes uberkeme

(7) *FG* 90: "Der ist mit Juristen behängt, wie ein Jacobsbruder mit Muscheln."—Vgl. *N* 81–85:

Jetz sind die gecken wider kummen
Und hant vil narren mit in gnummen
Und sind mit doren so gerist,

Als wie ein Jacobsbrüder ist
Mit muscheln allenthalb behenkt.

(8) *FG* 91: "Brav, Bruder, in deiner Predigt war Gottestreiben Du hast wahrlich nit von blauen Enten und von Huhnermilch gered't!" Den Doppelausdruck, "blaue Enten und Huhnermilch," finde ich im Deutschen allerdings nur bei Luther belegt, wo ihn Hauptmann gefunden haben wird (s. unten). Blaue Enten dagegen, sprichwortlich für blauen Dunst, finden sich bei Murner so häufig, daß sich der Ausdruck Hauptmann gewiß von dorthier eingepragt haben wird. Je ein Stuck von *N* und *S* fuhr den Titel: "Von blouwen enten predigen" Vgl. ferner *S* 111-114:

So ich verkünd das himmelreich,
Sag ich dor von so schimpflich,
Als ob ich wolt den christen schedigen
Und im von blouwen enten predigen.

Vgl. ebenfalls *S* 146-148, 1338-43, *N* 2870-73, 3272-73.

(9) *FG* 92: "Ei, was eine hubsche, hollische Weisheit! Er hat St. Velten den Schulsack gefressen."—Den Schulsack fressen ist ein Lieblingsausdruck Murners für Schuler, die nichts gelernt haben, für Esel, die Esel bleiben. Ein Stuck der *Schelmenzunft* trägt den Titel: "Ein schulsack fressen."

Vgl. *S* 390-391. Das latein hab ich vergessen,
Wie wol ich hab ein schülsack fressen,

N 5638-41: Ich hab eins mals ein schülsack freßen,
Das ichs latins nit kan vergeßen
Und weiß me, dann ein ander christ:
I t a Gretmullern tochter ist

N 5704-07: So sie nun in jaren sind,
Dann kratzen sie sich in dem grund,
Das sie den schülsack haben freßen
Und alle kunst und ler vergeßen

Das Verständnis unsrer *FG* Stelle aber wird durch das eingeschobene St. Velten bis zur Unverständlichkeit kompliziert. St. Velten steht hier nicht etwa als Dativ, sondern als reine Bekräftigungsformel. In diesem Sinne ist der Name des Heiligen bei Murner und Zeitgenossen unzähligmale anzutreffen. Das Fehlen der Kommata bei Hauptmann befremdet. Hauptmann hat hier vermutlich die Konstruktion des geradezu zum Adverb verblaßten "lichnam" nachbilden wollen, Vgl. *N* 7986-88:

Was hab ich angst und sorg gehan,

E das ich bracht uf disen plan
So manchen lichnam nerrschen man!

Glücklicherweise hat Hauptmann sich nur in seltenen Fällen darauf versteift, so wie hier mehr den Buchstaben als den Geist seiner Vorlage nachzuahmen.

(10) *FG 92*: "das machen die verfluchten Barettlinsleut' und römischen Juristen."—Vgl. *DNL XVII* (Erste Abteilung), Einleitung xxxv;

Ich hab auch das von Jacob Murner and Matheo, meinem vater, so oft gehort klagen, wie die barethlsleut, uß gedult also von inen genant, die armen leut rechtloß umbgetriben haben, . . .

(11) *FG 101*. Als Bubenleben den dicken Jakob Kohl zum obersten Hauptmann vorschlagt, ruft Löffelholz mit ironischem Beifall: "Er kann alle großen Schwur'"—Daß das Fluchen den tüchtigen Soldaten macht, bezeugt Murner in der entsprechenden Stelle, *S 235–238*:

Wer ietz wil sein ein redlich knecht
Und kan die grossen schwer nit recht.
Gotz marter, wunden, Velten, Kurein!
Der nimt kein doppel solt nit ein.

(12) *FG 115*. Der Hausierer ruft der Kellnerin scherzend zu: "Herzu, Gret-Mullerin, geh mir um den Bart, sollst eine fette Pfrunde haben." Der Kosenamen Gret-Mullerin enthält eine ganz eigene Huldigung. Als Dirne von abgefeimtem Reiz ist Gret-Mullerin gewissermaßen die Hauptperson in Murners *Mühle von Schwindelsheim und Gret Mullerin Jahrzeit*. Auch in *N* und *S* geschieht ihrer Erwähnung. Sicherlich war die Anmerkung zu *N 4399* Hauptmann nicht entgangen:

In der "Schwindelsh. Mühle" heißt es von der Gret Mullerin: Sie was so lyß und zart gebachen, Das sie kundt mit dem arßloch krachen Pfersich kernen, groß und klein, Das thetten ir schne weissen bein.

(13) *FG 119*: "Meid das Feuer, so meid'st den Rauch." Vgl. *S 1337*:

Mach kein feür, so meidst den rouch!

(14) *FG 119*: "Sollen wir itzt nit ein wenig granten, gumpen, blitzen und ungeschickt sein?" Gumpen und blitzen heißt tanzen und springen. Vgl. *N 7052–55*:

Mancher hat im herzen sitzen
Ein lutenschlaher mit sim kritzen,
Das er müß gumpen und ouch blitzen
On all vernunft, mit wenig witzen.

(Granten gebraucht Hauptmann auch noch 158, 187 mit der Bedeutung tanzen. Ich finde keinen Beleg dafür Zarncke in seiner Ausgabe von Brants *Narrenschiff* gibt im Kommentar zu dem Rotwelsch des Kap 63, Vers 39 f. "grantner" mit "sich krank stellender Bettler" wieder.)

(15) *FG* 123: "*Karlstatt*, fanatisch: Der Luther ist dem Teufel auf den Schwanz gebunden."—Murner überschreibt ein Kapitel mit dieser Wendung und setzt mit folgenden Versen ein *S* 1350–55:

Ich hab wol manchen schelmen funden
Dem deuffel uf den schwanz gebunden,
Der in widerwertigkeit
Dem deuffel puntnuß zû hat gseit
Und meint, im wurde nimmer baß,
Bis das er bi dem deuffel saß

(16) *FG* 124. Als Menzingen dem Geyer ein kostbares Meßgewand und Kruzifix verehren will, fragt Geyer lachend: "Habt Ihr Sackmann darüber gemacht?"—Bei Murner findet sich der Ausdruck "Sackmann machen" (etwas erbeuten) besonders häufig in *GLN*. Aus *N* 6714–20 bringe ich den Beleg.

Ich lis und habs ouch oft ergründt,
Wann man wirt den klosteru find
Unđ wolt mit in gern sackman machen,
So liegt man, das die balken krachen,
Bis das man bapstlich bullen bringt,
Die armen munch von dannen zwingt
Und ander geuch setzt in das nest.

(17) *FG* 126–127. Mit zu den geglücktesten Situationen des Dramas gehört jener Augenblick der Entspannung, wo Geyer, unmittelbar nach seiner befeuernden Rede an die Rothenburger, Mareis Bundel Krebse gewährend, einen davon herausgreift und auf den Tisch setzt, indem er in übermutiger Laune dazu ruft: "Der alte Krebs lehrt sin Kind den Strich, daß sie noch heut gehn hinter sich." Auch diesen Spruch hat Hauptmann von Murner, wo er *N* 685–686 folgenden Wortlaut hat:

Der alt krebs lernt sin kind den strich,
Das sie noch hut gont hindersich.

(18) *FG* 142: "Durch wieviel Brett lugt der Pfaff?", schreit der erregte Jakob Kohl.—Eine Murnerstelle, in der sich das Lügen einerseits mit der Zahl und der Tiefendimension, andererseits mit der Vorstellung vom "Brett" verbindet, ist wohl als genauestes Seitenstück zu der von Hauptmann gebrauchten Wendung anzusprechen. *N* 5246–49 heißt es:

Da kummen erst die rechten sachen,
Wann man liegt, das die balken krachen.

Sie liegen iesz durch stehelen berg,
Wann schon sechs legen uberzwerg

Und *N* 5254–59 heit es weiter:

Das sind stark lugen und gro sachen,
Wann man liegt, das die balken krachen.
Wir hant vorhin ouch liegen kunnen,
Das man in Morenland ward innen,
Und hant gelogen durch ein brett,
Das vier und vierzig elen hett, .

(19) *FG* 143 Derselbe Pfaffe wird gleich darauf seiner grosprecherischen Verheiungen wegen verspottet, mit denen er sich vor der Schlacht gebrustet hatte. Als aber das Schieen begann—"ei! Pfafflein, was hast du doch da gemacht?", hantselt ihn Link, und Kohl trifft ins Schwarze mit der Antwort: "Er hat den Ars in die Schanze geschlagen."—Auch hier hat Hauptmann eine Lieblingswendung Murners ubernommen, nur pflegt Murner der volkstumlichen Redensart eine erotische Wendung zu geben, so *S* 1246–50:

Man findt wol weiber, die sind frum
Und guckend doch so schentlich um,
Das ich schwier dusent eid dorum,
Wen ichs dorft frolich sagen,
Si het den ar in die schanz geschlagen

Vgl. auch das ganze 39. Kapitel von *N*, betitelt "Den ars in die Schanz schlagen," dessen Satire sich gegen die Unzucht der Klosterfrauen richtet.—Zu der hier angefuhrten Stelle bemerkt Dr. M. Spanier in seiner Neuausgabe der *Schelmensunft* ¹³

Gerhart Hauptmann lat im Florian Geyer, *S* 178, vom Pfaffen Bubenleben sagen, der wie der Kampf gefahrlich wird, auskneift: "Er hat den Ars in die Schanze geschlagen." Das ist eine neue, eigene Anwendung der Redensart

(20) *FG* 146. Den Schlemmer Kohl begrut Geyer bei der Tagung mit der ironischen Frage: "Tuchtig geburstet die Nacht? Tapfer die Sauglock' gelaetet?"—Murner schildert das Treiben wuster Gesellen—nach dem Vorgang Sebastian Brants—mit dem Wort, *S* 933: "Die saw glock lassent uns ouch merken." Dabei steht die Funote: "*saww glock*, mit der Sauglocke lauten, Zoten vorbringen."

(21) *FG* 167: "Wein von dem Rhein! Ich will das Radlein noch einmal treiben," ruft Geyer im 4. Akt, die dustere Stimmung gewaltsam ban-nend. Wiederholt findet sich die sehr beliebte Redensart—eine Anspie-

¹³ *Thomas Murners Deutsche Schriften* (Walter de Gruyter und Co.), Band III (1925), 205.

lung auf das Glucksrad—bei Murner, so *N* 2279–82 in der Geißelung des leichtfertigen Treibens der geistlichen Richter:

Ir tribt das redlin um so selzen,
Das der gloub schier gat uf stelzen,
Bis er den hals ein mal absturzt,
Je eins das ander so verkurzt

(22) *FG* 190. "Bettdrucker" schilt der Schaferhans die gefangenen Bauern nach Murners Vorgang, *N* 5922–25:

Ich hab wol solche narren funden,
Die mit laborare kunden,
Bettrucker und landschelman waren
All ire zit von jungen jaren

(23) *FG* 198. "He! Du! mit deinem spanischen Pfauentritt, bleib mir vom Leib!", droht Geyer einem der Ritter, die ihn umstellt haben. Auch Murner verspottet den Pfauentritt als Zeichen gespreizter Wurde, so *N* 1755–60:

Do fiengen sie an zû verheißen,
Einer wolt in leren beißen,
Der ander setzen uf den hût
Und berden, wie ein bischof tût,
Ouch zeigen im den pfouwentritt,
Den bischofstecken tragen mit.

Vgl. *S* 672–692, wo der Pfauentritt als Begleiterscheinung der Doppelzüngigkeit gerugt wird.

(24) *FG* 199. "Nasse Buben" schilt Geyer die Ritter, die sich nicht an ihn wagen.—"Nasse Knaben" ist ein uberaus beliebtes Schmahwort in Murners Schriften, so *S* 338–341:

Jo wol, wir sind die nassen knaben,
Die es besser den die herren haben,
Und sitzent oft uf einem kussen,
So unsre herren nut drum wissen.

Ich vermute, Hauptmann hat Buben statt Knaben gesetzt, weil das Wort Knaben für ihn geädelt war. Man erinnere sich der Klage Geyers über die Vernichtung seiner schwarzen Schar: "Wo sind meine Dunkelknaben geblieben?" (150).

(25) Schließlich seien ein Reihe von Fluchen erwähnt, die Hauptmann aus Murner haben kann,—freilich nicht haben muß, denn saftige Fluche sind im 16. Jahrhundert nicht das Monopol irgend eines Schriftstellers. Ich verweise auf je einen statt vieler Belege und begnüge mich im ubrigen, *eine* charakteristische Stelle zu zitieren.

FG 62 "Kotz Leichnam." Vgl N 1193.

FG 65 "Kotz Schweiß." Vgl N 8470.

FG 75 "Daß dich potz Marter schand " Vgl S 230

FG 78: "Kotz Lung " Vgl S 115.

FG 90: "Kotz Dreck " Vgl N 8470

FG 132. "Bluts willen " Vgl N 5250

N 8464-71 Ich hab kein fremden schwär erfunden
Und schwer nit, als die Schwizer, wunden,
Ich marter nit nach unserm sitten,—
Mich dunkt, gott hab genüg erlitten —
Doch wann min sach gont über zwerg,
Wie man schwert am Kochersperg
Gotz lus! gotz dreck! gotz darm! gotz schweiß!
Und flüch als, das ich rendert weiß.

SACHS

Da Hauptmann den Thomas Murner erwiesenermaßen ausgiebig benutzt hat, liegt die Vermutung nahe, er werde auch bei dessen jungerem Zeitgenossen Hans Sachs in die Schule gegangen sein. Diese Erwartung findet sich bestätigt, und wir werden im Folgenden eine reiche Ausbeute von altertümlichen Worten und kernigen Wendungen mustern, die größtenteils mit Sicherheit dem Hans Sachs zuzuweisen sind. Unsere Belege beziehen sich wieder auf den *Kurschner* (Band XXI, zwei Teile) und verweisen mit ihren Zahlen auf Teil, Seite und Versnummer.

(1) FG 96. "Verdammter Finanzer!", heißt es von Gotz, als dieser der Bestechlichkeit überführt ist — Bei Sachs findet sich das Wort wiederholt, so II, 144, 20-21:

Hie werd ir auch schawen
Der finantzler art und gebrauch

(2) FG 120: "*Schaferhans*. Bublein! Du tritt beiseit', in drei Teufels Namen, oder ich will dir den Hundshaber dermaßen ausdreschen—". — Bei Sachs sagt der Pfarrer zur Bauerin, mit der er ein Stelldichein hat, II, 194, 40-42:

Ja, du komm aber eylends wider,
Das nicht dein man komm in das hauß
Vnd dresch mir den Hundshaber auß!

(3) FG 121: "*Schaferhans* . . . vexierest du mich?

Kratzer. Was gehet das mich an?

Schaferhans. Ob du mich scheel angesehen,
frag ich dich."—

Vexieren, bei Sachs häufig belegt, findet sich z.B. I, 60, 33-40:

Der sechst· ein munich, so der kes
 Samlet, so sein die beurn res
 Und sprechen, er sei stark und faul,
 Ob man im fullen sol das maul,
 Das er auch arbeit, hack und reut
 Und ner sich auch wie ander leut,
 Kunt er heim, bringt er kes nit vil,
 Erst man in auch vexieren will

(4) *FG* 121: "Mit einem Packscheit wollt ich mir ihrer zwölf Dutzend vom Leibe halten"—Vgl. Sachs II, 442, 255: "Der ist wol groß als ein packscheyt." Dazu Anm: "*packscheyt*, langes Scheit Holz für den Backofen"

(5) *FG* 122-123: "*Karlstatt* Bewahre uns Gott vor Menschenfurcht . . . Itz[t?], wo Gott die Saat, von uns gesaet, hat lassen aufgehen, itzt soll ich kleinmutig sein, die Birn' in der Kachel umreiben?" [=öffentliches Auftreten vermeiden; hinterm eigenen Ofen hocken]—Bei Sachs, II, 231-232, 490-498 spricht Ampedo:

Mich glustet keines reisens sehr.
 Ich will zu Famagusta bleiben,
 Mein zeit in rhu und freud vertreiben
 In dem hauß, welches uns auff trawen
 Hat unser vatter aufferbawen.
 Wilt du wandern, so wander hin!

Ihm antwortet Andolosia:

Ja wol, du hast ein solchen sin,
 Wilt auff dem bolster sitzen bleiben,
 Die birn in der kachel umbreiben, . .

(6) *FG* 138. Der Handelsjude Joslein beteuert seine Ehrlichkeit: "Ich habe niemalen unter Safran Rindfleisch gehackt, Gaiskot in den Lorbeer getan, Lindenlaub in den Pfeffer, noch hab ich Fichtenspane vor Zimmet verkauft."—Die Anmerkung zu Sachs II, 61, 130 zitiert unter Hinweis auf Jansen [Janssen] folgende Verse:

Dein saffran hast zu Fenedig gesackt,
 Und hast rintfleisch darunter gehackt,
 Und melst unter negelen gepets prot,
 Und gibst für lorper hin geißkot,
 Und fichtenspen für Zimmentrinten,
 Und nimmst das laup von einer linten,
 Darmit tust du den pfeffer meren, . . .

Da Hauptmann, wie an andrer Stelle zu zeigen sein wird, bei Johannes Janssens *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes* (Herder: Freiburg) sehr bedeu-

tende sprachliche Anleihen gemacht hat, laßt es sich natürlich nicht feststellen, ob Hauptmann sich die Stelle aus Sachs oder aus Janssen (Band I, 9. Aufl., S. 401) notiert hat.

(7) FG 141: "*Bubenleben*. Da horet doch zu: itzt will der Kohl vor dem Garne abziehen . . ."—Ebenfalls FG 179: "*Frau Grumbach* Hie kam er' 'rein, als war' nichts nit geschehen, hat gemeinet, er wollt' gar vor dem Garn abziehn."—Vgl. Sachs II, 188, 185–188:

Nun frew ich mich, das ich allein
Nicht fürchten thu die frawen mein,
Sonder mein Nachbaur sie auch fleucht
Vnd gmachsamb vor dem Garn abzeucht

Anm: "*vor dem Garn abzeucht*, entfernt sich vor der Gefahr "

(8) FG 141 [unmittelbar an die vorige Stelle anknüpfend] . . . "als war er nit hoch stolzieret, wie wenn er eine Glenne [Lanze] geschluckt hatt'."—Vgl. Sachs II, 401, 271–274:

Herr künig, das wil ich willig thon,
Doch ich kainen thurnier zeug hon
Schaft mir ros, harnisch, schilt vnd glennen
Zum thurniren, stechen vnd rennen

Sachs bietet das Wort, der Vergleich aber erinnert an Heines *Wintermarchen*, Caput III, Strophe 7:

Sie stelzen noch immer so steif herum,
So kerzengrade geschniegelt,
Als hatten sie verschluckt den Stock,
Womit man sie einst geprugelt

(9) FG 152: "*Geyer* Wo ist der Sartorius? *Löffelholz* Er hat den Ring an der Hoftur lassen." Im gegebenen Zusammenhang ist der Sinn ohne weiteres deutlich: Er ist ausgekniffen—Sachs hat diese—zu seiner Zeit sprichwortliche—Wendung wiederholt, so II, 219, 131–134.

Mein Wilhelm, solt ich nit frolich sein?
Wir sind unsers Walhen abkommen
Er zeucht dahin gleich einem stummen,
Hat den ring an der thur gelan.

Ebenfalls II, 279, 322–324:

Wenn er am besten maint sten dermassen,
Muß ern ring an der hofthur lassen
Oder kumbt als bald gar umbs leben

(10) FG 156. Der törichte Christheinz meint, alles stehe gut für die Sache der Bauern, da Gotz von Berlichingen mit dreißigtausend dem

Trucheß entgegenziehe "Der Berlinger wird ihm die Feigen zeigen!", prahlt er "Er ballt die Faust, so daß der Daumen zwischen Zeige- und Mittelfinger vorragt"—Murner gebraucht häufig das sehr beliebte obszöne Bild von der "welschen Feige," so im *Großen Lutherischen Narren*, 3387 Hauptmanns unmittelbarer Gewährsmann scheint aber Sachs zu sein, der I, 246, 36–42, einen Klaffer [Verlaumder] sein eigenes Treiben folgendermaßen darlegen läßt:

Ich setz manchen inn ein schweiß-bad,
 Bring manchen umb sein ehr und glimpff
 Ist als mein gwonheytt, schertz und schimpff
 Etwan sag ichs eym byderman,
 Der mich fert auch mit Worten an.
 Solcher nachred solt ich geschweygen
 Dem zeyg ich denn haymlich die feygen .

Bei Hauptmann enthält natürlich die schwache Form "Feigen" zugleich ein tragisch-ironisches Wortspiel—eine Vorandeutung der Tatsache, daß Gotz sich im kritischen Moment heimlich aus dem Staube machen wird

(11) *FG* 164. Geyer sagt von seiner Hausfrau: "Sie meiner, ich soll heimkommen, das Schlotterlein drehen und dem Kind in der Wiege das Judel scheuchen."—Sachs zählt II, 60, 97 unter den Waren des Kramers

Nestel, harpant vnd schlötterlein

auf Dabei die Anm: "*schlotterlein*, Klapper (Spielzeug für kleine Kinder) "

(12) *FG* 165: "Sankt Urban und seine Plag' haben vor diesmal den Frühling um den Sommer betrogen."—Diese Bezeichnung für das Laster der Trunksucht konnte Hauptmann bei Sachs häufig antreffen, so II, 371, 946–949.

Die hochzeit hat gewert vierzehn tag
 Hab schier stat ghabt sanct Urbans plag
 Hab schier vertroncken witz und sin

(13) *FG* 166: "*Geyer* Bruder, es ist ein Hahnensteigen gewest nach der deutschen Kron."—Vgl. Sachs II, 43, 111–113:

Im Sommer stecket jr die Mayen,
 Habt Kirchwey, hochzeyt, Tentz vnd rayen,
 Kugeln, Hannenstaygen vnd lauffen.

Dazu die Anm: "*Hannensteygen*, das Steigen auf eine Kletterstange, um einen auf derselben angebundenen Hahn zu erlangen." Hauptmann hat hier einen sehr glücklichen Ausdruck gewählt, um sowohl die Zahl der

Wettbewerber um die Krone, wie auch die Leichtfertigkeit der Gesinnung anzudeuten, die bei den Wahlintrigen zum Vorschein kam.

(14) *FG* 170. Auf die Nachricht von der Niederlage bei Königshofen sagt Menzingen: "So bin ich am Ende mit allem Meinen und kann gen Straßburg auf die Hochzeit ziehen."—Bei Sachs, II, 44, 137–141, sagt der Handwerksmann, der seine letzte Habe zum Pfandleiher getragen hat:

Derhalben mein Werckzeug vnd Beth
Zu Schneitach vntern Jüden steht,
Das ich darmit bin fast bereyt
Gen Straßburg auff die Hochzeit

Hier hat Hauptmann eine Wendung rein um ihres redensartlichen Klanges willen übernommen, ohne daß sich uns der anschauliche Sinn der Anspielung erschlosse.

(15) *FG* 173. Geyer, an Tellermanns Leiche: "Hast brav ausgehalten, Landsmann, hast tapfer gewerket, Landsmann, und Frieden und Schlacht ehrlich erarnet."—Ebenfalls *FG* 189 Schertlin zu den gefangenen Bauern: "Keinnutziges Lauszeug, ist nichts zu erarnen an euch fur ein'n Reutersmann."—Vgl. Sachs I, 59, 24: "Hart erarnet ist botenlon." Dazu Anm: "*erarnet* = *ererniet*." In dem ersten Hauptmannpassus teilt sich das Wort in seiner zweifachen Beziehung auf Frieden und Schlacht in die Bedeutung von "durch saure Muhe verdienen" und "durchhalten." In dem zweiten heißt es soviel wie "muhsam erbeuten."

(16) *FG* 185 Lorenz von Hutten berichtet von dem Wassermangel während der Belagerung von Unsrer Frauen Berg: "Was nit meh' fern, daß wir hatten unsern eignen Brunnen wiederum müssen saufen."—Sachs II, 433, 44–45, sagt der Arzt zu dem Kranken:

Hast du gefangen deinen prunnen,
So gib vnd laß mich den besehen!

(17) *FG* 189: "Als wir hinauf waren, kam einer uf'n Gaul uberzweg dahergerennet."—Vgl. Sachs I, 167, 23–27:

Da ich das sach, ich schrie im zu:
Halta, halta! wie lauffest du?
Keyn antwort gab das weyblich bild
Und floch nur eylends inn die wild,
Ich eylet im zu uber-zweg, . . .

Anm: "*uber-zweg*, quer."

(18) *FG* 190: "*Schertlin*. Ihr Herren, wo machen wir hernacher den Mummplatz? *Wolf von Kastell*. Wollt Ihr würfeln?"—Vgl. die Klage des Lantzknichts bei Sachs, II, 45, 173–175:

In Schantzen, Graben vnd Schiltwachten,
In scharmützln, stürmen vnd feldschlachten,
Auff dem Mumplatz muß ich mich palgen.

Dazu die Anm: "*Mumplatz*, Stelle, wo gewurfelt wird(?)."

(19) *FG* 193 "Vier Tag' hab ich nit geruht," klagt der bis auf den Tod erschöpfte Geyer seinem Schwager —Bei Sachs steht II, 405, 396–398:

Nun pin ich ie vier nacht vund tag
Gangen, das ich nie ruens pflag,
Hab auch nit gessen noch getrunken,

Niemand wird eine innere Motivverwandschaft zwischen dem hüernen Sewfrid und dem Helden von Hauptmanns Drama behaupten wollen. Der Wortlaut aber spricht für Übertragung. Dabei fällt ins Gewicht, daß der Zeitraum von vier Tagen Hauptmann allein angehört, nicht den von ihm benutzten Quellen. Da nun Hauptmann, wie Helene Herrmann an Gryphius gezeigt hat, die erstaunlichsten Übertragungen von Wortmaterial, ohne Rücksicht auf irgendwelche Verwandschaft der Stimmung oder der Situation bewerkstelligt, so halte ich es für nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß die Sprache des Hans Sachs auf diesen großen Auftritt abgefarbt hat, genau wie ich es mit den "Hunden und Katzen" des Gryphius wahrscheinlich zu machen suchte. Wenn man sich vorstellt, daß Hauptmann bei der Arbeit am *Florian Geyer* dauernd die Schriftsteller der Reformationszeit gelesen haben wird, um für seine Aufgabe in Form zu bleiben, so ist diese Vermutung nicht als abgeschmackt von der Hand zu weisen.

(20) Zum Schluß seien noch einige charakteristische Flüche gebucht.
FG 152: "Potz Leichnam Angst."—Vgl. Sachs II, 197, 125:

Potz leichnam angst, es ist mein Man!

FG 181: "Potz kuren Marter!"—Vgl. Sachs II, 197, 127:

Potz kûm marter, wo sol ich hin?

FG 182: "Sammer potz Körper!"—Vgl. Sachs II, 176, 221:

Ich wil sammer botz Cörper mit dir

FG 184: "Daß dich's blau Feuer."—Vgl. Sachs II, 196, 102·

Heb dich hinauß! hab dirs blaw fewr, . . .

DIE STROPHEN UND VERSE

Die in den Dialog des *Florian Geyer* eingestreuten Lieder und Verse—es gibt deren mehr als ein Dutzend—veranlassen den kritischen Leser zu der Frage: Woher stammen diese Bestandteile des Dramas? Hat Haupt-

mann sie im Geist der geschilderten Zeit selbständig gedichtet, oder hat er sie—teils oder samthlich—seinen Quellen entnommen, sei es wortlich, oder in leichter Umformung, etwa so, wie Goethe das Lemurenlied im zweiten *Faust* eingestandenermaßen aus Shakespeares *Hamlet* entlehnt hat?

Diese Frage ist ganz präzise dahin zu beantworten, daß Hauptmann alle Stücke im *Florian Geyer*, die gebundene Rede aufweisen, mit einer bezeichnenden Ausnahme den Quellen verdankt. Dieser Nachweis soll im Folgenden geführt werden. Wie beim Lied die Verhältnisse liegen, wird es allerdings nicht in jedem Falle möglich sein, mit Sicherheit zu sagen, welcher Vorlage Hauptmann die betreffenden Verse entnommen hat. Seit dem Vorgang Herders, Nicolais, Elwerts, hat das 19. Jahrhundert eine Fülle von Liedersammlungen volkstümlichen und historischen Charakters weiten Leserkreisen zugänglich gemacht, neben dem *Wunderhorn* vor allem die Sammlungen von Erlach,¹⁴ Uhland,¹⁵ Lilhencron,¹⁶ um nur einige der wichtigsten zu nennen; aber auch streng wissenschaftliche Neudrucke alter Liederbücher, wie des *Ambraser Liederbuchs* von 1582¹⁷ und *Bergreihen*¹⁸ konnten dem Dichter des Bauernkriegsdramas in die Hand gekommen sein, der Möglichkeit zu geschweigen, daß er aus den alten Flugblättern, auf welche die Liederdrucke größtenteils zurückgehen, in den Bibliotheken eigenhändig das eine oder andere Stück aufgestoßert haben konnte. Der theoretisch somit äußerst weit gespannte Rahmen unsrer Forschung wird sich indessen in der Praxis auf ein viel bescheideneres Maß beschränken lassen, wenn wir den Grundsatz befolgen, daß, wo eine Versreihe an leicht zugänglicher Stelle zu finden ist, nach entlegeneren Möglichkeiten nicht gesucht zu werden braucht.

Da Hauptmann die Orthographie seiner Quellen im *Florian Geyer* der modernen Schreibart prinzipiell angeahnt hat, versage ich es mir, auf rein orthographische Abweichungen des Hauptmannschen Textes von seinen Vorlagen einzugehen.

(1) *FG* 78. Der Schuler Martin nagelt grüne Reiser im Kapitelsaal und singt dabei das Frühlingslied:

Winter, du mußt Urlaub han,
Das hab ich wohl vernommen

¹⁴ *Die Volkslieder der Deutschen*. Herausgegeben durch Friedrich Karl Freiherrn von Erlach, 5 Bände (Mannheim bei Heinrich Hoff, 1834–36).

¹⁵ *Alle Hoch- und Niederdeutsche Volkslieder*. Herausgegeben von Ludwig Uhland. 2 Bände (Stuttgart und Tübingen: J. G. Cotta'scher Verlag, 1844–45).

¹⁶ *Die Historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert*. Herausgegeben von R. Freiherrn von Lilhencron. 4 Bände. Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1865–69).

¹⁷ Vgl. Anm. 7.

¹⁸ *Bergreihen*. Ein Liederbuch des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Herausgegeben von John Meier (= Braunes Neudrucke, 99–100) (Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1892).

Was mir der Winter hat angetan,
Das klag ich diesem Sommer

Diese Strophe konnte Hauptmann bei *Uhland* (Nr 48 A, Strophe 1) und im *Ambraser Liederbuch* (Nr 120, Strophe 1) finden. An beiden Stellen indes lautet der dritte Vers: "Was mir der winter hat leids gethan". Die Änderung scheint auf Hauptmann zurückzugehen. Auch Böhmes *Altdeutsches Liederbuch*,¹⁹ Nr 153, bietet die hergebrachte Form — Könnte irgend ein wohlmeinender Berater bei Durchsicht von Hauptmanns Manuskript sich an dem vermeintlichen Anklang an den *Erlkönig* gestoßen haben?

(2) *FG* 108 Hier heult ein Trunkener in der Rothenburger Schenke: "O Karle, Kaiser lobesam, greif du die Sach' zum ersten an, Gott wird's mit dir ohn' Zweifel han." — Diese Verse stehen auf dem Titelblatt einer von Hutten herausgegebenen Flugschrift. D. F. Strauß zitiert sie in seinem *Hutten*,²⁰ II, 67, mit der Variante "lobesam". Mit dem an anderer Stelle zu leistenden Nachweis, daß Hauptmann dem Straußschen Huttenbuch eine Reihe von Zitaten verdankt, darf die Herkunft dieses entlegenen Strophenbruchstücks für erwiesen gelten.

(3) *FG* 116 Der in schimmerndem Waffenschmuck eintretende Jungling Jorg Kumpf singt die Strophe:

Die Singerin singt den Tenor schon,
Die Nacht'gall den Alt in gleichem Ton,
Scharf Metz bassiert mit Schalle,
Die Schlange den Diskant warf darein,
Sie achten nit, wenn es g'falle
Sie sangen, daß die Mauern klubend
Und Bett und Polster zum Dach ausstübend.

Wie ich bereits an anderer Stelle nachgewiesen habe,²¹ stammen die prächtigen Verse aus dem Lied "Hohenkrahnen" (1512). In den 5. Vers hat sich ein Schreib- oder Druckfehler eingeschlichen. Er sollte lauten: "Sie achten nit, wem es g'falle". Hauptmann kann die Kenntnis dieses Liedes aus *Uhland* (Nr 177, Strophe 9–10) oder aus *Luhencron* (III, Nr 268, Strophe 9–10) geschöpft haben. Die Vergleichen des Donners der verschiedenen Geschützttypen mit verschiedenen Chorstimmen ist ein im Liede des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts sehr beliebtes Motiv. Hauptmann hat mit der Aufnahme der vorliegenden Fassung eine ausgezeichnete Wahl getroffen.

¹⁹ Franz M. Bohme *Altdeutsches Liederbuch. Volkslieder der Deutschen nach Wort und Weise aus dem 12–17. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Hartel, 1877).

²⁰ David Friedrich Strauß *Ulrich von Hutten* 2 Bände (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1858).

²¹ Vgl. Anm. 2.

(4) FG 122 Geyer ist in die Rothenburger Schenke eingetreten, wo der betrunkene Schaferhans sich wust auffuhr. Geyers Versuch, ihn durch Blick und Wort in seine Schranken zu weisen, hat keinen Erfolg. Vielmehr erdreistet sich der Schaferhans zu einem betrunkenen Lachen, um dann "in unreinem, trotzig-hamischem Halbsingen" die folgenden Verse von sich zu geben:

Wir sind vom Ritterorden,
Doch itzund arm geworden,
Noch wollen wir empor
Wir wollen zu Kind und Wiben,
Von den man uns vertrieben,
Und Schloß han wie zuvor
Uns soll der Powel helfen,
Dann fall'n wir gleich den Wolfen
In geistlich Hurden ein,
All' Pfaffen zu verjagen,
Sie all' zu Tod zu schlagen,
Zu trinken ihren Wein.
Das gottlich Wort sagt eben
Wir müssen christlich leben
Und alle Bruder sein.

Diese Verse hat Hauptmann aus Janssens *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes*,²² II, 471, wo sie mit folgenden Abweichungen stehen, V 3: "woll'n"; V 4: "woll'n", V 6: "hant"; V 7: "Povel", V 13: "sagt's."^{22a} Janssen, der für die Verse auf seine (ungedruckte) Quelle verweist, läßt uns auch durch seine Ausführungen deutlich verstehen—was wir aus unserm Drama mehr erraten müssen—worauf der Schaferhans mit seinem auf Geyer gemunzten Spottlied eigentlich hinzielt. Janssen sagt:

In Verbindung mit Ulrich von Wurttemberg standen auch viele der seit Zerspaltung des Sickingen'schen Bundes geächteten und in die Schweiz geflüchteten Ritter. Diese 'ohn Hab und Gut und darum gierig auf Meuterey und Veränderung,' waren Freunde 'Jedwedens, der dazu verhalf, itzt Freunde und Aufweger des Pobels und der Bauern, die sie sonst geschunden und durch Raub und Heckenreuterei verderbt' hatten . . . Man legte den 'verloren Edelleut' die Worte in den Mund: [nun folgen unsre Verse]—

Die Geschichte Janssens ist durch viele Zitate in der Sprachform der Zeitgenossen belebt. In einem späteren Kapitel wird zu zeigen sein, daß

²² Johannes Janssen: *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*. Band II. Siebente verbesserte Auflage (Freiburg i B · Herdersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1882)

^{22a} Owen, a.a.O. 298–299, zitiert diese Verse. Er behauptet, sie stünden, nach Bensen 572–573, in Eisenharts Chronik, S. 97. Beides ist falsch. Bensen bezieht sich weder auf diese Verse, noch stehen sie in Eisenharts Chronik.

Janssen zu einer der ausgiebigsten Fundgruben für Hauptmanns altertümliche Prosa geworden ist.

[FG 131. Geyer hat eben Kunde von dem mißglückten Sturm auf die Feste Unser Frauen Berg erhalten. "Sind unsre Schwarzen dabei gewesen?", fragt er "Ja, Kapitän," antwortet Marei "Als sie die Horner blusen: 'welche fechten wollten, kamen recht,' haben die Unsern das Wilde-Mann's Fahnlein ufgerecht' " Mareis ganzer Bericht deutet auf eine altertümliche Vorlage Die Worte in Anführungszeichen geben sich trotz ihrer Form—indirekte Rede—als ein Zitat. Ich habe es bisher nicht auffinden können und weiß in Anbetracht seines Rhythmus nicht, ob es einem Versgefuge entnommen ist]

(5) FG 156. Der Stelzfuß Klauslin singt auf des Christheinz Aufforderung hin "das neue Lied vom Gotzen von Berlichingen und vom Florian Geyer":

Gotz von Berlingen und auch sein Heer
Lag in der Stadt, als ich versteh',
Waren eitel Bauersknaben.
Florian Geyer zu Heidingsfeld lag,
Über achtzehntausend Hauptmann was,
Waren eitel frankische Knaben

Schon Heinrich Lemcke²³ hat nachgewiesen, daß die Strophe sich mit *Liliencron* III, Nr 379, Strophe 9 deckt Dorthier hat es Hauptmann ohne Zweifel. Benutzung Lilienrons läßt sich auch sonst in unserm Drama nachweisen

(6) FG 157. Gleich nach dem vorigen Lied stimmen Jos Frankenheim und Genossen den Bauernfreunden zum Trutz die Verse an:

Den Munzer hat sein Geist betrogen,
Der ist nun hin und aufgefliegen,
Sie haben beid' gut Ding gelogen
Thomas, der Herr der Hollengeister,
Und Luther, aller Lügen Meister

Diese Verse entstammen einem ca. 180 Verse zählenden Spottgedicht auf Luther in vierhebigen Reimpaaren. Sie bilden einen Anhang zu der *Rotenburger Chronik* des Barfüßermönchs Michael Eisenhart,^{23a} die zusammen mit Thomas Zweifels viel umfangreicherem Werk als Band cxxxix der "Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins Stuttgart" im Jahre 1878 im Druck erschien. Dieses Werk bildet Hauptmanns wichtigste Quelle für den

²³ "Florian Geyer in der Geschichte und bei Gerhart Hauptmann" (Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, Geschichte und Deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik) 1916 Band 37, S. 227

^{23a} Owen, a a O. 302, hat die Herkunft dieser Stelle bereits nachgewiesen

Gang der Rothenburger Ereignisse Bei Eisenhart lauten unsre Verse,
S. 622–623:

Den Muntzer hat sein gayst betrogen,
Der ist nun hin und aufgefliegen,
Sy haben beyd gut ding gelogen

*

Thomas, det yetzgenante geyster,
Und Luther, aller lügen meyster,
Das christlich volck schentlich verfurt

Man sieht, Hauptmann hat nicht bloß den im Original entstellten vierten Vers verbessert, sondern auch die zwei durch einen Stern getrennten Stücke zu einem strophenartigen Gebilde zusammengeschweißt.

(7) *FG* 167. "Wein!—Wein!—Wein von dem Rhein!", ruft Geyer. Auch dieser Ausruf ist als ein Zitat zu belegen. In Janssens *Geschichte*, I, 223 (9. Aufl., 1883), fand Hauptmann ein Trinklied, dessen Anfang lautet:

Wein, wein von dem Rein,
lauter, claur und fein,
dem varb gib gar lichten schem
als cristal und rubein.

(8) *FG* 171–172. Der schwerste Schlag hat Geyer getroffen. Sein braver Tellermann ist zu seinen Füßen verschieden. Er weiß, es geht auch mit ihm zu Ende. Die Vorahnung des eigenen Todes hat er eben in ein Ratselspiel gekleidet, das seine seelische Gefäßtheit ergreifend offenbart. Da besinnt er sich der im Halbdunkel kauern den Gefährten "Fürchtet Euch nit, singt!" ruft er ihnen zu. "Den Toten weckt Ihr nit auf." Da beginnt Klauslin und "singt mit einer alten, zitternden Stimme:

Der Florian Geyer zu Weinsberg was .
Ergriff er die schwarze Fahne und sprach.
Auf, liebe Gesellen mein,
Jetzt wollen wir das Schloß gewinnen "

Mit seiner Erinnerung an jene berühmte Waffentat verschärft das Lied die Kluft zwischen dem Einst und dem Jetzt bis zum Unertraglichen, und Florian Geyer läßt sich nieder und weint.

Dieses Lied, das in Rhythmus und Reim ganz den Charakter der Improvisation hat (wie so manche Volksliedstellen), findet sich in keiner Sammlung. Und das aus guten Gründen. Soll es als eine Augenblickseingebung des von Ruhrung übermannen Klauslin wirken, so sollte man billig in gedruckten Quellen nicht danach suchen. Aber es gibt zureichendere Gründe, an die wir uns halten können. Es gab kein solches Lied, es konnte kein solches Lied geben. Die alte Überlieferung in Lied

und Chronik weiß nichts von einer Beteiligung Florian Geyers an der Ersturmung von Weinsberg Florian Geyer lebt im Lied als ein Bauernführer, wie so viele andre, doch von Waffentaten, durch die er sich ausgezeichnet hatte, weiß die Überlieferung nichts zu melden Gleich nach Erscheinen unsers Dramas hat Max Lenz²⁴ den Nachweis erbracht, daß der Mann, dem Hauptmann die Anregung zur Inangriffnahme des Dramas verdankt, der Historiker Wilhelm Zimmermann,²⁵ den "romantischen Poeten" zuzurechnen ist, was die Gestalt Geyers betrifft Geyers schwarze Schar, von der Zimmermann fabelt, hat es nie gegeben "Bleibt für Florian Geyer selbst bei Weinsberg, Heilbronn und Neckarsulm überhaupt noch Platz, wenn seine schwarze Garde nie existiert hat?", fragt Lenz. Und seine Antwort lautet "Wir können getrost annehmen, daß der Historiker des Bauernkrieges [Zimmermann] hier wie anderwärts lediglich seiner blühenden Phantasie gefolgt ist" (109) Noch der neueste Geschichtschreiber des Bauernkriegs, Gunther Franz,²⁶ pflichtet Lenz bei, wenn er schreibt: "M. Lenz . . . zerstörte zuerst die von Oechsle und Zimmermann gewobene Geyerlegende, er ist für die Kritik des Tatsächlichen noch immer grundlegend" (I, 304, Anm.) Es ist hier nicht der Ort, der Frage nach Hauptmanns Einstellung zu der historischen Überlieferung nachzugehen Das Gesagte genügt, um zu zeigen, weshalb die besprochene Strophe sich nicht in den Quellen findet.

(9) FG 172 Als Geyer sich wieder gesammelt hat, läßt er sich von Marei seine Waffen—zum letzten Ritt—anlegen Dabei spricht er ein feierliches Gelöbnis der Treue zu seiner Sache aus,—Worte, die in Anführungszeichen stehen aber trotz ihres Verscharakters wohl deshalb als Prosa gedruckt sind, weil sie durch fremde Einschübe unterbrochen werden:

'Von Wahrheit ich will nimmer lahn' . . . Den Helm, Marei!—'Das soll mir bitten ab kein Mann, auch schafft, zu schrecken mich, kein Wehr, kein Bann, kein Acht' . . . Die Armschienen fest, ich will mich damit begraben lassen 'Obwohl mein' treue Mutter weint, daß ich die Sach' hab' fangen an, Gott woll' sie trösten . . . [Das Schwert umgürtend] Es muß gahn '

Dann fordert er die Gefährten auf, ihm Bescheid zu tun, auf Ulrich von Huttens Gedächtnis, auf des Sickingen Gedächtnis

Das sind Huttenverse Sie stammen aus Huttens Vorwort zu der deutschen Ausgabe seiner *Gesprache* Hauptmann hat sie, wie die an Kaiser Karl gerichtete Apostrophe, aus D. F. Straußens *Huttenbuch*, wo

²⁴ Vgl. Anm. 1

²⁵ Dr. W. Zimmermann, *Allgemeine Geschichte des Großen Bauernkrieges* 3 Bände (Stuttgart Franz Heinrich Kohler, 1841–43)

²⁶ Gunther Franz *Der Deutsche Bauernkrieg* 2 Bände (München und Berlin Verlag Oldenbourg, 1933)

sie, Band II, S. 121, in folgendem Wortlaut zu finden sind:

Von Wahrheit ich will nimmer lan,
 Das soll mir bitten ab kein Mann,
 Auch schafft, zu schrecken mich, kein Wehr,
 Kein Bann, kein Acht, wie fast und sehr
 Man mich damit zu schrecken meint,
 Obwohl mein fromme Mutter weint,
 Da ich die Sach hatt gfangen an
 Gott woll sie trosten, es muß gahn,
 Und sollt es brechen auch vorm End,
 Wills Gott, so mags nit werden gwend,
 Darum will brauchen Fuß und Hand.
 Ich habs gewagt.

Die ergriffenen Horer kannten die Verse gut, was Menzingers Zusatz zu Karlstats Antwort auf Geyers Gelobnis beweist. Er sagt nämlich, in betonter Umbildung eines der vier von Geyer ausgelassenen Schlußverse "Will's Gott, so mag's noch werden gewend't."—Daß Hauptmann die Huttenverse aus Strauß hat und nicht etwa aus der Huttenausgabe im *Kurschner* (*DNL*, XVII, 2. Teil, S. 285–286), beweist der dritte Vers, der bei Strauß und Hauptmann lautet: "auch schafft, zu schrecken mich, kein Wehr," wogegen die Kurschnersche Ausgabe—jedenfalls richtiger—schreibt: auch schafft, zu stillen mich, kein Wehr. Die Ersetzung der "frommen" durch die "treue" Mutter erklärt sich jedenfalls aus Hauptmanns Wunsch, die männliche Haltung durch keinen Mißton zu storen.^{26a}

(10) *FG* 185–186 Lorenz von Hutten gibt einen lebendigen Bericht von der Bedrängnis der auf Unser Frauen Berg belagerten Ritter und von der Freude, die alle ergriff, als der Entsatz erschien:

So aber was Hilf' in der Not kommen. Mußte der Turmer uf'm mittleren Turm
 alsbald den Bauern das Liedlein blasen

Hat dich der Schimpf gereuen,
 Zo zeug du wider heim.

Der vordere Turmer jubelnde und schreiende uf die Schutt gefuhret, daß er
 den Wurzburgern uffspielete unten in der Stadt. Das hat er mit Freud' getan
 und ihnen den armen Judas gar hell und schmetternd mit seiner Trummeten
 zu horen geben.

Dieses Ereignis muß stark auf die Gemuter der Zeitgenossen gewirkt haben, denn wir finden es in seinen charakteristischen Zügen in einer ganzen Reihe von Liedern festgehalten. Bei *Liliencron* III, Nr. 380 lautet die zweite Hälfte der 20. Strophe:

^{26a} Damit ist auch Blau, nach dem Owen, a.a O. 303, die Huttenverse zitiert, als Quelle erledigt, denn sein Text entspricht demjenigen im *Kurschner*. Die Umbildung eines Huttenverses in Menzingers Erwiderung ist Owen übrigens entgangen.

sie bliesen mit freidenreichem schalle
 die edeln fursten an,
 den bauren den "armen Judas,
 was hast du gethan "

Lilencron III, Nr. 381, Strophe 51 lautet:

Der thurner blies den "Judas,
 ach was hast du gethan,"
 es waren selzam laudes,
 es lacht nicht jederman
 Er blies "hats dich gerewet,
 so ziehe wieder heim "

Lilencron III, Nr. 382, Strophe 22 lautet:

hat dich der schimpf gerawen,
 ziech heim, dir mag wol grawen,
 man wurt dir nit vil trawen,
 du hast deinem herrn gethon,
 wie Judas der verzweifelt man!

Auch die *Zimmersche Chronik*,²⁷ II, 253 erwähnt das Lied: "Hat dich der schimpf gerowen," und die Anmerkung dazu, Band IV, 429 gibt beide Verse in dieser Fassung:

Hat dich der schimpf gereuet,
 so zeug nun wider heim

Der arme Judas spielt auf das bekannte Kirchenlied an, das ich noch in meiner Jugend habe singen hören — Eine ganze Reihe dieser und ähnlicher Fassungen sind Hauptmann bestimmt zu Gesicht gekommen. Die engste Anlehnung aber zeigt die Hauptmannstelle an den Bericht des Würzburger Magisters und bischoflichen Schreibers, Lorenz Fries, in seiner *Geschichte des Bauernkrieges in Ostfranken*.²⁸ Fries schreibt S: 320: ... der thurner uf dem mitler thurn pless den bauren das gemain liedlein "hat dich der schimpf gerauen, so ziehe du wider haim etc " so wart der vorder thurner herab uf die Schut gefurt, der bless den zu Wirtzburg in der stat den "armen Judas."²⁹

²⁷ Herausgegeben von K. A. Barack "Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins Stuttgart," Band 91–94. 1869 f

²⁸ Würzburg, 1883 gedruckt Herausgegeben von Dr. August Schaffler und Dr. Theodor Henner. Verlag des historischen Vereines von Unterfranken Der Schlußsatz der gedegenen Entleitung der Herausgeber lautet (xlv) Moge nun das unsterbliche Werk unsers Magisters Lorenz Fries in dem würdigen Gewande, das ihm die ruhmlichst bekannte Thein'sche Druckerei (Sturz) um die Lenden gegurtet, seinen Weg wandeln und die tiefere Erkenntnis einer hochst wichtigen Epoche unserer vaterlandischen Geschichte in immer weitere Kreise tragen!

²⁹ FG 189 werden die Anfangsverse des "armen Judas" bei anderer Gelegenheit gesungen

(11) *FG* 190 "*Schertlin*. Wohlan, fromme Gesellen! So lasset uns nach der Arbeit ein wenig Deutsch-Herren spielen. *Kunz von der Mühlen* spricht im Abgehen:

Kleider aus und Kleider an,
Essen, trinken, schlafen gahn,
Das ist die Arbeit, so die Deutsch-Herren han

Bei Janssen, I, 604 (9. Aufl. 1883) heist man:

Eine besondere Mißachtung erregte auch der Deutsche Orden, der keine andere Aufgabe mehr zu haben schien, als über ein bestimmtes Gebiet landesherrliche Hoheit auszuüben und kraft seiner geistlichen Vorrechte die Kirche zu verweltlichen. Statt der Feinde sagte man, spießen die Ritter gebratene Kapaunen, Rebhühner, Gänse und Enten. Im Munde des Volkes ging der Spottreim

Kleider aus und Kleider an,
Essen, trinken, schlafen gan,
Ist die Arbeit, so die deutschen Herren han

(12) *FG* 191. Gleich darauf hort man die Ritter, die sich in den Speisesaal zurückgezogen haben, singen:

Wir haben keine Sorgen
Wohl um das Rom'sche Reich,
Es sterb' heut oder morgen,
Das gilt uns alles gleich

Es handelt sich hier um eine Wanderstrophe, die in verschiedenen Liedern auftaucht. Sehr nah kommt unsrer Fassung die 4. Strophe eines Trinkliedes ("Man sagt wohl, in dem Maeren") im *Wunderhorn* (S. 631–632 der Griesbachschen Ausgabe). In der Uhlandschen Fassung desselben Liedes, *Uhland* Nr. 215, fehlt unsre Strophe. Dafür aber lautet in *Uhland* Nr. 265, "Druckerorden" überschrieben, die erste Strophe wie folgt:

Wolauf mit reichem schalle!
ich weiß mir ein gsellschaft gut,
hebt mir vor andern allen,
sie tregt ein freien mut,
sie hat ein kleine sorge
wol umb das romisch reich,
es sterb heut oder morgen
so gilts in alles gleich.

Hauptmann mag beide Fassungen gekannt und den ersten Vers leicht verändert haben.^{29a}

(13) *FG* 195. Das letzte Stück gebundener Rede bilden die Verse, die der Ritter Schertlin, den kleinen Grumbach auf dem Arm, hersagt oder

^{29a} Owen, a.a.O. 305, weist diese Verse bei Blau in genau demselben Wortlaut nach, der im Drama vorliegt. Hauptmann hat demnach den Liedtext ohne Änderung übernommen!

singt. Sie stehen an wirkungsvoller Stelle. Das symbolkraftige Gruppenbild gesellt sich dem Wort, um in dem Leser und Hörer eine Ahnung dessen erstehen zu lassen, was die nächste Zukunft dem geschlagenen Bauernvolk bringen wird:

Willst du dich ernahren,
Du junger Edelmann!
Folg' du meiner Lehren,
Sitz uf, tiab' zum Bann!
Wenn der Bauer zu Holze fahrt,
So greif, ihn freislich an,
Derwisch' ihn bei dem Kragen,
Erfreu' das Herze din,
Nimm ihm, was er habe,
Spann' aus die Pferdlein sin,
Sei frisch und dazu unverzagt
Wenn er nummen Pfennig hat,
So reiß ihm d'Gurgel ab.

Bei *Uhland* stehen diese Verse als Strophe 2 und 3 von Nr. 134 mit der Überschrift: "Edelmannslehre". Auf *Uhland* verweist auch *Janssen*, der sie I, 227 ebenfalls bringt. Bei *Uhland* haben unsre Verse folgenden Wortlaut:

Wiltu dich ernerren,
du junger edelman,
folg du miner lere,
sitz uf, drab zum ban!
halt dich zû dem grünen wald,
wann der bur ins holz fert
so renn in freislich an!

Derwusch in bi dem kragen,
erfreuw das herze din,
nim im was er habe,
span uß die pferdelin sin!
bis frisch und darzu unverzagt,
wann er nummen pfenning hat
so riß im dgurgel ab!

Man sieht, bei Hauptmann fehlen der fünfte Vers der ersten Strophe und die strophische Gliederung. Es wird da ein Flüchtigkeitsfehler vorliegen. Davon abgesehen aber hat Hauptmann die Sprachform der Verse erheblich modernisiert, allerdings in ganz inkonsequenter Weise. Er schreibt "sitz uf," aber "spann aus", "meiner Lehren," aber "das Herze din." In einem Vers steht sogar "Pferdelein min!" Solchen Doppelformen begegnet man ja auf Schritt und Tritt das ganze Drama hindurch. Hauptmann hat sich offensichtlich mit Rücksicht auf seinen Leserkreis weder auf

den alten noch auf den neuen Lautstand festlegen wollen, ging es ihm doch darum, möglichst stark den Anschein altertümlicher Sprache zu erwecken, ohne doch in der Hauptsache unverständlich zu werden. So wird vermutlich nur der philologisch geschulte Leser Gefahr laufen, an der Doppelheit der Formen Anstoß zu nehmen, auch wo sie in ein und demselben strophischen Gebilde begegnen.

Bei weitem die meisten Verse, die wir hier besprochen haben, entstammen dem Volkslied, viele darunter der besonderen Gattung des historischen Liedes, das ein bestimmtes Ereignis festhält. Es sei deshalb gestattet, an dieser Stelle einige Wendungen zu mustern, die ihren Weg aus dem Volksliede in Hauptmanns Prosa gefunden zu haben scheinen. Vielleicht wurde es sorgfältigem Suchen gelingen, diese Lese um ein Betrachtliches zu vermehren.

(1) FG 62. "Hier ist christliche Liebe auf türkische Art bewiesen" Vgl. ebf. FG 73.—*Liliencron* III, Nr. 381, Str. 42 heißt es von den Bauern:

ließen sich christlich nennen
und gabens türkisch für^{29b}

(2) FG 74. "Wir wollen ihnen die Würzburger Osterfladen mit Pulver bestreuen . . ." (In der Osterzeit kommt der Bauernkrieg zum Ausbruch.)—*Liliencron* III, Nr. 382, Str. 8 beginnt:

Die von Würzburg thetten laden
gest auß dem Neckerthal
zu irem osterfladen

(3) FG 74. "Bauer, hut dich, mein Roß schlägt dich!", ruft ein Ritter, um der Zuversicht der Schloßbesatzung Ausdruck zu geben—Dieser Satz steht als Vorspruch vor *Liliencron* III, Nr. 380, wo es auch um die Würzburger Ereignisse geht.

(4) FG 81. Im Gegensatz zu Geyers geruhmter Tapferkeit heißt es von Gotz: "Dawider nehmet den Berlinger, der will den Fuchs ninderit nit beißen."—Vgl. *Liliencron* III, Nr. 381, Str. 39:

Im schloß thettens sich fleißen,
schickten sich erst mit lust,
ob sie mer wolten beißen
den fuchs; es was um sust . . .

Vgl. ebenfalls *Uhland* Nr. 141 A, Str. 2:

der sich des adels fleist
und doch den fuchs nit beist.

(5) FG 95. Link droht: "Soll denen in der Besatzung der Reif am Kubel dermaßen werden angezogen, daß sie wie Fische sollen daraus

^{29b} Owen, a.a.O. 290, zitiert eine Stelle aus Bensen, die einwandfrei als Vorlage der Hauptmannschen Wendung anzuerkennen ist.

springen. . . ." Falls Hauptmann diese prachtige Redensart nicht in ihrem vollen Wortlaut einer alten Quelle verdankt, ist er durch das Volkslied dazu angeregt worden, wo die zugrunde liegende Vorstellung in jener Zeit häufig zu finden ist, z.B. *Liliencron* III, Nr. 369, Str. 13:

er sprach wurd mir an aidgenoß,
ich will im den kubel binden baß,

im D. W. unter "Kubel" Sp. 2488 zitiert und erklärt: "entlehnt von den Schlägen, mit denen der Faßbinder dem Kubel die Reife festkopft." Auch *Zimmermann*, II, 161 zitiert inbezug auf Herzog Ulrichs vereitelten Zug gegen Stuttgart, 1525. "Nun wollen wir den Schweizern den Kubel binden!"

(6) *FG* 136 "Die Nurnberger Pfeffersacke [Kramer] haben abgeschrieben."—Vgl. *Uhland*, Nr. 144, Str. 6:

Albrecht von Rosenberg der hat ein roß, das kan zelten und traben,
darauf tet er manchen Nurnbergischen pfeffersack jagen

(7) *FG* 139: "Sind nit genug franzosische Stuber und Sonnenkronen im Umlauf?" Vgl. *FG* 166 "franzosische Stuber und Sonnenkronen."—Bei *Uhland* heißt es Nr. 190, Str. 1:

Wir loben gott den herren
darzu den edlen koning
.
.
.
.
.
.
er will uns erlich lonen
mit stuwern und sonnenkronen.

(8) *FG* 150: "Wo sind meine Dunkelknaben geblieben?", klagt Geyer.—Bei *Liliencron* III, Nr. 381, Str. 30 lesen wir:

Da kamen die dunkel knaben
vom hellen haufen gerant

(9) *FG* 151: "Getraut ihm doch euer keiner . . . , einem alten Weibe eine teige Birne zu nehmen."—Vgl. *Uhland*, Nr. 110, Str. 3:

Ach junk fraw, wolt irs mit mir gan
und do die taigen pirn stan
dort außen uf jener haide?

Vgl ebenfalls Stobers "Alsatia" 1862–67, Sprichwörter Geilers von Kaisersberg Nr. 45 (S. 135): "Man seht wol am sack wo die taigen birnen liegen."

(10) *FG* 195: Ich war ohne Lust am Spiel, . . . sust hattet Ihr mir wohl nit einen Weißpfennig mogen abnehmen"—Vgl. *Uhland*, Nr. 144, Str. 5:

der weißen pfenninge hastu nit vil,
der roten kanstu nit uberkommen.

HERMANN J. WEIGAND

JEAN GIRAUDOUX, PRINCE DES PRÉCIEUX

Quand tant d'autres seront oubliés, il prendra place dans notre histoire littéraire un peu au-dessus de Voiture, parmi les précieux qui ne sont pas ridicules ¹

THAT preciosity is only a relative term will be readily endorsed by anyone who has studied the critical literature devoted to Jean Giraudoux. Some critics hurl the word as a reproach and condemnation, while others give themselves pains to plead or explain Giraudoux's case. Each, as well as the author himself, feels certain that preciosity is the word which will label and pigeon-hole him exactly, but alas, each proceeds to suggest a different nuance until the subject becomes quite confusing. The word preciosity itself suffers as many interpretations as classicism or romanticism, so a precise definition is out of the question. Originally associated with the seventeenth century arbiters of taste in language and etiquette, the term has since broadened its scope considerably. Literary historians have found it a convenient label for subtlety and refinement wherever these qualities may appear. Hence they do not mean an isolated phenomenon, but a fundamental characteristic of some minds, adapting and transforming itself according to time and place. Words such as gongorism, euphuism, conceitism, conceptualism, or marivaudage are mutations or varieties of preciosity. According to popular usage, however, *précieux* means only *précieux ridicule*, synonymous with artificial or affected. In analyzing the preciosity of Jean Giraudoux from our own point of view, we shall find occasion to examine a great variety of critical opinions.

The explanation of Giraudoux's prose style may be found in two psychological factors: namely, a sort of pictorial thinking and an extraordinary mental agility.² These characteristics account for his so-called preciosity and therefore must be investigated. As he writes, Giraudoux seems to think in images. The world, he declares, is a picture-book:

Bénie soit l'institutrice qui, lorsque j'eus cinq ans, me montrant le plus beau livre d'images et me bâillonnant hermétiquement de sa main, m'apprit à penser sans avoir à pousser des cris, en deux leçons d'une heure ³

Abstractions are meaningless to him without pictorial representation.

Au nom seul du Jour, je le sentais onduler silencieusement entre ses deux nuits

¹ Daniel and Charles Bonnefon, *Les écrivains modernes de la France* (Fayard, 1927), pp. 567-568.

² Laurence LeSage, "The Cliché Basis for Some of the Metaphors of Jean Giraudoux," *MLN*, LVI (June, 1941), 436.

³ *Juliette au pays des hommes*, p. 175.

comme un cygne aux ailes noires Au nom seul du Mois, je le voyais s'échafauder, arc-bouté sur ses Jeudis et ses Dimanches Je voyais les Saisons, les Vertus marcher en groupes, dormir par dortoirs. J'avais pour le monde entier la tendresse et l'indulgence qu'inspirent les allégories ⁴

Images multiply with amazing rapidity under his pen. Giraudoux's mind dances merrily around any subject, playing with words and the signs of things, much to the despair of the plodding reader who is dazzled by the display of pyrotechnics One may feel like crying out with the Cyclops, victim of Ulysses' wit

Holà! . quel est ce langage bizarre, élastique et trompeur, qui me donne l'impression de rouler sur la crête des vagues, puis d'enfoncer, et qui me chavire!⁵

Because the law of gravity has apparently no power over the little air pocket in which this "Fantasio of the new literature" moves, he has been severely reprimanded for his antics, his impenitent and incurable mental puerility. He is charged with being a "jongleur, rhéteur, sophiste."⁶ After reading *Siegfried et le Limousin*, M. Bidou voices his dismay. "Son esprit, qui est exquis, n'est-il pas las de porter des fruits au goût compliqué, dont la chair est malgré tout un peu filandreuse? Que n'est-il pommier, et ne porte-t-il des pommes, tout simplement!"⁷ M. Cahuet complains: "Il semble que, de son livre, M. Giraudoux aurait pu tirer bien aisément un plus beau livre durable et plutôt une œuvre d'écrivain qu'un jeu de dilettante."⁸ Lucien Dubech apparently suffered from mental indigestion after being served a meal of literary hors d'œuvres: "Toute son œuvre, sans excepter une seule ligne, est faite avec des souvenirs livresques et des figures de rhétorique."⁹ Humbourg suggests that Giraudoux is intoxicated by his muse ¹⁰

Thus endowed with unusual powers of perception and a nimble wit, Giraudoux leads his dazed and complaining readers through a tangled jungle of free association of ideas and images His tidy manuscripts, rarely marred by erasures or cross-outs, reveal a spontaneous poet recording his thought patterns as they take form. Often he begins with a phrase and the rest is embroidery on that theme. Each sentence is born from the preceding Writing, he claims, is never work, but a natural function. His novels lack structure, but possess rather a musical character because of the contrapuntal weaving of ideas:

Jetez-lui un vocable au hasard, et tout aussitôt . . . , par un mécanisme qui

⁴ *Ecole des Indifférents*, p 39 ⁵ *Elpénor*, p 25.

⁶ Yves Gandon, *Le démon du style* (Plon, 1938), p 140

⁷ Henri Bidou, "Parimi les livres," *Revue de Paris*, XXXIII (October, 1926), 690

⁸ A. Cahuet, "Le grand prix Balzac," *L'Illustration*, CLX (November 11, 1922), 468.

⁹ Lucien Dubech, *Les chefs de file de la jeune génération* (Plon-Nourrit, 1925), p 162

¹⁰ Pierre Humbourg, *Jean Giraudoux* (Marseille Les Cahiers du Sud, 1926).

tient de l'accroissement de la boule de neige roulant sur une pente couverte d'un épais tapis blanc, il vous composera, s'il lui chante, tout un livre Parti d'une idée—ou seulement d'une image, il ne l'abandonnera pas qu'il ne l'ait épuisée dans toutes les nuances qu'elle peut revêtir, avec tous les développements qu'elle lui propose, et en usant des ressources quasi illimitées de son pouvoir d'expression ¹¹

Giraudoux scorns the conventional novelists who, "binocle au nez, s'occupent à assembler en un roman, comme un jeu de patience, mille pensées qu'ils n'ont eues que séparément" ¹² His method is so evident that one is astonished by the statement of Professor Stansbury that Giraudoux is the least spontaneous of writers ¹³ Can we believe with M. Azais also that "M Giraudoux sue, ahanne, se tord pour trouver à chaque ligne une métaphore, une prosopopée, un mythe, une allégorie?" ¹⁴

Begging leave to differ with Professor Stansbury and M. Azais, we must assume that the brilliant bouquets of Giraudoux's imagery arise less from a conscious desire to "épater le bourgeois," than from a spontaneous exuberance:

On voit tout de suite comme l'élasticité indéfinie de son vocabulaire allait faciliter la démarche de Jean Giraudoux engagé sur la voie du style précieux. ¹⁵

Affectation is conspicuously absent. Hence he differs fundamentally from John Donne and the other metaphysical poets whom we are wont to think of as sensuous thinkers. The English poets try either to give a logical frame-work to their poetic effusions or to communicate an idea by a carefully worked out illustrative image. Their imagery illustrates their thoughts, while with Giraudoux the thought and image are, if not identical, at least simultaneous. The same distinction pertains to Giraudoux and the Hôtel de Rambouillet where *petits-maitres* spoke in riddles to exclude the vulgar. The patiently contrived metaphors of the *Guirlande de Julie* reveal a distressing lack of inspiration; such is indeed not the case with Giraudoux whose verbal extravagance results from his refusal to suppress the myriads of imagery which spring unbidden to his mind. M. Brasillach warns us not to confuse the preciousness of Giraudoux with the dry art of the seventeenth century:

Et que le mot de préciosité ne nous évoque pas le précieux français: il faut penser à l'Espagne ou à l'Angleterre, à ce luxe d'images intelligentes d'où naît la poésie et qui pare les comédies et les drames de Shakespeare, et toute la Renaissance elizabéthaine, et Caldéron Car ce n'est pas une préciosité sèche, l'art de con-

¹¹ Yves Gandon, *op cit*, p 139

¹² *Ecole des indifférents*, p 114

¹³ Milton H Stansbury, *French Novelists of Today* (Philadelphia University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935), p 21.

¹⁴ Marcel Azais, *Le chemin des gardies* (Nouvelle librairie nationale, 1926), p 237.

¹⁵ Gandon, *op cit*, p 139

duire une seule métaphore, le mince charme de l'hôtel de Rambouillet Les images, au contraire, sont abondantes, et celles de la Bible se mêlent sans fausse note à celles de Jean Giraudoux, et l'ensemble est d'une richesse, orientale et flamboyante, comme une dentelle de pierre dans une cathédrale.¹⁶

However, we may note some resemblance to the unrestrained verbal abundance which appeared frequently in French poetry of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries—in Marot, in the poets of the Pleiade, in D'Aubigné, in Garnier, in the Malherbe of *Les Larmes de Saint Pierre*, in Maynard, Théophile, Saint Amant, etc. What seems to be a point of special confusion is struck by M. Brasillach's expression *images intelligentes*. It is the undeniable intellectual nature of Giraudoux's imagery which has led some critics to label it artificial and affected. Intellectualism, however, is not necessarily incompatible with spontaneity as Mr Middleton Murry points out very convincingly in his discussion of the unselfconsciousness of Shakespeare in the working out of conceits.¹⁷ Giraudoux's misnamed *tours de force* are executed with much less effort than is generally supposed.

M. René Lalou remarks that Giraudoux's preciosity is only his familiarity, not a bookish fault but a spontaneous tendency.¹⁸ M. Bouvier says it is only "la poésie des simples."¹⁹ Jean Prévost insists that Giraudoux is not *précieux*, but original.²⁰ Maurice Bourdet is of the same opinion, for he says that literary language is so stuffed with clichés and conventionalities that originality and sincerity may at first be confused with preciosity. He concludes with André Gide: "Certes je ne prétends pas que toute préciosité d'art soit sincère, mais bien que la sincérité profonde exige une matière nouvelle et qui paraît d'abord préciosité."²¹ Giraudoux's own diagnosis leads us still farther away from the idea of affectation. He reproaches French literature for discouraging verbal excesses, "qui correspondent du moins à de vrais défauts ou qualités humaines."²² If by preciosity one means affectation, then the term is incorrectly applied to Giraudoux, for his verbal excesses result not from affectation in language, but on the contrary from a lack of it. Spontaneity is the element which marks Giraudoux's brand of preciosity.

¹⁶ Robert Brasillach, "Le théâtre de Jean Giraudoux, 1932-34," *Portraits* (Plon, 1935), pp. 123-163.

¹⁷ J. Middleton Murry, *Shakespeare* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1936), pp. 233-234.

¹⁸ René Lalou, "Univers de Jean Giraudoux," *Nouvelles littéraires*, November 7, 1931, p. 2.

¹⁹ E. Bouvier, *Initiation à la littérature d'aujourd'hui* (La Renaissance du Livre, 1932), p. 251.

²⁰ J. Prévost, "L'Esprit de Jean Giraudoux," *La Nouvelle Revue française*, xli (1933), 37-52.

²¹ Maurice Bourdet, *Jean Giraudoux* (Editions de la Nouvelle Revue critique, 1928), p. 53. ²² "Charles-Louis Philippe," *La Nouvelle Revue française*, xlix (1937), 538.

Despite the above distinction, one is loath to renounce this convenient word. Since its use is no longer restricted to the short span of years from 1620 to 1660, from the salon of Mme de Rambouillet to the *Précieuses ridicules* of Molière,²³ but is recognized as an age-old phenomenon which transforms itself according to time and place, one feels justified in applying the word to a contemporary writer. But let us call it the new preciousity to emphasize its gratuitous nature: . . . "et voici s'épanouir, avec la jeune poésie, un nouveau précieux." Verbal improvisation is the avowed technique of most contemporary explorers of new literary forms.

A force de poursuivre des interprétations ambiguës, et des associations curieuses, les écrivains en sont arrivés . . . à ne plus considérer dans le mot que ses capacités d'association, sens et sons, ses possibilités de jeux intellectuels, de symboles et même de calembours.

The contemporary *précieux* lets "en lui, naître, s'entremêler ou se bousculer des images."²⁴ Giraudoux says, "C'est cette part importante de l'improvisation qui donne de la vie à une oeuvre, et qui donne surtout de la poésie."²⁵ The *poètes fantaisistes* hold only to chance and fortuity. From Rimbaud and Lautréamont the tradition continues in Apollinaire, André Salmon, Max Jacob, Cocteau, Paul Reverdy, etc. Surrealism has gone beyond Giraudoux to carry improvisation to its highest power. M. A.-M. Petitjean calls him "le plus accompli sans doute de nos chasseurs d'images, mais l'écriture automatique bientôt lui fit concurrence."²⁶ Modern preciousity claims a more serious rôle than it has played in the past. In the hierarchy of literature it has provoked only the indulgent smile which one accords to *pêchés mignons*. It probably deserves better treatment:

Toute forme d'art est au fond un état d'esprit, c'est-à-dire un jugement de principe. Derrière chaque esthétique il y a l'ensemble d'une philosophie. On a discerné la métaphysique du baroque. Pourquoi ne reconnaîtrait-on pas celle de la préciosité?²⁷

The classicist orders and chooses, believing himself to be following a divine order, but the *précieux* is content to remain in the confusion and profusion of the world where "les parfums, les couleurs et les sons se répondent," where he may revel in "rapports précieux, ces bagues scintillantes, ces anneaux d'alliance par lesquels le poète consacre les innombrables mariages—même et surtout les plus bizarres—entre tous les êtres et toutes les choses qui composent l'univers."²⁸

²³ Daniel Mornet, "Comment étudier les écrivains ou les ouvrages de troisième ou quatrième ordre," *Romanic Review*, xxviii (1937), 206.

²⁴ Jean Epstein, quoted from John Charpentier, "Autour du précieux," *Mercure de France*, ccxxxviii (1932), 286.

²⁵ F. Lefèvre, *Une heure avec*, 4ième série, p. 117.

²⁶ A.-M. Petitjean, "Electre et Giraudoux," *Nouvelle Revue française*, xlix (September, 1937), 482.

²⁷ Rousseaux, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

Preciosity is not confined exclusively to matters of language. It implies a refinement, a delicacy of sentiment to combat the crude and the ugly. Here Giraudoux fits without any reservation, pleading guilty to "un excessif panthéisme et de la politesse envers la création."

Tous les désastres de la préciosité, mal qui consiste à traiter les objets comme des humains, les humains comme s'ils étaient dieux et vierges, les dieux comme des chats ou des belettes, mal qui provoque, non pas la vie dans les bibliothèques, mais les relations personnelles avec les saisons, les petits animaux . . .²⁹

He deliberately turns his back on the harsh details of the actual world. They have no place in his work. In the shipwreck scene of *Elpénor* one notices only how much the drowning sailors resemble birds.³⁰ Dead bodies washed ashore arouse in Suzanne only idle curiosity. Of the first she observes that "la lune se levait et le repassait et l'argentait comme un objet de toile."³¹ Giraudoux's characters are never harassed by financial worries and in their love affairs observe the rules of Mlle de Scudéry's *carte du tendre*. There are no villains. The public felt somewhat shocked by Giraudoux's war books: critics spoke of his "vision pommadée de la guerre,"³² his "guerre en dentelles."³³ Benjamin Crémieux finds that Giraudoux's works give the effect of objects dipped in a golden bath.³⁴ Mozart and Scarlatti come to mind. Instinctively Giraudoux avoids offensive realism: "la préciosité lui était un refuge contre la vulgarité, l'emphase ou la passion."³⁵ He is examining his conscience as he further defines preciosity in whimsical and half-ironic allusions. One will not overlook his thrust at Racine, "purest of French classicists." Suzanne muses:

Etre précieuse, c'est désespérer alors qu'on espère toujours, c'est brûler de plus de feux que l'on n'en alluma, c'est tresser autour des mots révévés une toile avec mille fils et dès qu'un souffle, une pensée l'effleure, c'est le cœur qui s'élance du plus noir de sa cachette, la tue, suce son doux sang. C'est mademoiselle de Montpensier suçant le doux sang du mot amour, du mot amant. C'est mademoiselle de Rambouillet couvrant de sa blanche main tous les mots cruels, et les rendant ensuite, le mot Courroux, le mot Barbare, inoffensifs comme les détectives qui changent le revolver du bandit en un revolver porte-cigares.³⁶

M. Crémieux fears that Giraudoux's world is more "fin" than "solide"—it does not escape preciosity or affectation.³⁷ To those who disapprove of Giraudoux's vision of the world, we may reply with M. Lafue that

²⁹ *Juinette au pays des hommes*, p. 230 ³⁰ *Elpénor*, p. 117

³¹ *Suzanne et le Pacifique*, p. 201 ³² Azaïs, *op. cit.*, p. 232

³³ J. Schlumberger, "Adorable Chlo," *La Nouvelle Revue française*, xv (November 1, 1920), 785 ³⁴ B. Crémieux, "Aventures de Jérôme Bardini," *Ibid.*, xxxvi (1931), 125

³⁵ P. Lafue, "Bella," *La Revue hebdomadaire*, xxxv (March 4, 1926), 119

³⁶ *Suzanne et le Pacifique*, p. 177

³⁷ Crémieux, *Vingtième Siècle* (*La Nouvelle Revue française*, 1924), p. 112

preciosity "c'est une jolie machine contre la barbarie. La préciosité est aussi nécessaire à notre époque qu'au moment où elle sévit autrefois, et pour les mêmes raisons"³⁸

Mme de Rambouillet, offended by the coarseness and vulgarity of court, withdrew to her own home where she proceeded to create a purified little world to supplant the one she could no longer endure. In his novels M. Giraudoux has also effected an escape from a world from whose realities he would be free. By weaving around it golden threads he renders the world powerless and inoffensive. "Il divorce avec le réel

Il ne veut plus être qu'un esprit libre, dominant cette nature qui l'écrase, cette société qui l'enserme. Il ne les juge même plus comme le fameux roseau pensant, il les ignore ou les assimile."³⁹ Lyrical succession replaces orderly and logical development in his novels, fancy and anachronism replace verisimilitude and historical veracity. By means of the metaphor he creates a fragile and graceful world of his own liking beyond the bounds of time and space. In the midst of twentieth century sky-scrapers Giraudoux would lead the life of Adam before the knowledge of sin in a Garden of his own creation. Through his imagination and fancy he has complete power to transfigure the world. This fairyland lacks the weight of the real world, and its inhabitants do not know the physical constraint of gravity or moral obligation. Above all there is nothing to inhibit spontaneous action. M. de Miomandre describes it as a world pure and gratuitous, like a child's dream.⁴⁰ There is no more grief in it than in a painting of Watteau.

By far the best picture of Giraudoux's world is presented by himself in the celebrated *Prière sur la Tour Eiffel*

C'est que je vis encore . . . dans cet intervalle qui sépara la création et le péché originel. J'ai été excepté de la malédiction en bloc. Aucune de mes pensées n'est chargée de culpabilité, de responsabilité, de liberté . . . Je vois les meubles anciens du monde comme Adam les vit, les arbres, les étangs sans tache originelle, et les meubles modernes, téléphone, cinéma, auto, dans leur divinité. Je suis un petit Messie pour les objets et les bêtes minuscules . . . Les quelques modifications que l'on me doit ici-bas sont celles que j'aurai apportées au jardin d'Eve . . . je suis le sourcier de l'Eden! . . .⁴¹

He would fancy himself the prophet of a joyful primitive oasis not condemned by Jehovah. In *Judith* he sings again of his pagan world, godless and free. Holophernes informs Judith that the spot upon which they stand is one of the few places not infested by gods, one of the few "taches de paradis terrestre." Giraudoux's profound respect for mankind, his sen-

³⁸ Lafue, *op. cit.*, p. 121. ³⁹ Bouvier, *op. cit.*, p. 238

⁴⁰ Fr. de Miomandre, "Essai sur l'art de lire un moderne," *Grande Revue*, xc, 193-206.

⁴¹ *Juliette au pays des hommes*, pp. 188-192.

Ce que seul le roi des rois peut se permettre d'être, en cet âge des dieux: un homme enfin de ce monde, du monde. Le premier, si tu veux. Je suis l'ami des jardins à parterres, des maisons bien tenues, de la vaisselle éclatante sur les nappes, de l'esprit et du silence. Je suis le pire ennemi de Dieu. Que fais-tu au milieu des Juifs et de leur exaltation, enfant charmante? Songe à la douceur qu'aurait ta journée, dégagée des terreurs et des prières. Songe au petit déjeuner du matin servi sans promesse d'enfer, au thé de cinq heures sans péché mortel, avec le beau citron et la pince à sucre innocente et étincelante. Songe aux jeunes gens et aux jeunes filles s'étreignant simplement dans les draps frais, et se jetant les oreillers à la tête, quelques talons roses en l'air, sans anges et sans démons voyageurs. Songe à l'homme innocent ⁴²

Mon enfant, ma sœur,
Songe à la douceur
D'aller là-bas vivre ensemble!
Aimer à loisir.

Escape and flight are dominant themes in Giraudoux's novels. The characters must get away from the routine imposed upon them by conventions Siegfried changes nationality; Suzanne goes to a desert island; Juliette leaves her fiancé, Jérôme Bardini forsakes wife and home to join company with the "Kid," a symbol of unfettered liberty *Jérôme Bardini* is called by Edmond Jaloux "une symphonie de l'évasion."⁴³ The creatures of Jean Giraudoux struggle against any form of control, any crystallization of their personality. Like Gidean heroes, they seek new thirsts rather than to quench old ones Edmée, of *Le Choeur des élues*, abandons successively her husband and home, then her career, to discover for her personality the atmosphere it requires. Her search is common to all Giraudoux's protagonists who blindly seek their destiny through acts of displacement. "La vraie douleur, c'est l'immobilité."⁴⁴

⁴² *Judith*, pp. 166–167.

⁴³ Jaloux, "Esprit des livres," *Nouvelles littéraires*, December 20, 1930, p. 3.

⁴⁴ Marcel Thiébaud, *Evasions littéraires* (Gallimard, 1935), p. 17.

⁴⁵ *Op cit*, and *Littérature du vingtième siècle* (A. Michel, 1938).

abandon their *précieux* chasteness and agree to settle down in the world of reality with a husband. Unlike those of his contemporaries who strive with tireless historical documentation to maintain in the novel the panoramic proportions of the *Comédie humaine* or the *Rougon-Macquart*, Giraudoux contents himself with a more modest rôle. He has chosen to paint the young girl on the threshold of womanhood, a subject far from exhausted in French literature. The fragile beauty of Sylvie and Adrienne appears again in Giraudoux's spring rainbow. M. Rousseaux refers us to the Primavera of Botticelli, which represents for him the lovely troupe of Suzanne, Juliette, Geneviève, Isabelle, Anne, Stéphy, Eglantine, Maléna and Florence. They come to our sight in a carefree intermezzo before they have accepted definitely life, the commonplace destiny which awaits them. They are "jeunes filles en fleurs" who are in love with love, but the monster is near and they must soon succumb to their lovers. The tempo of the twentieth century is a factor, Gériard and Jérôme cannot wait patiently ten years as did Montausier for his Julie. Even though already a matron, Alcmène of *Amphitryon* 38 bears a close resemblance to her *précieux* sisters. Disdaining the honor of being Jupiter's mistress, she proposes to be friend and confidante to the bewildered Olympian. Not all readers find Giraudoux's *puellae perpetuae* so charming as M. Rousseaux. M. A. Rouveyre objects to Giraudoux's anemic little *demoiselles* and finds Alcmène "une bien ridicule précieuse, une bien sottre pimbêche."⁴⁶

The escape motif is a significant feature of post-war preciosity. Writing in 1930, M. Jaloux pointed out its vogue since 1918 and predicted a new note in literature for the period 1930-45 to take its place.⁴⁷ The thirties failed to bear out his prophecy, and the escape theme persisted until the recent war. Its prevalence is an inevitable reaction against the age of machines and standardization, against world chaos. In 1939 M. Pierre Brodin made the following assertion. "La plupart des jeunes écrivains s'engagent dans des chemins qui les éloignent du monde réel et du temps présent. Romans et poèmes d'évasion prédominent. . . Tous orientent plus ou moins leur art vers la féerie."⁴⁸

The work of Jean Giraudoux is the finest flower of contemporary preciosity. Possessed of a brilliant intelligence and an exquisite culture, he has been able to create for himself and his reader a supra-terrestrial refuge from the ugliness of materialism, mechanization, and world strife. We have examined this preciosity from the two aspects of form and content.

⁴⁶ A. Rouveyre, "Théâtre," *Mercure de France*, ccxvi (December 15, 1929), 659

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁴⁸ "Quelques tendances générales de la littérature française contemporaine," *French Review*, xii (1939), 296

In the first we discovered that his preciosity is not literary affectation but spontaneous verbal play, and that this technique is representative of recent literature. The second aspect of his preciosity regards the world he depicts in his works, a fairyland from which harshness and evil are banished. In conclusion we have mentioned the prevalence of escape literature in the between-wars period.

LAURENCE LESAGE

University of Oregon

ACTS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

(Continued from *PMLA*, LVI, 1196, 1395)

I. See Meeting of the Executive Council, *PMLA*, LVI (June, 1942, 593-594.

II. Under date of June 15 the Advisory Committee recommended the following actions, which were taken in unanimous mail ballot by the Council:

1 *Middle English Dictionary Resolved*: (1) that the Executive Council accepts the report of the Advisory Board of the Middle English Dictionary, (2) that the Secretary notify the University of Michigan that in view of the recommendations of the Advisory Board the Council cannot give a blanket endorsement to the standards now prevailing in the preparation of the Dictionary, (3) that the Council does not feel that the Modern Language Association should sponsor the work on the Dictionary unless it can be assured of a measure of real control over the editorial policies and procedures.

2. *Committee on Research Activities* That the annual Budget item of \$500 for meetings of this Committee be reduced to \$250 per year from 1 October 1942 for the period of the national emergency.

III Under date of September 14 Professor Otis H. Green succeeded on the Committee on Research Activities to Professor Hayward Keniston (resigned).

IV. Under date of October 27 the Council accepted the autumn report of the Committee on Research Activities

PERCY W. LONG, *Secretary*

NEW DISCUSSION GROUP

(Tuesday, December 29, 11 A.M.-12.30 P.M.)

Comparative Literature VII. Franco-German Literary Relations. *Chairman*, Henry H. H. Remak, Indiana Univ., *Secretary*, Maurice Chazin, Queens College. (*Advisory and Nominating Com.* S. O. Palleske, *Ch.*, Albert Aron, Mary Noss, A. E. Zucker *Research and Bibliography Com.*, Arno Schirokauer, *Ch.* Joseph Carrière, Dorothea v. H. Davis, Henri Peyre, Lawrence Price, Werner Richter, Ralph Rosenberg, Howard Yarnall, Edwin Zeydel.)

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AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1942

In the interest of completeness, it is hoped that authors may be willing to send to the compiler of the appropriate section off-prints of articles and notice of pertinent books and monographs.

GENERAL. Millett Henshaw, 221 N Grand Boulevard, St Louis Univ, St Louis, Mo

ENGLISH Albert C Baugh, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

AMERICAN Thomas H. Johnson, Lawrenceville, N J.

FRENCH H. Carrington Lancaster, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md

ITALIAN, SPANISH, and PORTUGUESE Edwin B Williams, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa

GERMANIC. Henry W Nordmeyer, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich

The year of publication is 1942 unless otherwise noted. *Italics* indicate book titles, quotation marks, articles. Periodicals often cited are referred to by the following abbreviations:

<i>AGR</i>	American-German Review	<i>Lang</i>	Language
<i>AJP</i>	American Journal of Philology	<i>LTLS</i>	(London) Times Literary Suppl
<i>AL</i>	American Literature	<i>MA</i>	Medium Aevum
<i>AnglB</i>	Beiblatt zur Anglia	<i>MDU</i>	Monatshefte für den Unterricht
<i>APS</i>	Acta Philologica Scandinavica	<i>MLN</i>	Modern Language Notes
<i>Archiv</i>	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen	<i>MLQ</i>	Modern Language Quarterly
		<i>MLR</i>	Modern Language Review
<i>AS</i>	American Speech	<i>MP</i>	Modern Philology
<i>BA</i>	Books Abroad	<i>NEQ</i>	New England Quarterly
<i>BH</i>	Bulletin Hispanique	<i>N&Q</i>	Notes and Queries
<i>CFQ</i>	California Folklore Quarterly	<i>PMLA</i>	Pubs Mod Lang Ass'n of Am.
<i>ELH</i>	Journal of English Literary History	<i>PQ</i>	Philological Quarterly
<i>ES</i>	Englische Studien	<i>RES</i>	Review of English Studies
<i>FQ</i>	French Quarterly	<i>RFH</i>	Revista de filología Hispánica
<i>FR</i>	French Review	<i>RHL</i>	Revue d'Histoire Litt de la France
<i>GQ</i>	Germanic Quarterly	<i>RLC</i>	Revue de Littérature Comparée
<i>GR</i>	German Review	<i>RR</i>	Romanic Review
<i>HFB</i>	Hoosier Folklore Bulletin	<i>SAB</i>	Shakespeare Assoc Bulletin
<i>Hisp</i>	Hispania	<i>SFQ</i>	Southern Folklore Quarterly
<i>HLQ</i>	Huntington Library Quarterly	<i>SP</i>	Studies in Philology
<i>HR</i>	Hispanic Review	<i>SS</i>	Scandinavian Studies
<i>Ital</i>	Italica	<i>TFSB</i>	Tennessee Folklore Soc Bulletin
<i>JA</i>	Journal of Aesthetics	<i>TFSP</i>	Texas Folklore Society Pubs
<i>JAF</i>	Journal of American Folk-Lore	<i>ZRP</i>	Zeitschrift für Roman Philologie
<i>JEGP</i>	Journal of English and German Philology	<i>ZFSL</i>	Zeitschrift für Slavische Sprache und Literatur
<i>JHI</i>	Journal of the History of Ideas		

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BY ALBERT C. BAUGH WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF ALLAN G CHESTER
AND MATTHIAS A. SHABER

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Cox, Ernest H. "Shakespeare and some Conventions of Old Age" *SP*, XXXIX 36-46

Shakespeare's descriptions of old age for the most part correspond to conventional medieval conceptions

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Doran, Madeleine "An Evaluation of Evidence in Shakespearean Textual Criticism" *Eng Inst Annual*, 1941, pp. 95-114

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Finds that "the Beatrice and Benedick plot progresses by stages at once logical and psychological to a reasonable comic end"

———"Et in Illyria Feste" *SAB*, xvii 25-32

Conclusion of the article in xvi 220-228

Durham, W H "What Art Thou, Angelo?" *Univ of Calif Pub in English*, viii (1941) 155-174

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Durilin, S "Ira Aldridge" *SAB*, xvii 33-39

An account of the American Negro actor who played Shakespeare in Russia, 1858-1867

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Evans, G Blakemore "Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*—A Seventeenth Century Manuscript" *JEGP*, xli 401-417

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Grace, William J "The Cosmic Sense in Shakespearean Tragedy" *Sewanee Rev*, i 433-445.

"As a fiction, and as a deliberate dramatic irony in order to bring about tragic pity, Shakespeare deliberately blacks out from the conclusions of his tragedies the organic supernaturalism that is yet deeply part of his thinking"

Greer, C A "Revision and Adaptation in *1 Henry VI*." *Univ of Texas ... Studies in English*, 1942, pp 110-120

Further reasons for believing that the basis was a lost play.

Harmon, Alice "How Great Was Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne?" *PMLA*, lvii. 988-1008.

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Hastings, William T "The Hardboiled Shakspeare." *SAB*, xvii 114-125.

Breaks a lance in defense of *Titus Andronicus*, "a fine example of youthful power unleashed, even if taking a wayward direction alien to that of its later happy development."

Hinman, Charlton J K "The Printing of the First Quarto of *Othello*" *Univ. of Virginia Abstracts of Diss*, 1941, pp 5-8.

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Argues that *The Taming of the Shrew* and *The Taming of a Shrew* derive from a common source

———"Strata in *The Taming of the Shrew*" *SP*, xxxix 291-302.

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Jackson, James L "The Exchange of Weapons in *Hamlet*" *MLN*, LVII 50-55

Argues that left-hand seizure was the method intended by Shakespeare

——— "The Fencing Actor-Lines in Shakspeare's Plays" *MLN*, LVII 615-621

Fencing parts fell almost entirely to Burbage and Sly

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On the play's "remarkable fidelity to the spirit of the times"

Kennedy, Milton B *The Oration in Shakespeare* Chapel Hill

King, Thomson "The Taming of the Shrew." *SAB*, XVII 73-79

Kokeritz, Helge "Shakespeare's *night-rule*." *Language*, XVIII 40-44

Rule is a variant of *revel* and not the word *rule*, regula

Langdale, A Barnett. "Did Shakespeare Miss the Road to Warkworth?" *SAB*, XVII. 156-159

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Law, Robert A "An Echo of Homer in *Henry the Fifth*." *Univ of Texas . . Studies in English*, 1942, pp 105-109

Lawrence, William W "Troilus, Cressida and Thersites" *MLR*, XXXVII 422-437.

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McCloskey, John C. "Fear of the People as a Minor Motive in Shakspeare" *SAB*, XVII 67-72.

Mackenzie, W Roy "Rosencrantz and Guildenstern" *Washington Univ Stud, New Series, Lang and Lit.*, No 14, pp 221-244 (Shipley Festschrift).
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Mc Manaway, James G "The License for Shakespeare's Marriage" *MLN*, LVII. 450-451

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A revision of *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* ("The Cambridge Poets," 1906)

Nutt, Sarah M "The Arctic Voyages of William Barents in Probable Relation to Certain of Shakespeare's Plays." *SP*, XXXIX. 240-264

Seeks the sources of passages in eight plays in de Veer's narrative of Barent's three voyages

Ogburn, Vincent H "*The Merry Wives* Quarto, a Farce Interlude" *PMLA*, LVII 654-660

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Phelps, John. "The Source of *Love's Labour's Lost*" *SAB*, XVII. 97-102

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Pitcher, Seymour M "Two Notes on Shakespeare" *PQ*, XXI 239-240
 "Launcelot's Blessing" (*Merch of Ven*, II ii) and "Alas, Poor Yorick"

Potts, Abbie F "Spenserian 'Courtesy' and 'Temperance' in *Much Ado about Nothing*" *SAB*, XVII 103-111, 126-133

Traces parallels between Beatrice and Miabella (and other characters), Hero and Serena, Claudio and Calidore, Benedick and Braggadochio

Prior, Moody E "The Play Scene in *Hamlet*" *ELH*, ix 188-197

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Sampley, Arthur M "Hamlet among the Mechanists" *SAB*, XVII 134-149
 Structures on the views of C M Lewis, Robertson, Stoll, and T S Eliot

Smith, Lewis W "Shakespeare and the Speaking Line" *Poet Lore*, XLVIII 61-70

In Shakespeare's blank verse, dramatic lines (in which the second, fourth, and fifth or the third and fifth stresses are heavy) gradually prevail over lyrical lines (the first, third, and fifth stresses are heavy), this development might be used as a test of the sequence of the plays

Smith, M Ellwood "Note on 'Shakespeare in America'" *SAB*, XVII 61-62
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Spencer, Hazelton "Shakespearean Cuts in Restoration Dublin" *PMLA*, LVII 575-576

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Spencer, Theodore *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man* N Y (Lowell Lectures, 1942)

——— "Appearance and Reality in Shakespeare's Last Plays." *MP*, XXXIX. 265-274

Contends that the last plays affirm the beauty of humanity purged of evil and that in thus resolving the conflict between good and evil as his contemporaries conceived it—the bestiality of human nature v the capacity of the soul "to couple herself with the nature of angels"—Shakespeare worked out an original solution of the problem

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Tannenbaum, Samuel A "Shakespeare and his Contemporaries (A Classified Bibliography for 1941)" *SAB*, XVII. 2-17.

"Index of Names and Subjects," by Ralph P. Rosenberg, pp. 18-24

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Wales, Julia G. "Horatio's Commentary: A Study on the Warp and Woof of *Hamlet*" *SAB*, XVII 40-56

On the sources

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On the influence of *Hero and Leander* in the play

Walsh, Groesbeck, and Pool, R. M. "Laterality Dominance in Shakespeare's Plays" *Southern Medicine & Surgery*, CIV 51-58

Watkins, W. B. C. "The Two Techniques in *King Lear*" *RES*, XVIII 1-26

The first part of the paper discusses resemblances between *Richard II* and *King Lear*, the remainder considers the techniques

Webster, Margaret *Shakespeare Without Tears* N. Y.

Whitridge, Arnold "Shakespeare and Delacroix" *SAB*, XVII 167-183

See SECTION III, *s v* Hornstein, SECTION IX, *s v* Tennyson, HARRISON, AMERICAN LITERATURE, SECTION III, *s v* Whitman, Falk, GERMANIC, SECTION II, Scandinavian Countries, *s v* Oehlenschläger, Willey

Sidney. Dowlin, Cornell M. "Sidney's Two Definitions of Poetry" *MLQ*, III 573-581

——— Gilbert, Allan H. "A Poem Wrongly Attributed to Sidney" *MLN*, LVII 264.

A poem attributed to Sidney in *Englands Parnassus* is a stanza from the *Faerie Queene*

Wiles, A. G. D. "Parallel Analyses of the Two Versions of Sidney's *Arcadia*" *SP*, XXXIX 167-206

A detailed comparison, leading to the conclusion that the revised version is artistically superior

Sir John Oldcastle. Adkins, Mary G. M. "Sixteenth-Century Religious and Political Implications in *Sir John Oldcastle*" *Univ. of Texas Studies in English*, 1942, pp. 86-104

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——— Bennett, Josephine W. *The Evolution of "The Faerie Queene"* Chicago

——— "Spenser's Garden of Adonis Revisited" *JEGP*, XLI 53-78.

A study of *FQ*, III, VI, 29-50, devoted very largely to controverting views advanced by Brents Stirling (*PMLA*, XLIX 501-538), and re-affirming her belief in the neo-Platonic sources of the passage

Baldwin, T. W. "The Genesis of Some Passages Which Spenser Borrowed from Marlowe" *ELH*, IX 157-187.

A study of the sources of the passages in *Tamburlaine* which parallel those in Spenser indicates clearly that Spenser was the borrower and suggests a dating around the end of 1587 for the composition of the first two books of the *Faerie Queene*.

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Gottfried, Rudolf "The 'G. W Senior' and 'G W I' of Spenser's *Amoretti*" *MLQ*, III 543-546

Heffner, Ray "Spenser's *View of Ireland* Some Observations." *MLQ*, III 507-515

Hulbert, Viola B "Diggon Davie" *JEGP*, xli 349-367

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Hutton, James "Spenser and the 'Cinq Points en Amours'" *MLN*, LVII 657-661.

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Landrum, Grace W "Imagery in the *Faerie Queene* Based on Domestic and Occupational Life" *SAB*, xvii 190-199 (To be continued)

Mc Clennan, Joshua "Allegory and the *Faerie Queene*" *Harvard Univ. . . Summaries of Theses* 1940, pp 350-353

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———"Spenser and the Graces" *PQ*, xxi 268-282.

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———"Spenser and the Muses" *Univ of Texas Studies in English*, 1942, pp 31-58.

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Sterling, Brents "Spenser's Platonic Garden" *JEGP*, xli 482-486

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Stoll, Elmer E "Criticisms Criticized Spenser and Milton" *JEGP*, xli. 451-477.

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VIII SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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Houghton, Walter E, Jr "The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century" *JHI*, III 51-73, 190-219

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Knowles, Edin B, Jr *Four Articles on Don Quixote in England* N Y, 1941
Selections from a N Y Univ diss The first item, "*Don Quixote* in England before 1660," appears here for the first time The remaining items are reprints from *PQ*, *HR*, and *Hisp*, and have been listed in previous issues of the American Bibliography

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Gay, Robert M "Browne's *Hydriotaphia*" *Explicator*, I, item 11.

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Burnet. Rodman, George B "Bishop Burnet and the Thought of His Own Time" *Summaries of Doctoral Diss*, *Univ of Wisconsin*, vi 291-293

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A bibliographical study.

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Duncan, Edgar H "Donne's Alchemical Figures" *ELH*, IX 272-585

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Donne's taste for "strong austere music leads him to avoid the full sensuous melody" of conventional rhyme by choosing rhyme-words without overtones, by rhyming masculine and feminine endings, and above all by cultivating runover lines, the taste for such a style runs parallel to the seventeenth-century vogue of "Attic" prose

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Stevenson, Allan H "James Shirley and the Actors at the First Irish Theater." *MP*, XL 147-160.

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Parker, William R "Milton and Edward Phillips" *LTLS*, Feb 28, 1942, p 108

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——— "Milton on King James the Second" *MLQ*, III 41-44

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An examination of Milton's references to cosmological phenomena in both his prose and his verse.

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An account of the obsequies based on the MS records of Prior's executors

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Robinson, Henry. See above, *s v* **Parker**, Jordan

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Rowlands, Samuel. Waith, Eugene M "Samuel Rowlands and *Humor's Antique Faces*" *RES*, XVIII 213-219

The last nine epigrams appear also in *Humors Looking Glasse* This and other reasons suggest Rowland's authorship of both collections

S., G. Parker, William R (ed) *The Dignity of Kingship Asserted by G S Reproduced in Facsimile from the Edition of 1660* N Y (*Facsimile Text Society*, No 53)

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Cites evidence from the poems to prove Vaughan's participation in the wars

—— "A Critical and Interpretative Study of Henry Vaughan as a Secular Poet" *Ohio State Univ Abstracts of Doctors' Diss*, No 36, pp 215-220

Walley, Harold R "The Strange Case of *Olor Iscanus*" *RES*, XVIII 27-37
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Walton. Coon, Arthur M "The Life of Izaak Walton" *Cornell Univ Abstracts of Theses* . 1938 (1939), pp. 26-28.

Wheloc, Abraham. See above, *s v* **Miscellaneous**, Utley

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IX EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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Defends his views (*PQ*, XIX. 244-260) against the criticism of Mr Moore (*PQ*, XX 38-45) Mr. Moore's rejoinder follows (p. 424).

Barker, Arthur " ' . . And on his Crest Sat Horror' Eighteenth century Interpretations of Milton's Sublimity and his Satan " *Univ of Toronto Qu*, xi 421-436

Illustrates the tendency of romantic ideas and emotions, in the eighteenth century, to cluster about a widening concept of the sublime in eighteenth century criticism of Milton

Bush, May D "Rational Proof of the Deity from the Order of Nature " *ELH*, ix 288-319

On the development of this theme in the scientific, philosophical, and poetical writings of the eighteenth century

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By THOMAS H JOHNSON

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BY EDWIN B. WILLIAMS

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BY HENRY W NORDMEYER

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RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

By FREDERICK MORGAN PADELFORD, President
of the Association

FORTY-FOUR years ago I first attended a meeting of the Modern Language Association. That was upon the advice of Professor Albert S Cook, who remarked that since at Charlottesville I would be seeking a post for the following year it would be well to meet the men in the profession. From the point of view of the market place it was not a paying investment, for one glance at my boyish countenance was apparently enough to satisfy the most indiscriminating employer that my services would be costly at any price. In every other respect, however, the venture did pay, for I then became aware that, youth and ignorance to the contrary, I had become a member of a nation-wide guild of scholars

That was long before the days of Group meetings, and all the papers were presented in general sessions. The committee had generously allowed me a place on the program and I read—not without trepidation in the presence of such formidable scholars as Von Jagemann, Gudeman, Grandgent, Hempl, and Gayley—a paper on “Old English musical terms.” The instruments were illustrated with wash drawings made by my roommate, Charles G. Osgood. Thus early our scholarship was a cooperative enterprise. In those days every paper was discussed, an ordeal that I had awaited with some apprehension. When mine was mercifully handled by Professors Baker, Bright, and Greene—all of the Johns Hopkins University—I felt a sense of gratitude that a half century has not erased.

All told, there were twenty-three papers. Two of them I remember distinctly. One was by Professor Grandgent on “From Franklin to Lowell, a century of New England pronunciation,” in which with inimitable humor, the author, laying aside his manuscript, read sentimental eighteenth-century love letters as they would have been pronounced by Benjamin Franklin. The other was on “Experiments in translating Anglo-Saxon poetry,” in which the enthusiastic linguist threw back his head and chanted his translation of *Beowulf* in stentorian tones that would have shaken the rafters of the stoutest mead-hall. The unexpected laughter that greeted this performance completely baffled the bard.

The total membership of the Association for 1898 was 509, and in spirit there were two associations, for the Central Division had its own officers and held its own meetings. The attendance at Charlottesville was almost strictly confined to members from the Atlantic seaboard and was probably well under one hundred. This made for informality and intimacy. For two graduate students from Yale the high points of the meeting were a leisurely afternoon trip through the pleasant countryside to Monticello, and a gra-

cious dinner in the hospitable home of Professor and Mrs. Harrison. The serenity and mellowness of the University quite won our hearts and a purely casual inquiry by Professor Kent as to my future raised the naive hope that the University of Virginia would deem it desirable to insert a bit of unpolished rock from the Maine coast into its academic structure. Little did I then dream that I would spend my life in helping to build a university on the remote western shore.

The early constitution of the Association provided that "The object of this Association shall be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures." It was therefore quite in accord with the declared purpose of the Association that one session was devoted to a report of the so-called Committee of Twelve, "appointed (a) to consider the position of the Modern Languages (French and German) in Secondary Education, (b) to examine into and make recommendations upon methods of instruction, the training of teachers, and such other questions connected with the teaching of the Modern Languages in the Secondary Schools and the Colleges as in the judgment of the Committee may require consideration."

In line with this activity, at the corresponding meeting of the Central Division, held at the University of Nebraska, the President, Professor C. Alphonso Smith, addressed the members on "The Work of the Modern Language Association of America." In this address he traced briefly the steps by which the modern languages had gained recognition in American schools and colleges, overcoming the prejudice entertained against them because of the prestige of Latin and Greek and demonstrating their practical and cultural value. In this connection he recalled the sympathetic support received from science departments, for "during the second meeting of the Modern Language Association of America (1884), a Committee from the Society of Naturalists of the Eastern United States presented the following resolution: 'That the Society of Naturalists of the Eastern United States, recognizing the great importance of a thorough knowledge of Modern Languages, especially of French and German, to students of Natural History, regard it as a hopeful sign that a Conference of Professors in this department is now assembled at Columbia College, and hereby express their hearty sympathy with this work'." That was in 1884. During that decade and the following the modern languages came into their own.

It was in my freshman year that French and German gained honorable recognition on the Colby College campus. From a remote past there had been a public exercise known as "Senior Orations with Junior Parts." This exercise was held in the Baptist Church because of its large seating capacity. —We took our culture seriously in the nineties. The Junior Parts were merely orations spun from the inner resources of the participants, but the

Senior Orations furnished the real feast, the *pièces de resistance*. Traditionally there were two of these orations, assigned to the two seniors who stood first and second in rank. The first orator delivered his own translation of a Latin oration turned into Greek, the second orator, his version of a Greek oration turned into Latin. Now in the spring of 1893, the insistence of the recently appointed Professor of Modern Languages—a German from the University of Kiel—won the concession that there should be two more senior orations, assigned to the two men who stood third and fourth in the class, one to be French turned into German, and the other German turned into French. Of course the supremacy of Greek and Latin was not to be questioned, but it was something for the modern tongues to be heard from the same platform.

During the first decade and a half in the present century the modern languages were increasingly studied, and enjoyed growing public favor. It was only a question of which should prosper the more, French or German, and there existed a rivalry which for the most part was healthy and controlled. French enjoyed a cultural recognition that dated from the seventeenth century, but German found its advocates in our German-American citizenry and in a generation of American scholars in the various disciplines who had received their graduate training in the German universities.

Then came the World War and German fell into a disfavor from which it had only partly recovered when the present war began. With naïve insularity the American people first took the attitude that they would show their scorn for Germany by refusing to learn her language. Then when the war venom had somewhat spent itself, the internal conditions of Germany were such that she no longer was making the significant scientific and cultural contributions that had given her prestige for half a century or more. Scholars themselves found little that was significant as they scanned the thinning pages of the German periodicals. As a consequence, French profited at the expense of German. There was also an appreciable increase in the study of Spanish, and to a lesser degree of Italian.

In the meantime, the years from 1900 to 1930 saw an unprecedented expansion in the study of English. The graduate schools were taxed to train enough men and women to meet this demand. English seemed to be the fair-haired child in the academic world.

The years from 1931 to 1941, however, witnessed something of a decline in the relative standing not only of the modern languages and literatures, including English, but of all the humanistic disciplines. This shift was the result of many factors. One, of course, was the amazing strides that, as the result of our inventive genius, were made in mechanics and in all branches of engineering, and which for the time tended to distort values, confusing ends and means, the intrinsic and the extrinsic. Surrounded with mechanical gadgets, and increasingly dependent upon them for our creature comforts

and our practical efficiency, we were inclined to take a mechanistic view of life. Another factor was the vast and complex social changes taking place in the world, which occasioned a swing to the social sciences—economics, political science, and sociology. How effectively these disciplines can direct such changes remains to be seen, but the past decade has certainly seen them in the saddle. A third factor was the lowering of the norm of academic intelligence which resulted from the policy of keeping all boys and girls in school until a certain age and the desire of parents to give their children a college education, regardless of interest or ability. It is axiomatic that the more we reduce the mean of academic intelligence, the more the humanities will be neglected in favor of manual and vocational skills and techniques.

During the current year the humanities have suffered a still further eclipse because of the war. Those students who have not already entered the Service or the war industries are emphasizing courses related to the war effort. Some alarmists foresee the end of the traditional American college and of non-technical education. I cannot share this pessimistic view. I think we have every reason to believe that our people will wish to return to normal ways of living as soon as possible after the war is ended, and that our youth will flock back to our colleges and universities as soon as they are released from the Service.

But that the humanities, which have been on trial for several years, will continue to be on trial after the duration, can hardly be doubted. Such organizations as the American Historical Society, the American Philosophical Society, Phi Beta Kappa, and our own organization all recognize the seriousness of the situation and are seeking ways and means to influence public opinion in favor of humanistic studies. Such being the case, the future welfare of English and the modern foreign languages as disciplines would seem to be a proper subject to discuss at this time.

I recognize, of course, that such a discussion is outlawed by a strict interpretation of our Constitution. We have seen that in the earlier days the Modern Language Association was concerned in part with the problem of instruction and the training of teachers. By 1929, however, the Association had come to feel that as an organization it no longer needed to stress such matters and consequently reworded Article II of its Constitution to read: "The object of the Association shall be the advancement of *research* in the modern languages and literatures." Since that time the programs have been restricted to research. Such ancillary organizations as the American Association of Teachers of French, the Secondary Education Board, and the College English Association—to name but three—which have taken over the problems of curriculum and teaching that once concerned the Association as such, are allowed to meet in conjunction with the Association but not to encroach upon the time reserved for the Association's own programs.

The Association, however, cannot afford to be snuffy and to ignore these

problems of teaching, because its own welfare is involved. If the languages and literatures were to suffer a partial eclipse, the Association would suffer in exact proportion. That the Association is aware of this is evident from its own willingness to violate its Constitution as shown by the authorization of the "Commission on Trends in Education," which has already sponsored two admirable publications. Perhaps one might put up a case for the constitutionality of this commission by arguing that since the object of the Association is the advancement of research, it is legitimate for the Association to defend the jobs which make research workers possible.

So I feel some assurance that the Association will not take me to task for giving my views on a subject of such immediate concern to all of its members. Before doing so, however, may I pause for a moment to survey in retrospect the impressive achievements of our Association in its self-appointed task of furthering research. Our members constitute an army of workers who have been pursuing scholarly studies in all of the modern languages and in all the periods of the literatures involved. In American literature, a relatively new field, our scholarship is, as would be expected, preeminent, in English literature we far surpass England herself in the volume of research in every period, and while some of the work is superficial, or pedestrian, much of it is of highest quality. One has but to summarize the contributions of American scholars to our knowledge of Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Johnson, Wordsworth, and a host of lesser men to realize how large a share of the best scholarship in the field of English letters has been the work of Americans.

In Germanics, scholarship in German-American literary relations is, naturally, outstanding in the United States. But a glance at the production in bibliographies, surveys and monographs, in such fields as philology, the later Middle Ages, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and especially in the eighteenth century and the Romantic period, will show what fruits scholarship in Germanics has brought forth in this country.

In the Romance field, our scholars have made linguistic studies now regarded as fundamental to the history of French, Provençal, Spanish, Italian, and Rumanian; and these theoretical formulations have been accompanied by scores of carefully edited texts. In the province of literary history the investigations have frequently reached a high level and in Hispanic literary history our scholars have made the most voluminous contribution of any nation, and perhaps the most valuable in its aggregate worth.

What would the men who, somewhat timidly and somewhat on the defensive, founded the Association sixty years ago have thought if they could have foreseen the fruits of their action, the extent of the annual bibliographies of the members, which require well over one hundred pages in the

official publication, and the number and character of the journals issued in America. All honor, then, to the Association for its fine past.

But the past does not secure the future, and we are all aware of an increasing concern for the status of languages and literatures as academic subjects. We have witnessed the melancholy decline of Latin and Greek, and we wonder if a like fate awaits modern foreign languages and English. Are they also to be shoved to the wall? This brings us back to our main subject.

So far as English composition and foreign languages as tool subjects are concerned, I think we have nothing to fear. English composition will always be required because the practical need for it is so great. Society cannot get along without it and will insist that it be well taught. To be sure, in the past the study of the modern foreign languages, even as tool subjects, has met with a good deal of opposition, but that has been because of our insularity. Since physically and culturally the United States has been the most isolated of nations, we have never really felt the need of knowing these languages. Save for the Mexicans, whose culture has only recently interested us, we have no neighbors who speak a different tongue, and we have been so absorbed in the material conquest of a rich continent that we have had little time or inclination seriously to concern ourselves with the affairs of other peoples. But that era is gone forever, and as a nation we shall inevitably play a greatly increased rôle in international affairs.

The teachers of foreign languages may well take heart, for however dark the momentary outlook, when this war is over foreign languages will be regarded as a necessary part of training, with both business and diplomacy putting a premium upon proficiency in them. Moreover, economic and political relations inevitably pave the way for cultural relations, as all history teaches. It will be to the immediate advantage of these disciplines that, through the various foreign language societies, such careful study of teaching techniques has been made in recent years.

But what of the study of literature? Is it to be discarded as Latin and Greek before it? I believe that while the situation is extremely grave, the answer to that question lies entirely with us. If the study of literature should come to occupy a very subordinate place in the curricula of our colleges and universities, and of our secondary schools as well—and there is danger that this may take place—we teachers of literature would be to blame. We could not honestly lay our defeat to the changing social order or the absorption of the age in things mechanical. We hold in our hands the best cards in the scholastic pack, we are rich in trumps, and if we haven't sense enough to play them, we shall have no one but ourselves to blame if the game is lost.

In saying that we hold the trump cards I mean exactly that, I mean that, human nature being what it is, there is no other subject in the curriculum that can make an appeal comparable to that of literature, if only it is prop-

erly presented. If our courses in literature are failing to attract students, it is not because of any fundamental changes in society, it is because our teaching, for some reason, is ineffective. A fresh survey of the subject will, I think, make this apparent.

Broadly speaking, courses in literature embrace (1) the study of literary history and (2) the experiencing of literature. Sometimes these activities are carried on independently of one another; sometimes they are fused. Neither one can be neglected by a department that appreciates its responsibility.

Literary history is an important, indeed an essential, branch of history. It deals with the thought of the race as men have consciously sought to give it, or have unconsciously succeeded in giving it, permanent and beautiful expression. Thus the funeral oration of Pericles was consciously written with this end in mind, the Gettysburg Speech achieved it without premeditation or artistic awareness. The two addresses alike became immortal.

Literary history, like any other branch of history, may concern itself with minute and highly detailed studies of a phenomenon or of an occurrence that falls within its field. Thus it may deal with problems of authorship, text, language, metrics, sources, interpretation, and the like, studies that are legitimate, and in fact necessary. In its broader aspects, however, literary history seeks to interpret phenomena as a part of the chain of human experience. Men and schools are studied with reference to the times which produced them and the prevailing climate of opinion, and then in turn with reference to their impact upon succeeding generations. Thus to interpret Emerson, one must know the physical characteristics of New England, understand the social, economic, and religious *mores* of the predominately middle-class Calvinistic folk who inhabited it, and be versed in the German transcendental movement, and to appreciate the influence which Emerson exerted upon his own and succeeding generations, one must be able to trace the changes which his doctrines effected in the American sense of values and outlook, disentangling his influence from those which stemmed from other sources. In other words, the problem is to determine what Emerson did to the American scene. It is a task that calls for wide learning, balanced judgment, and delicate insight.

To put it differently, the centre of interest may be a literary phenomenon—a writer, a school of writers, or a literary type—or it may lie outside of the literary phenomenon, which is studied only as an aid to the interpretation of something else. Thus one may study the Puritan writings for the light that they throw on Puritanism, as Professor Haller has actually done in his admirable volume. As a matter of fact, studies of this latter sort are destined to receive increasing attention because of the shift of emphasis in the study of history itself from political to social phenomena. The fences that once separated scholars trained in history from those trained in literature have

been coming down, and the two groups are found working harmoniously in the same garden. To recognize this, one need but recall Parrington's *Main Currents*, Professor Ralph H. Gabriel's *The Course of American Democratic Thought*, Professor Thomas F. Crane's *Italian Social Customs in the Sixteenth Century* and Dr. Louis Wight's *Middle-class Culture in Elizabethan England*. The techniques employed are essentially the same: the assembling and ordering of data and the formulating and testing of hypotheses, processes which require the most delicate and refined powers for correct analysis, and breadth and comprehensiveness of understanding for synthesis.

The study of literary history can therefore be justified on the same grounds as the study of political and social history. It can be adequately defended purely on the ground that it satisfies the very human desire to know. In that sense it has an intrinsic value, without reference to an end beyond itself. But as a branch of the history of culture, it has great extrinsic value as well, for it helps to supply that knowledge of the past and of the mind of man without which any attempt to understand present-day society or to direct its course is futile. To be sure, our knowledge of the past never fully explains the present because the present is always so enormously complex that some factors escape detection, even so, such knowledge as we have is indispensable to the solving of current problems.

In one very important respect, however, literary history differs in its ends from other branches of history: it prepares one for the understanding, realization, and enjoyment of literature itself. It helps to prepare one to *experience literature*. This brings us to a consideration of the study of literature *as literature*.

However desirable the study of literary history, it is by no means so fundamental as the study of the literature itself. Too often in our schools and colleges it is offered as a substitute, or as a partial substitute. No such substitution is possible, however, for literature studied and experienced as literature has an absolutely unique service to perform in our system of education. No other subject can possibly take its place. This unique service is nothing less than the training and discipline of the feelings.

The feelings play an essential part in the infinitely varied situations which confront the individual, both those which concern him alone and those which involve his relations to others. If the judicial faculty and the feelings are equally developed, they correct and complement each other and the result is a finely balanced personality, but if on the one hand, the feelings are crude and coarse, or, on the other hand, capricious or unrestrained through lack of discipline, the judgment itself is not to be trusted. Life is a constant series of adjustments, and one's happiness and influence are directly proportioned to his attitudes as determined by the harmonious cooperation of disciplined judgment and disciplined emotions.

As a distinguished American philosopher has written, "Education of the

feelings, which both requires and makes possible acquaintance with an increasingly wide variety of feelings, brings about the development of the capacity to discriminate among feelings—the capacity to discern among them differences, likenesses, and other relations of which we were before unconscious. Discrimination or discernment is commonly described as the capacity to ‘tell the difference,’ and this is substantially correct. But more accurately it is the capacity not so much to tell as to notice a difference and, indeed, not exclusively a difference but equally a likeness or other relation to which persons not having had the sort of education now under consideration would be blind.

“Only a moment’s reflection is needed to perceive how essential a part of the education of a complete man, and how important not only to the sensibilities but often even to the happiness of those with whom he comes in contact, is this capacity in him to distinguish nuances of feeling more subtle and relationships between them less obvious than those which spontaneously thrust themselves upon everyone . . . This sensitiveness and capacity for fine discrimination alone makes possible the intuitive apprehension of another’s temperament and a sympathetic insight into his scheme of values, his motives, his problems, his ideals and aspirations, or in general into the meaning or the puzzle which life presents from his unique point of view. It is thus the indispensable foundation for tactful dealing with others and for accurate appreciation of the endless variety of human relationships and human situations.”¹

In defining the man fully established in the virtues, Aristotle says that such a man will feel the right emotion and just the right degree of emotion under all circumstances. One needs only to have this stated, to agree with it. No society is commendable, indeed no society is safe, if the feeling-dimensions of its citizens are undeveloped or subject to caprice. In a democracy, of all societies, where the health of the nation is the health of the average citizen, disciplined emotional life is absolutely necessary for the national well being.

The intellect and the emotions are constantly acting and reacting upon each other, and one plays as large a part in life as the other. Yet the surprising thing is that we build our educational programs primarily upon *intellectual* education and assume that the emotional life will take care of itself. Of course this is nonsense. To be sure, the home and the Church play a part in this education of the feelings, but increasingly the responsibility for the rounded training of youth is placed upon the schools.

Such being the case, provision for this training of the feelings, this disci-

¹ C. J. Ducasse, “Are the Humanities Worth Their Keep?”, *The American Scholar*, vi (1937), 462–463.

pline of the emotions, this maturing of the sentiments must be found in the teaching of literature. Literature is able to satisfy the emotions because it gratifies that insistent desire for adventure, that eager thrust into the unknown and unrealized, which, compounded of both thought and feeling, is one of the most fundamental of human urges. This craving for fresh experience is with man from the first dawn of consciousness until the last spark of life flickers into ashes. To this end literature "ransacks the ages, spoils the climes." Such is the power of the imagination that we react to the characters and situations encountered in reading, to the things said and done, as if we were meeting them in real life. They become a part of the very texture of our experience. *We* bid farewell to Calypso, turn our frail craft seaward and smite the sounding furrows; *we* shoulder aged Priam and fight our way through the flaming gates of Troy, *we* see Matilda gathering flowers on the farther bank of the stream or Beatrice sweetly smiling beyond the cruel flames, *we* ponder with Hamlet whether it is best to be or not to be, *we* pour the molten metal upon the mad crowd beneath the cathedral walls; *we* look down from the magic mount upon the life of the valley.

Our everyday living tends to fall into a routine in which we fail to see the import of the things that we do, the beauty that surrounds us, the potentialities of the lives that we touch. But literature quickens our appreciation and understanding, and liberates us. It brings out the values of life by placing it against a proper background. It sorts and rearranges these values, thrusting aside the trifling and the ephemeral, and exalting the significant and the permanent. It makes us aware that things seemingly of great moment may count for little or nothing, and that things apparently of little moment may be fraught with the greatest consequence.

We need not concern ourselves with the age-old debate over the question of whether the end of literature, as one of the fine arts, is merely to delight, to teach and delight, or to teach through delight. It is enough for our purpose to recognize that the proper reading of it does enlarge one's experience, sharpen his perceptions, and refine his feelings.

I have said the proper reading, because literature as often taught and studied does not produce these results. By the proper reading I mean the actual experiencing of a piece of literature—be it poetry, drama, novel, or story—whereby, through the imagination, one makes the experience portrayed his own. As Professor A. C. Bradley expressed it in his first Oxford lecture, "An actual poem is the succession of experiences—sounds, images, thoughts, emotions—through which we pass when we are reading as poetically as we can."² These printed characters arranged before us on a white page are not a poem, they are not the "Ode to the West Wind," they are but

² A. C. Bradley, *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* (Macmillan, 1926), p. 4.

symbols of what a poet once thought and felt in a moment or a period of intense living, but such is the recreative power of the imagination that it can transform these symbols into life again; or perhaps it would be more accurate to say the imagination can pass through the gateway of these symbols into a living experience. The Ode exists, then, only when some one is experiencing it

To enable young people to experience literature, to enable them to live vicariously in a world of vivid thoughts and emotions from which they return to what—for want of a better term—we call *actual* life more wise, more just, more gentle, more humane, is the highest use to which the teaching of literature can be put. As a recent writer has happily expressed it, literature is “worthy of study because human beings need the finest values other human beings have to give”³

Literary history is, as I have tried to say above, a perfectly legitimate, indeed, an important field of academic study, but it is not to be confused with the experiencing of literature. Both fall within the province of departments of literature, but they are different activities and require different approaches and techniques. We must not lose sight of the fact that just as one may be thoroughly schooled in theology and yet know nothing of religion as a personal experience, so one may know a vast deal *about* a piece of literature and yet not really know it, because he has never experienced it. Thus one may be thoroughly familiar with the life of Coleridge, may be versed in English prosody, may have read volumes on the Romantic Movement, may have traversed all the long and fascinating road to Xanadu, and yet may never have entered the magic realm, never seen the stately pleasure dome, never gazed into the measureless caverns. But so far as our students are concerned, the supremely important thing is that they enter and see.

If literature is to be a living experience for students, how is this end to be secured? What further is required than that we assign the books to be read, trust that they will take, and turn to our research with a free conscience. Alas! there is no such royal highway, for it is only when a lad is really ready for it that he can experience literature. If his reading were to be confined to the strictly contemporary scene there would be less for us to do, for to a considerable degree he would already be oriented in the society out of which that reading sprang, but if the literature derives from some earlier period—and certainly we wish to liberate him from the narrow confines of the present—then the strangeness of time and place and language must be overcome. The reader must first come to feel at home in a new society where differences of custom and perhaps of speech hinder his recognition of the essential kinship of humanity. Thus if he is to read the *Canterbury Tales* he

³ Thomas Clark Pollock, *The Nature of Literature* (Princeton Press), 1942, p. xiii.

must first become familiar with strange manners and dress and modes of life, to say nothing of archaic language, before he is prepared to be one of the goodly company of the pilgrims. Again, if he is to read Jane Austen he must acquire something of the spirit of the time and feel not too self-conscious or critical in a society of satin hose and ostrich plumes, where ladies and gentlemen converse in genteel Johnsonian periods, before he can enjoy what Meredith has declared to be the most perfect expression of the comic spirit in English. Even the reading of modern literature often requires preliminary adjustments before the student is ready to enjoy it. For example, he is not prepared to read *Swann's Way* until he knows something of Proust's philosophy and in imagination at least accepts the thesis that the present lives in the past and the past in the present in a way to a degree not commonly recognized and that the real in human personality is discovered in flashes of memory. Then for most of the literature of the past there is the need of working through critical notes that explain allusions, clarify language, and otherwise elucidate the text.

It is the office of the teacher to see that the student is thus prepared to experience any given piece of literature; it is equally his office to see that the student actually does experience it. Too often it happens that the preparation is mistaken for the end or that the two activities are so confused that the student is given no opportunity, much less encouragement, to enjoy the great adventure. It requires abandon and it does not suffer interruption. I am satisfied that the principal reason why so many college students shy away from what they call the "classics" and look back with distaste upon their high school training in English is that they never really lived the literature assigned them. They never got sufficiently away from notes to lose themselves in the play, the poem, or the story. It is like preparing all the plans and specifications for a house but never building it; or like constructing the scenery, making the costumes, learning the lines, but never giving the play.

To help the student to experience the literature requires both sensitiveness and resource. The instructor is responsible for bringing two minds together, and he must be able so to lend himself to the literature under consideration that the student finds in him the reflection of that which he is reading. For the moment, he embodies the thoughts and emotions of the original and thereby adds a warmth and intensity. To this end it is most important that the instructor be able to read aloud so sympathetically that the written page comes to life in the very tones of his voice. So essential is this that one who cannot thus read has no business to attempt the teaching of literature. He may be able to teach literary history or linguistics or criticism, but he cannot teach literature.

After a student has thus experienced literature, the instructor has yet to

contribute a most valuable service, for the student is then prepared, and usually eager, to discuss what he has read with some one whose judgment he respects and whose companionship he enjoys. Here is the congenial occasion for reviewing that which has been read, analyzing the experiences portrayed, their sincerity and truth to life, their social, ethical, and spiritual implications, and the effectiveness of their presentation. The contribution of the instructor at this stage will be exactly proportioned to his sensibilities, his insight into character, his knowledge of life, his aesthetic maturity. He interprets life to the living. This does not mean that he takes the centre of the stage and puts on a show or that he obtrudes his personality, for his opinions are likely to be more valued if they are sought rather than gratuitously presented. But his whole personality comes into play and reveals itself far more completely than in the teaching of any other subject. His students partake of his life, he not only gives them ideas, but he gives them *himself*.

Surely it is not out of place on such an occasion as this to dwell upon these pedagogical details, for if it is the responsibility of teachers of literature in school and college to mold the sentiments, to establish the attitudes, to train the feelings of a whole generation of young people, then it is of supreme moment that we know how to handle the job. Perhaps we have been only partly aware of what is at stake. Perhaps our modesty or the apathy that results from an oft-repeated task has made us more or less insensible of the importance of what we are doing. But we hold a key position and our responsibility is very great. Certainly if the teaching is what it should be there is no subject in the curriculum to rival ours in its appeal, for it does not merely deal with life, it *is* life.

We have that for which men are longing, even though they may be only partly aware of it, or not aware of it at all. For we must not forget that by nature man is imaginative rather than practical, and that he pays to the practical only so much heed as the harsh necessities of life force upon him. It is popular in certain quarters to speak of literature as an escape from life. No, it is not an escape *from* life, it is an escape *into* life. It is an escape from a mechanized world which spells death to the human spirit, into a free world where the human spirit can expand. Once a student has entered this world he knows its value and he knows the road which leads to it.

The sum of the whole matter is this: the study of literary history, revealing what man has thought and felt in the past and illuminating the present, should commend itself to all students of an inquiring and philosophical type of mind. The study of literature *per se* is universal in its appeal. Together, literary history and literature present an offering of unparalleled attractiveness.

A member of this Association has recently drawn up for the Commission on Trends in Education a very able defense of the study of literature. It is

hard to see how the case could be more eloquently and convincingly stated. But it is my considered opinion that this document will do its greatest service to the members of the Association themselves by giving us a new realization of our high calling and our social responsibility. After all, who else will be convinced of its validity? College presidents and deans, our colleagues, superintendents and principals of schools, editors of educational journals? They all have their own firsthand experience in literature courses to check against it, and I fear many of them will be conscious of a great disparity between theory and practice. On a recent date there were in the United States 3,407,331 college graduates twenty-five years of age or older. To this number may be added a few hundred thousand under that age. Almost all of these graduates had three years of English in high school and at least one year in college, and most of them had some exposure to foreign literatures. What have they to say about the value of their study of literature? If a majority feel that it was a rich experience, we need have no fears. If they do not feel so about it, then it is time for us to find out why.

At this particular stage in the national life, it is peculiarly incumbent upon us to live up to the full measure of our responsibility as teachers of literature. Thousands of young men now in our classes will shortly be drawn into the great struggle. Are we fortifying their spirits, are we giving them something real to take with them? The other day one of my friends who was on a train from Portland to Seattle chanced to be seated with a young draftee from the University of Oregon en route to Camp Lewis. The lad was reading the *Oxford Book of English Verse*. Somebody had done something for that lad.

On the other hand, in these days of feverish unrest, we should not forget that we are scholars as well, and that when our day's teaching has been done and our war tasks have been performed, it is our duty in calmness of spirit to return to our libraries and to carry on our research, which, if it be well done, is not for a day but for all time.

Frederick Morgan Padelford
1875-1942

ON December 3, 1942, in Pasadena, Dean Frederick M. Padelford, President of the Modern Language Association for 1942, died suddenly of coronary thrombosis. He was on his way to preside at the annual meeting of the Association which was to have been held in New York. His death imposes a grave and irreparable loss upon American humanistic education and scholarship. It falls unhappily at a moment when our humanistic culture, in its present peril, can least spare the kind of support and service to which Dean Padelford devoted his whole life.

Frederick Morgan Padelford was born of a clerical family, in Haverhill, Massachusetts, on February 27, 1875. He attained to the degree of B.A. at Colby College in 1896, and of Ph.D. at Yale in 1899.

His three years at Yale under the training of the late Albert S. Cook were highly significant in the shaping of his career. In the graduate study of those days teacher and student were usually on intimate and informal terms with one another, and perhaps the best teaching went on through personal and unprescribed association. Cook had brought back from Germany the severe scientific discipline in the study of literature which English, just then coming into its own, sorely needed for substantial qualification among the Liberal Arts. But such discipline, though essential, Cook administered as a lesser part of the whole subject. He used it, and taught others to use it, without compromise in the service of humanistic appreciation in the largest sense, an appreciation through imagination, emotion, and intellect, convertible into living and fertile personality.

Instinct with such ideas and their corollaries, and abounding with a youthful enthusiasm which never ebbed, Padelford went, a newly fledged doctor, to the University of Idaho, and after two years, in 1901, to the University of Washington, where he spent the remaining forty-one years of his life. He saw the University's registration grow from 600 students to 14,000. In this expansion he played a determinant part. But into the institution's less visible and more essential growth, its standards, its culture, its ideals, he infused his energies and projected his counsel unsparingly. Whether as administrator, teacher, or scholar, he deployed his powers with equal balance and effect.

All this service has been illuminated with his characteristic gay and buoyant spirit, and warmed by reflection from the genial hearth of his family where hundreds of students and friends have found cheer and comfort.



Frederick Morgan Padelford
1875-1942

With all else he found time and energy for service to his city and community. He served as a trustee of the Seattle Public Library, and of the Art Museum, and was at one time President of the Art Institute.

From academic and civic bounds his influence, through his inspired students and writings, has gone forth into all the regions of English literary scholarship. Honors and calls to other institutions have followed one another, but these were not the matter of his quest.

His talents as administrator, teacher, and scholar were tempered in rare balance, unless indeed we should think of them as but three manifestations of one talent. He loved affairs, not with ambition or a taste for intrigue, but with something of the same gust that he satisfied in golf or handball, or in the contest with nature in hunting, or cruising, or mountain-climbing. It was a game. But the stakes were in terms of service rendered. He bore his part with patience, tact, humor, sympathy, fair generosity. His quiet pointing of the real issue often settled the dust of prolonged and confused discussion. No struggling, or even negligible, aspirant ever felt himself neglected or ignored by the Dean, or went out unblessed by his compassion. But his allegiance to high standards of honest culture were none the less unexceptional and steady. Without seeming to fight, he won. Or, if he lost, he did not give up, but rose cheerfully again to the everlasting issue, and came through somehow without enemies.

In like manner his whole personality went into his teaching—his warmth, his drollery, his sympathy, his keen and accurate search for a student's real potential, his careful nurture of such powers by the particular means of literature—all with a single clear conception before him of the happier and more effective person which that student might, with his help, turn out to be. Fitting it is that his last utterance, his Presidential Address, published in this issue, should embody his reason of faith in the study of literature and his doctrine of the art of teaching it.

He understood young people by a kind of divination, partly because he never forgot the common frustrations and dissatisfactions, as well as the joys, of his own youth; and partly because an unfailing abundance of youth welled up in his own irrepressible nature. It was thus that he met the exhausting demands of his last year, and took his very end easily in his stride.

Padelford's performance as a scholar expressed his whole nature as much as did his teaching or his part in affairs. The Bibliography of his writings, running to nearly ninety items, published in the December number of *The Modern Language Quarterly* (pages 519-524), tells the story. The dates of these items show how unremitting were his inquiries. About one third of them are concerned with Edmund Spenser, and illustrate how his interest concentrated on this poet more and more with the years. His studies in Spenser were principally occupied with the ideas that entered into the com-

position of Spenser's poetry—theological, political, philosophical, and social—with Spenser's part in the tradition of chivalry and his affinity with the thought and temper of the Renaissance. But Padelford could on occasion take off his coat and descend to wrestle with a date or a text, to "settle *hoti's* business" or a statistical matter of vocabulary.

Nearly a third of the list treats of other Elizabethan and Tudor poets, especially Wyatt and Surrey. The rest of the titles range through various fields. Among other works in the list are his translations from Plutarch, Basil, and Scaliger, on the art and effect of poetry (1902, 1905), his edition of *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics* (1907), his edition of Surrey (1920, revised 1928). For more than a dozen years he has lavished his knowledge, skill, and energy upon the *Variorum Edition of Spenser's Works*, both as one of the General Editors, and as Special Editor of Books I (1932) and III (1934) of the *Faery Queen*, and, with others, of Books VI and VII (1938). It would be impossible to describe or measure his generous share in this laborious project.

Perhaps his most conspicuous feat as a scholar was his discovery in 1932 of the lost translation, certainly by Spenser, of the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Axiochus*, of which no copy had been seen or accurately described by a Spenserian scholar for nearly two hundred years. This text Padelford recognized, reclaimed, and identified in an exhaustive edition (1934).

Lastly, just before his death, he completed and prepared for press the *Spenser Allusion Book*, originally proposed and sponsored by the Spenser Group in this Association, and carried forward under the editorship of the late Ray Heffner. For this book Padelford has supplied a long and detailed prefatory essay on the influence of Spenser before 1700. There is a present hope and possibility that this book may appear as one of the volumes in the *Variorum Edition*.

As a scholar Padelford was strict, sceptical, untiring, tolerating no research for mere research's sake. He never suffered from the scholar's melancholy which is emulation. His most highly specialized work was never cloistered and irrelevant to life. He was a humanist in the best sense, whose humanism transcended the bounds of academic specialism, and drew into its sunny scope men and women of all types and followings, business, politics, art, the professions, and not least of all, hundreds of inconspicuous people who were notable for character or quality, or for humor in any sense old or new.

C. G. O.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

THE Secretary, under date of 30 December, 1942, records as his formal report the following five items:

1. The Supplement of 1941 and the four quarterly numbers of *PMLA*, Vol. LVII (including in the Supplement and June and December issues the Meetings and Acts of the Executive Council)

2. Of the 21 books named in the cancelled *Program* (page 3) the 7 issued in 1942 and the 4 planned as forthcoming.

[To these may now be added "Old English Glosses," by Professor Herbert Dean Meritt *General Series*]

3. A grant of \$50 00 from the income of the Research Fund to the American Dialect Society.

4. Membership in the Association totalling 3945 (in 1941, 4304), a loss of 359 members. All members are in good standing. The 39 Honorary Members are not included, nor are some 430 subscribing libraries.

5. No grant received—The total for 1935-42 remains \$65,515 00. Proceeds from books in 1942 exceeded \$4300.00 (in 1941, \$2000 00).

The loss in membership comes chiefly from the fringe of those who join for a year or two under the influence of a local Annual Meeting. Actually the loss from nonpayment of dues was 100 members fewer than in 1941, but the cancellation of the Annual Meeting cut short the usual inflow of new members.

Apart from this we have sustained the loss by death of two Honorary Members, Michele Barbi and Robert W Chambers, and of 25 members, among whom (for the second time) is our President, Dean Padelford, whose *Presidential Address* and *Vita* are printed above. Other members widely known and deeply regretted are Louis Cons, Herbert E. Greene, Ray L. Heffner, Henry B. Hinkley, Ernst H. Mensel, Josiah H. Penniman, William F. Thrall, and Kenneth G. T. Webster. By resignation, chiefly in January, we have lost 108 members (6 in 1941, 87 in 1940). The October 1st loss of 452 was largely reduced by 183 reinstatements, and the access of 115 new members (with 41 more for 1943).

The Association has been represented on the following occasions:

At the Séance inaugurale de l'Ecole libre des hautes Etudes, New York, N Y, by Professor Frédéric Ernst of New York University February 14

At the Centenary Celebration of the American Oriental Society in Boston and Cambridge, Massachusetts, by Professor F. N. Robinson of Harvard University April 7-10

At the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the American Council on Education in Chicago, Illinois, by Professor Robert Herndon Fife of Columbia University

May 1-2

At the One Hundredth Anniversary of Hollins College, Virginia, by Professor Carl Y. Connor of Sweet Briar College

May 31-June 1

At the Inauguration of Harry Noble Wright as President of the College of the City of New York by Professor George O. Curme of White Plains, New York

September 30

At the Institute of Inter-American Affairs in Boston University by Professor J. D. M. Ford of Harvard University

December 4

As Chairman of the Editorial Committee, the Secretary reports.

1. The March and June, 1943, issues of *PMLA* have been sent to the printers, and all accepted papers have been prepared for printing. These suffice to fill Volume LVIII but no more.

2. The distribution of the 63 articles in Volume LVII is as follows: American Literature 3 papers, 43 pages; Celtic 1 paper, 7 pages; Comparative Literature 1 paper, 30 pages; English before 1600, 17 papers, 270 pages; English after 1600, 16 papers, 312 pages; French 8 papers, 108 pages; Italian, Spanish and Portuguese 5 papers, 112 pages; Germanic 11 papers, 308 pages.

3. The Editorial Committee has revised and greatly improved its list of some 400 consultants, whose prompt and thorough reports are of immeasurable aid.

As Chairman of the Program Committee, the Secretary reports:

1. Cancellation of the Annual Meeting on December 5th was made by unanimous direction of the Advisory Committee of the Executive Council (see *PMLA*, LVII, 593), in compliance with a direct request (November 30th) to the Association made by the Office of Defense Transportation.

2. No certain announcement can yet be made regarding the next Annual Meeting, except that under our Constitution it should be Eastern.

3. To the body of some 350 officers and committeemen the Program Committee expresses gratitude for their prompt and helpful cooperation under unusual difficulties.

The Association in 1918, under date of Armistice Day, cancelled the Annual Meeting because of a threatened coal shortage. Difficulty of transportation is again the determining cause of cancellation.

PERCY W. LONG, *Secretary*

TREASURER'S REPORT

SUMMARY OF FUNDS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1942 AND 1941, AND COMPARISON

	Sept 30, 1942	Sept 30, 1941	Increase
General Funds			
Permanent Fund			
Investments (at book value)	\$ 49,013 04	\$ 48,566 29	\$ 446 75
Cash	238 55	10 67	227 88
Current Account—Cash	724 56	2,514 67	1,790 11*
Total	\$ 49,976 15	\$ 51,091 63	\$1,115 48*
Monograph Funds			
Endowment Fund			
Investments (at book value)	\$ 22,841 08	\$ 22,652 43	\$ 188 65
Cash		37 56	37 56*
Current Account—Cash	67 57	42 67	24 90
Total	\$ 22,908 65	\$ 22,732 66	\$ 175 99
Research Funds			
Endowment Fund			
Investments (at book value)	\$ 10,473 52	\$ 10,343 41	\$ 130 11
Cash	26 42	75 24	48 82*
Current Account—Cash	609 95	2,164 53	1,554 58*
Total	\$ 11,109 89	\$ 12,583.18	\$1,473.29*
Rotograph Funds			
Invested Fund			
Investments (at book value)	\$ 4,959 51	\$ 4,959 51	
Cash	40 49	40 49	
Current Account—Cash	2,714 65	2,433 21	\$ 281 44
Total	\$ 7,714 65	\$ 7,433 21	\$ 281 44
Emergency Fund—Cash	\$ 31 65	\$ 1,014 44	\$ 982 79*
Revolving Book Fund—Cash	\$ 235 28	\$ 2,487.59	\$2,252 31*
Joint Photostat Service—Cash	\$ 849.73	\$ 841 98	\$ 7 75
Variorum Shakespeare—Cash	\$ 5,208 26	\$ 5,166 02	\$ 42 24
Carnegie Shakespeare Grant—Cash	\$ 8,500 49	\$ 7,159 57	\$1,340 92
General Book Fund—Cash	\$ 614 83	\$ 358 24	\$ 256 59
Trends in Education—Cash	\$ 1 99	\$ 1.99	
Council Fund—Cash	\$ 357 89		\$ 357.89
Total	\$107,509.46	\$110,870 51	\$3,361 05*

FUND RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE
YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1942

A CURRENT ACCOUNT

BALANCE, October 1, 1941

\$ 2,514 67

RECEIPTS

Membership Dues		
Life Memberships	\$ 192 00	
Annual Memberships	17,157 11	\$17,349 11
	<hr/>	
Library Subscriptions		2,264 75
Sale of Advertising Space		2,585 20
Income on Investments		
Permanent Fund (less service charges \$78 80)	\$ 1,489 30	
Monograph Endowment Fund	1,071 81	
Research Endowment Fund	378 73	
Rotograph Invested Fund	133 70	3,073 54
	<hr/>	
Sales		
<i>PMLA</i>	\$ 413 79	
Reprints	105 28	
Monographs	504 47	
Research Fund Publications	19 85	
Revolving Fund Books	508 38	
Variorum Shakespeare	1,312 50	
General Series Books	1,985 21	
Council Fund Books	162 20	5,011 68
	<hr/>	
Collected for Other Societies		554 80
Miscellaneous		
Grants from American Council of Learned Societies	\$ 5,600 00	
Subsidies by Authors of Books	400 00	
Subscriptions to Rotograph Fund	1,650 00	
Return of 1940 and 1941 Advances, Various Funds	2,198 31	
Sundry	621 27	10,469 58
	<hr/>	
Total Receipts		41,308 66
		<hr/>
Total		\$43,823.33

DISBURSEMENTS

Quarterly <i>PMLA</i> (four numbers and paper stock)		\$12,641 32
Administrative Expenses		
Salaries		
Secretary and Editor	\$ 4,000 00	
Treasurer	2,500 00	
Clerical Staff	3,475 32	
Total Salaries	\$ 9,975.32	
Postage and Telephone	753 99	
Supplies and Express	250 03	
Office Printing	141 17	11,120 51
Miscellaneous Expenses		
Executive Council Meeting	\$ 944 82	
Committee Expenses	617 31	
Officers' Travelling Expenses (annual meeting)	176 54	
Audit of Treasurer's and Trustees' Accounts	225 00	
Treasurer's Bond and Local Insurance	125 22	
American Council of Learned Societies	75 00	
American Council on Education	10 00	
Circular and Program (annual meeting)	1,294 77	
Refund and Exchange	42 97	
Contribution to Council Fund	100 00	3,611 63
Collections Remitted to Others		559 14
Funds Transferred		
Dues from Life Memberships to Managing Trustee	\$ 192 00	
A C L S Grants to General Book Fund	3,600 00	
A C L S Grant to University Press	2,000 00	
Subsidies from authors to General Book Fund	200 00	
Subsidies to Research Fund publication	200 00	
Advances for account of Emergency Fund, 1942	623 31	
Transfer 2% of 1941 Membership Dues to General Book Fund	382 16	
Miscellaneous.	76 33	
Income on Investments		
Monograph Endowment Fund	1,071 81	
Research Endowment Fund	378 73	
Rotograph Invested Fund	133 70	
Rotograph Fund Subscriptions	1,650 00	
Sales		
Emergency Fund—40% Sales of <i>PMLA</i>	165 52	
Monograph Current Account—Books	504 47	
Research Current Account—Publications	19 85	
Revolving Book Fund—Books	508 38	
Carnegie Shakespeare Grant—Variorum Shakespeare	1,312 50	

General Book Fund—Books	\$ 1,985 21	
Council Fund—Books	162 20	\$ 15,166 17
Total Disbursements		<u>\$43,098 77</u>
BALANCE, Under Control of Treasurer, September 30, 1942		<u>\$ 724 56</u>

NOTE Advances for account of various funds to be returned to Current Account (\$1,298 12) of which \$623 31 was advanced this year

B MONOGRAPH CURRENT ACCOUNT

BALANCE, October 1, 1941		\$ 42 67
RECEIPTS:		
Interest on Bank Balance	\$ 1 12	
Income on Investments	1,071 81	
Sales of Monographs	504 47	1,577 40
Total		<u>\$ 1,620 07</u>

DISBURSEMENTS:

Manufacturing	\$904 21	
Advertising	85 00	
Distribution	15 17	
Editorial Assistance	8 31	
Transferred to Monograph Endowment Fund	39 81	
Return of 1940 Advance—To Current Account	500 00	1,552 50
BALANCE, Under Control of Treasurer, September 30, 1942		<u>\$ 67 57</u>

C. RESEARCH CURRENT ACCOUNT

BALANCE, October 1, 1941		\$ 2,164 53
RECEIPTS:		
Interest on Bank Balance	\$ 18 60	
Income on Investments	378.73	
Sales of Research Fund Publications	19 85	
Subsidies from Authors	200 00	617 18
Total		<u>\$ 2,781 71</u>

DISBURSEMENTS:

Manufacturing	\$ 296 76	
Advertising	25 00	
Grants Distributed	1,850 00	2,171.76

BALANCE, Under Control of Treasurer, September 30, 1942	\$ 609.95
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D. EMERGENCY FUND

BALANCE, October 1, 1941	\$ 1,014 44
RECEIPTS:	
40% of Office Sales of PMLA	165 52
Total	<u>\$ 1,179 96</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Return of 1940 and 1941 Advances—To Current Account		\$ 1,148 31
BALANCE, Under Control of Treasurer, September 30, 1942	. .	\$ 31 65

NOTE Advances from Current Account \$900 00 to meet bills during 1940 and 1942 to be paid to Current Account in 1943

E REVOLVING BOOK FUND

BALANCE, October 1, 1941	..	\$ 2,487 59
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RECEIPTS

Interest on Bank Balance	\$ 7 45	
Sales of Revolving Fund Books	508 38	515 83
Total	...	\$ 3,003 42

DISBURSEMENTS

Manufacturing	2,219 19	
Advertising	80 00	
Distribution	62 24	
Income from Sales—To Authors	406 71	2,768 14
BALANCE, Under Control of Treasurer, September 30, 1942		\$ 235 28

F. ROTOGRAPH CURRENT ACCOUNT

BALANCE, October 1, 1941	\$ 2,433.21
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RECEIPTS

Subscriptions to the Rotograph Fund	\$ 1,650 00	
Interest on Bank Balance	9 64	
Income on Investments	133 70	1,793 34
Total		\$ 4,226 55

DISBURSEMENTS

Purchase of Photographic Reproductions	\$ 1,232 24	
Administration	51.45	
Advertising	228 21	1,511 90
BALANCE, Under Control of Treasurer, September 30, 1942		\$ 2,714 65

G JOINT PHOTOSTAT SERVICE

BALANCE, October 1, 1941	\$ 841.98
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RECEIPTS:

Interest on Bank Balance	7 75
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BALANCE, Under Control of Treasurer, September 30, 1942 . .		\$ 849.73
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H VARIORUM SHAKESPEARE

<i>BALANCE</i> , October 1, 1941	.	.	.	\$ 5,166 02
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RECEIPTS

Interest on Bank Balance				42 24
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<i>BALANCE</i> , Under Control of Treasurer, September 30, 1942				\$ 5,208 26
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I CARNEGIE SHAKESPEARE GRANT

<i>BALANCE</i> , October 1, 1941				\$ 7,159 57
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RECEIPTS

Interest on Bank Balance		\$ 48 42		
Sales of Variorum Shakespeare		1,312 50	1,360 92	

Total				\$ 8,520 49
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DISBURSEMENTS

Advertising				20 00
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<i>BALANCE</i> , Under Control of Treasurer, September 30, 1942				\$ 8,500.49
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J GENERAL BOOK FUND

<i>BALANCE</i> , October 1, 1941				\$ 358 24
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RECEIPTS

Interest on Bank Balance		\$ 2 40		
Grants from A C L S and M L A		4,182 16		
Sales of General Series Books		1,985 21	6,169 77	

Total				\$ 6,528 01
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DISBURSEMENTS

Manufacturing		\$ 4,015 55		
Advertising		160 00		
Distributing		113 13		
Income from Sales—to Authors		124 50		
Transfer of Grants to Presses		950 00		
Return of 1941 Advances—to Current Account		550 00	5,913 18	

<i>BALANCE</i> , Under Control of Treasurer, September 30, 1942.				\$ 614 83
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K. TRENDS IN EDUCATION

<i>BALANCE</i> , October 1, 1941				\$ 1 99
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<i>BALANCE</i> , Under Control of Treasurer, September 30, 1942				\$ 1 99
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NOTE Advances from Current Account \$398 12 to meet bills in prior years to be paid to Current Account in 1943.

L COUNCIL FUND

RECEIPTS

Interest on Bank Balance	\$	7	65
Contributions		2,317	00
Sales		162	20
Total	\$	2,486	85

DISBURSEMENTS

Manufacturing	\$	2,083	43
Advertising		45	53
		2,128	96

BALANCE, Under Control of Treasurer, September 30, 1942	\$	357	89
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ACCOUNTANTS' CERTIFICATE

Executive Council of The Modern Language Association of America

We have made an examination of the cash receipts and disbursements of your Treasurer in charge of current funds of the Association in relation to the accompanying statements thereof for the year ended September 30, 1942

In our opinion, the accompanying Exhibits A to L, inclusive, set forth the Treasurer's cash receipts during the year as recorded, his disbursements during the year, and the cash balances in the respective funds under his control at September 30, 1942

HASKINS & SELLS
Certified Public Accountants

New York, November 30, 1942

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

THE Auditing Committee met on December 19, 1942, in the offices of the Secretary and Treasurer of the Association. The reports of the year ending September 30, 1942 as presented by the Treasurer were found to be correct and are certified herewith by the Committee. The detailed examination of the vouchers was done by Haskins and Sells, Certified Public Accountants, New York, N Y. The Committee wishes to express its appreciation of the devoted and competent work carried out by the Treasurer.

(signed) PHILIP M. PALMER, *Chairman*
 HARCOURT BROWN
 ROBERT R. CAWLEY

TRUSTEES' REPORT

M. PERMANENT FUND

SECURITIES ON DEPOSIT WITH THE UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK
SEPTEMBER 30, 1942

<i>Face Value</i>	<i>Bonds</i>	<i>Book Value</i>
\$ 3,000 00	Ann Arbor Railroad Company, First Mortgage 4% Bonds, due July 1, 1995, interest payable January 1, April 1, July 1, and October 1	\$ 2,395 50
2,500.00	Chicago, Terre Haute & Southeastern Railway Company, Income Mortgage 5% Bonds, due December 1, 1960, interest payable March 1 and September 1.	2,043 75
1,000 00	International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, 5% Debenture Bond, due February 1, 1955, interest payable February 1 and August 1	972 50
2,000 00	Missouri Pacific Railroad Company, General Mortgage 4% Bonds, due March 1, 1975, interest payable March 1 and September 1.	1,575 00
10,000 00	New York Central Railroad Company, Refunding and Improvement Mortgage 5% Bonds, Series "C," due October 1, 2013, interest payable April 1 and October 1.	9,110 94
1,066 67	Prudence Securities Corporation, Collateral Trust Cumulative Income 5½% Bonds, Series "A," due May 1, 1961, interest payable May 1 and November 1 Registered	747 01
875 00	Realty Associates Securities Corporation, Guaranteed Sinking Fund 5% Income Bond, due October 1, 1943, interest payable January 1 and July 1 Stamped Registered	842 50
2,000 00	Socony-Vacuum Oil Company, Inc., Debenture 3% Bonds, due July 1, 1964, interest payable January 1 and July 1	2,090 00
9,000 00	United States War Savings Bonds, Series "G," 2½%, dated October 1, 1941, due October 1, 1953, registered at 100 net, interest payable April 1 and October 1	9,000 00
3,450 00	United States of America 2½% Treasury Bonds, due September 15, 1948, interest payable March 15 and September 15	3,598 78
1,000 00	United States of America 2½% Treasury Bonds, due March 15, 1960/55, interest payable March 15 and September 15	1,030 01
3,000.00	Virginia & Southwestern Railway Company, First Consolidated Mortgage 5% Bonds, due April 1, 1958, interest payable April 1 and October 1.	2,707 50
8,000 00	Western Pacific Railroad Company, First Mortgage 5% Bonds, Series "A," due March 1, 1946, interest payable March 1 and September 1.	7,976 00

Bond and Mortgage

799.95	Participation certificate in bond of Langham Corporation for \$849,233 91, secured by mortgage on premises 135 Central Park West, due November 15, 1948, interest at 1½%, payable May and November 15. Guaranteed by the Prudence Company.	799.95
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Par Value

Stocks

40 shares of Wheeling Steel Corporation \$5 Cumulative Convertible Prior Preferred stock (no par value) and 20 shares of Common stock (no par value).

\$47,691 62

\$49,013.04

REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1942

RECEIPTS·

	Principal	Income
Balance carried forward from 1941 report	\$ 10 67	
From the Treasurer—Life Membership payments	192 00	
From the United States Trust Company of New York		
For the sale of \$7,400 United States of America 2½% Treasury Bonds, due September 15, 1952/50	7,966 56	
Accrued interest on above		\$ 9 25
For the sale of \$1,000 United States of America 2½% Treasury Bonds, due September 15, 1953/51	1,062 19	
Accrued interest on above		6 75
Second payment of 1% representing distribution on allowed claim under plan of reorganization for Prudence Company for Prudence Langham Bond and Mortgage	7 13	
Income on Investments		
Ann Arbor 1st 4% Bonds		120 00
Chicago, Terre Haute & Southeastern Mortgage 5% Bonds		125 00
International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation 5% Debenture		50 00
Participation Certificate 1½% in Bond of Langham Corporation		12 00
New York Central 5% Bonds		500.00
Prudence Securities Corporation 5½% Income Bonds		21 34
Realty Associates Securities 5% Bond		26 26
Socony-Vacuum Oil 3% Debentures		60 00
United States of America 2½% Treasury Bonds		86 26
United States of America 2½% Treasury Bonds		28 74
Virginia & Southwestern Railway 5% Bonds		150 00
United States War Savings Bonds, Series "G," 2½%		112 50
Wheeling Steel Corporation \$5 Cumulative Convertible Prior Preferred Stock		200 00
Wheeling Steel Corporation Common Stock		60 00
	\$ 9,238 55	\$1,568 10

DISBURSEMENTS

	<i>Principal</i>	<i>Income</i>
To the Treasurer, income on investments		\$1,489 30
To the United States Trust Company of New York		
For the purchase of \$9,000 United States War Savings Bonds, Series "G," 2½%, dated October 1, 1941, due October 1, 1953, registered at 100 net, interest April 1 and October 1	\$9,000 00	
For services rendered in safekeeping of securities, collection of income, etc., for the Permanent Fund Monograph Endowment Fund, Research Endowment Fund, and Rotograph Fund (their charge being 2½% of the income collected)		78 80
	<hr/> \$9,000 00	<hr/> \$1,568 10
Total Receipts	\$9,238 55	\$1,568 10
Total Disbursements	9,000 00	1,568 10
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Cash Balance on deposit with United States Trust Company of New York	\$ 238 55
	<hr/>	<hr/>

N MONOGRAPH ENDOWMENT FUND

SECURITIES ON DEPOSIT WITH THE UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY
OF NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 30, 1942

<i>Face Value</i>	<i>Bonds</i>	<i>Book Value</i>
\$ 2,000 00	Ann Arbor Railroad Company, First Mortgage 4% Bonds, due July 1, 1995, interest payable January 1, April 1, July 1, and October 1	\$ 1,597 00
2,500 00	Chicago, Terre Haute & Southeastern Railway Company, Income Mortgage 5% Bonds, due December 1, 1960, interest payable March 1 and September 1.	2,043 75
1,000 00	International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, 5% Debenture Bond, due February 1, 1955, interest payable February 1 and August 1	972 50
11,000 00	New York Central Railroad Company, Refunding and Improvement Mortgage 5% Bonds, Series "C," due October 1, 2013, interest payable April 1 and October 1	10,050 94
533 33	Prudence Securities Corporation, Collateral Trust Cumulative Income 5½% Bonds, Series "A," due May 1, 1961, interest payable May 1 and November 1. Registered	386 01
2,900 00	United States War Savings Bonds, Series "G," 2½%, dated October 1, 1941, due October 1, 1953, registered at 100 net, interest payable April 1 and October 1	2,900.00
900 00	United States of America 2½% Treasury Bonds, due March 15, 1960/55, interest payable March 15 and September 15.	936.11
2,000 00	Virginia & Southwestern Railway Company, First Consolidated Mortgage 5% Bonds, due April 1, 1958, interest payable April 1 and October 1.	1,805 00

Bonds and Mortgages

959 37	Participation certificate in bond of Krim Far Realty Corporation for \$94,500, secured by mortgage on premises S/W Corner Avenue Y and East 19th Street, Brooklyn, New York, due August 15, 1942, interest at 4½%, payable February 15th quarterly Guaranteed by Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Company	959 37
1,190.40	Participation certificate in bond of Wolcott Holding Corporation for \$38,262 48, secured by mortgage on premises 36-06 31st Avenue, Long Island City, due April 27, 1943, interest at 4½%, payable January 27th quarterly Guaranteed by the Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Company	1,190 40
<hr/>		<hr/>
\$24,983 10		\$22,841 08
<hr/>		<hr/>

REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1942

RECEIPTS.

	Principal	Income
Balance carried forward from 1941 report	\$ 37 56	
From the Treasurer—For investment	39 81	
From the United States Trust Company of New York		
For the sale of \$2,200 United States of America 2½% Treasury Bonds, due September 15, 1952/50	2,368 44	
Accrued interest on above		\$ 2 75
For the sale of \$400 United States of America 2½% Treasury Bonds, due December 15, 1953/51	424 88	
Accrued interest on above		2 70
Payment on account of principal of Krim Far Mortgage	3 81	
Payments on account of principal of Wolcott Mortgage	25 50	
Income on Investments		
Ann Arbor 1st 4% Bonds		80 00
Chicago, Terre Haute & Southeastern Mortgage 5% Bonds		125 00
International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation 5% Debenture		50 00
Participation Certificate 4½% in bond of Krim Far Realty Corporation		39 43
New York Central 5% Bonds		550 00
Prudence Securities Corporation 5½% Income Bonds		10 66
United States of America 2½% Treasury Bonds		25 88
United States War Savings Bonds, Series "G," 2½%		36 25
Virginia & Southwestern Railway 5% Bonds		100 00
Participation Certificate 4½% in bond of Wolcott Holding Corporation		49 14
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$2,900 00	\$1,071 81
	<hr/>	<hr/>

DISBURSEMENTS.

	<i>Principal</i>	<i>Income</i>
To the Treasurer, income on investments		\$1,071 81
To the United States Trust Company of New York		
For the purchase of \$2,900 United States War Savings Bonds, Series "G," 2½%, dated October 1, 1941, due October 1, 1953, registered at 100 net, interest payable April 1 and October 1	\$2,900 00	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$2,900 00	\$1,071 81
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total Receipts . . .	\$2,900 00	\$1,071 81
Total Disbursements	2,900 00	1,071 81
	<hr/>	<hr/>

O. RESEARCH ENDOWMENT FUND

SECURITIES ON DEPOSIT WITH THE UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK,
SEPTEMBER 30, 1942

<i>Face Value</i>	<i>Bonds</i>	<i>Book Value</i>
\$ 4,000 00	New York Central Railroad Company, Refunding and Improvement Mortgage 5% Bonds, Series "C," due October 1, 2013, interest payable April 1 and October 1.	\$ 3,644 37
2,400 00	United States War Savings Bonds, Series "G," 2½%, dated October 1, 1941, due October 1, 1953, registered at 100 net, interest payable April 1 and October 1	2,400 00
4,000 00	United States of America 3½% Treasury Bonds, due June 15, 1949, interest payable June 15 and December 15	3,912 50
500 00	United States of America 2½% Treasury Bonds, due March 15, 1960/55, interest payable March 15 and September 15	516 65
<hr/>		<hr/>
\$10,900 00		\$10,473 52
<hr/>		<hr/>

REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1942

RECEIPTS:

	<i>Principal</i>	<i>Income</i>
Balance carried forward from 1941 report	\$ 75 24	
From the United States Trust Company of New York:		
For the sale of \$1,000 United States of America 2½% Treasury Bonds, due September 15, 1952/50.	1,076 56	
Accrued interest on above		\$ 1.25
For the sale of \$1,200 United States of America 2½% Treasury Bonds, due December 15, 1953/51	1,274 62	
Accrued interest on above		8.10
Income on Investments.		
New York Central 5% Bonds . . .		200 00
United States of America 2½% Treasury Bonds		14 38
United States of America 3½% Treasury Bonds		125 00
United States War Savings Bonds, Series "G," 2½%		30.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$2,426 42	\$378.73
	<hr/>	<hr/>

DISBURSEMENTS:

	Principal	Income
To the Treasurer, income on investments		\$378 73
To the United States Trust Company of New York.		
For the purchase of \$2,400 United States Savings Bonds, Defense Series "G," 2½%, dated October 1, 1941, due October 1, 1953, registered at 100 net, interest payable April 1 and October 1	\$2,400 00	
	<u>\$2,400 00</u>	<u>\$378 73</u>
Total Receipts	\$2,426 42	\$378 73
Total Disbursements	<u>2,400 00</u>	<u>378 73</u>
Cash Balance on deposit with United States Trust Company of New York	\$ 26 42	

P. ROTOGRAPH INVESTED FUND

SECURITIES ON DEPOSIT WITH THE UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK,
SEPTEMBER 30, 1942

Face Value	Bonds	Book Value
\$4,650.00	United States of America 2½% Treasury Bonds, due March 15, 1960/55, interest payable March 15 and September 15.	\$4,959 51

REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1942

RECEIPTS

	Principal	Income
Balance carried forward from 1941 report	\$40 49	
From the United States Trust Company of New York		
Income on Investments		
United States of America 2½% Treasury Bonds ..		\$133 70
	<u>\$40.49</u>	<u>\$133 70</u>

DISBURSEMENTS:

	Principal	Income
To the Treasurer, income on investments.		\$133 70
Total Receipts ..	\$40 49	\$133.70
Total Disbursements		<u>133 70</u>

Cash Balance on deposit with United States Trust Company of New York.	\$40 49
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Respectfully submitted,
LEROY E. KIMBALL
GEORGE H. NETTLETON
WILLIAM A. NITZE
Trustees

ACCOUNTANTS' CERTIFICATE

Executive Council of The Modern Language Association of America

We have made an examination of the cash receipts and disbursements of the Trustees in charge of the permanent funds of your Association in relation to the accompanying statements thereof for the year ended September 30, 1942, and have obtained a confirmation from the custodian respecting securities held for account of the Trustees at September 30, 1942

In our opinion, the accompanying Exhibits M to P, inclusive, set forth the Trustees' cash receipts during the year as recorded, their disbursements during the year, and the securities and cash in the respective funds under their control at September 30, 1942

HASKINS & SELLS
Certified Public Accountants

New York, November 30, 1942

BUDGET FOR 1943

ESTIMATE OF EXPENDITURES

For Publishing <i>PMLA</i>	\$ 8,000 00
For Mandatory Transfers.	
To the Emergency Fund (40% Sales of <i>PMLA</i>)	100 00
For Administration	
Secretary	4,000 00
Treasurer	2,500 00
Clerical Assistance	2,860 00
Postage and Telephone	500 00
Supplies and Express	250 00
Office Printing	150 00
For Miscellaneous Purposes	
American Council of Learned Societies	75 00
American Council on Education	10 00
Committee Expenses .	300 00
Program	500 00
Bond	25 00
Public Audit	225 00
Total	<u>\$19,495 00</u>

ESTIMATE OF RECEIPTS:

From Membership Fees	\$14,000 00
From Library Subscriptions to <i>PMLA</i> .	2,200.00
From Advertising	1,600 00
From Income of Permanent Fund . .	1,500 00
From Sales of Back Numbers of <i>PMLA</i> .	250 00
Total	<u>\$19,550 00</u>

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PHOTOGRAPHIC
REPRODUCTIONS

By Professors THOMAS R. PALFREY and ROBERT H. WILLIAMS, *Co-chairmen*

ON this the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of what was originally called the Rotograph Fund, it seems appropriate to recall certain details in the history of our series of photographic reproductions. There is gratifying evidence that the Fund's contribution to research in the field of modern languages has far exceeded even the most sanguine expectations of the original committee.

For the original establishment of the Fund and its support during the earlier years of its existence, the Association owes a debt of gratitude to the foresight and generosity of librarians and a considerable number of individual scholars and publishers who were willing to contribute the sizeable fee of twenty-five dollars from which no immediate or personal returns were to be expected. The photographic process then in use was slow and expensive; in the records of early years it is not unusual to find grants of one or two hundred dollars for a single item. Requests for reproductions came in a haphazard way from a few individuals working in highly specialized fields. Approval was generally limited to requests for unique manuscript texts or extremely rare printed works. As a further restriction, preference was given to requests for material unobtainable in this country.

With the comparatively recent development of microfilm equipment, it became apparent that our service could and should expand. The cost of reproduction by the newer method was reduced to approximately one-tenth of the cost by the older method. Furthermore, our list of subscribers had gradually increased so that a considerable sum had been accumulated from the difference between income and expenditure. As a consequence it became possible to liberalize our policy as to selection of material to include manuscripts and rare books in this country as well as abroad, certain rather extensive collections of printed and manuscript material, runs of periodicals and even recent dissertations unobtainable on interlibrary loan. The more recent accessions listed in the last cumulation of our holdings, published a year ago, include an increasing number of items of general, rather than special, interest and value.

It is hoped that military priorities will not compel the suspension of distribution to our subscribers of annual dividends of 2,000 frames of microfilm. In spite of the fact that this offer, inaugurated in 1940, has greatly increased and complicated the Committee's work—entailing, as it does, much copying, bookkeeping, checking and correspondence—the extra burden has been cheerfully assumed by the co-chairmen who have been gratified by the enthusiastic appreciation shown by our subscribers and by the increasing utilization of microphotography in research by members of the Association. It is unfortunate, however, that a major portion of the additional work had to fall on the staff of the Library of Congress at a time when war-time demands were already overtaxing the resources of that institution. It is even possible that some of the economies effected by new photographic techniques may have to be allocated to the administration of our series.

During the past twenty years the names of well over two hundred individuals and institutions have appeared at various times in our annual lists of subscribers. Of the

65 subscribing institutions listed for 1942, many have been regular subscribers for years, some since the year the Fund was established. That we have maintained the same number of subscribers in 1942 as in 1941, if not precisely the same ones, indicates widespread recognition of the value of the service we are rendering and augurs well for the future of the collection.

As was to be expected, the extraordinary circumstances of the past year have curtailed the number of reproductions acquired. We have added 58 titles totalling 10,895 frames,—which represents the lowest amount of material reported for five years. The total number of titles in the collection as of January 1, 1943, comes to 799, consisting of 73,666 sheets of rotographs and 109,729 frames of microfilm. It should be noted that a certain number of the rotographs are being transferred to microfilm. Eventually it is hoped that all rotographs will be available in microfilm for distribution as dividends and to facilitate storage and loans, but until this has been accomplished we are extending our offer of a choice between the usual 2,000 frames of duplicate film and microfilm reproductions of 500 sheets of rotograph material, with the option of dividing orders between the two types of material in the proportion of four to one.

Until communications with the continent of Europe can be resumed, we shall be obliged to draw mainly upon materials located in the Western Hemisphere. The Committee will welcome proposals for photographing manuscripts, rare books and periodicals in this country which are not available on interlibrary loan and which would be of permanent value to our collection.

List of Subscribers for 1942 to the Fund for the Photographic Reproduction of Manuscripts and Rare Printed Books.

Brown University	Hunter College
Bucknell University	University of Illinois
University of Buffalo	Indiana University
University of California	University of Iowa
(all divisions, two subscriptions)	Johns Hopkins University
Catholic University of America	University of Kansas
University of Chicago	University of Michigan
University of Cincinnati	Middlebury College
City College, New York	University of Minnesota
University of Colorado	University of Missouri
Columbia University	Mount Holyoke College
Connecticut College for Women	Newberry Library
Cornell University	New York Public Library
Dartmouth College	New York University
University of Delaware	Northwestern University
Duke University	University of Notre Dame
University of Florida	Oberlin College
University of Georgia	Ohio State University
Goucher College	University of Oklahoma
Harvard University	Pennsylvania State College
Haverford College	University of Pennsylvania

Princeton University
University of Rochester
Rutgers University
St. John's University
Sarah Lawrence College
Smith College
University of Southern California
Stanford University
Swarthmore College
Syracuse University
Temple University
University of Tennessee

University of Texas
University of Toronto
Vassar College
University of Virginia
University of Washington
Wayne University
Wellesley College
Wesleyan University
Western Reserve University
Williams College
College of Wooster
Yale University

[65]

COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

Information Concerning Its Services

By Professor HOWARD LOWRY, *Secretary*

PREVIOUS statements of the work of this committee are to be found in the *PMLA* Supplements of 1935, and 1937 to 1941. These include directions to Groups or members who may wish to avail themselves of its services.

The routine work of the Committee consists in making small grants in aid of research and in securing larger grants in aid of publication. These are listed annually in the Secretary's Report. Under its auspices the Association issues its General Series, now containing fifteen volumes, and participates in joint publications with University Presses, now totaling twenty-two volumes. At its meeting of February 13-14 the Committee will consider applications that were presented by November, 1942. Those who wish to apply in 1943 should address the Secretary of the Association for aid either in publication or in research. At its October meeting the Committee will review applications made on or before July 1.

The Committee has been greatly assisted in its work by the advice it has received from experts in various fields who have, without remuneration, carefully examined and reported on projects or manuscripts submitted. Such outside assistance has been and will be necessary if the standards of publication in the General Series and with cooperation of University Presses are to be maintained. The Committee tries to bear in mind its responsibility to the Association and to the American Council of Learned Societies.

The Committee notes with pleasure the following projects of various sections or groups of the Association reported to it during the past three months.

American Literature: Publication of the periodical, *American Literature*.

Celtic Literature: Has under consideration the compilation of an index or glossary to Stokes and Strachan's *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*.

Comparative Literature III. Publication of annual bibliography in *Modern Language Quarterly*.

English III: Proposed volume of *Chaucer's Minor Sources*.

English VIII Bulletin, *A Johnsonian News Letter*, edited by Professor J. L. Clifford, of Lehigh University

English X Symposium, *The Reinterpretation of Victorian Literature*, by various members under chairmanship of Professor Joseph E. Baker, of the University of Iowa, almost ready for publication

French V Annual bibliography of publications and works in progress dealing with eighteenth-century French literature, distributed at meetings of the group.

French VI Bibliography of materials in nineteenth-century French literature available in Western Hemisphere

German III New subject-matter index for forty-nine volumes of Goethe's letters in the Weimar edition

Spanish I *Old Spanish Dictionary*, manuscript ready for publication

Spanish IV Preparation of *Diccionario Americano*, in collaboration with Committee on Co-ordination of Research of the Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana. The dictionary will list and explain, as a special feature, as many as possible of the words and expressions peculiar to Spanish America

General Topics VII Publication of accumulated annual bibliographies of the group on "The Relations of Literature and Science"

General Topics IX A finding list of the mottoes of *imprese*.

North American French Language and Literature. A critical edition of the best French Canadian Folk Songs, collected by Dr. Marius Barbeau, of the National Gallery, Ottawa.

The report of its Sub-committee on Fair Play in Research is appended

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON FAIR PLAY OF THE COMMITTEE ON
RESEARCH ACTIVITIES OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

The Sub-Committee on Fair Play has attempted to discover whether there is a possibility of arriving, at least approximately, at a consensus of opinion on the question: What is fair play in research, and what is not? The Committee felt that there was considerable uncertainty on such matters as the following.

I *Doctoral Dissertations*

- (a) How long may a graduate student whose subject of investigation has been announced, and approved by his department, reasonably "reserve" that subject as his own? Three years? Six? Indefinitely?
- (b) Is the recognition of any such prior lien desirable? Should rival investigations on the same subject be
 - (1) permitted without prejudice?
 - (2) encouraged?

II *Work in Progress* (M. H. R. A.)

- (a) Should the fact that a projected dissertation has been announced in Work in Progress, in any other scholarly journal, or in any publication by a M. L. A. group, modify the answers to the above questions? If so, how?
- (b) Should announcements of other kinds of scholarly projects in Work in Progress establish a prior lien? If so, in what sense? and for how long?

III *Unpublished Work, Especially MS Theses Accepted for Degrees*

- (a) Is a University, Library, or author justified in forbidding access to such work by duly qualified scholars?
- (b) Are any of them justified in throwing obstacles in the way of its use, with due acknowledgment, as if it were a published book?

IV *Privately Owned First Hand Documents*

Is it possible to express the consensus of scholarly opinion as to the rights of owners of such materials, and as to their responsibilities towards those who are competent to make scholarly use of them?

V *Reviews in Learned Journals*

Are editors of learned journals, in cases where a review (or a passage in a general review of a field) is decidedly condemnatory, under obligation to give the author of the book a chance to submit a brief reply to the adverse criticism for publication (a) in the same issue? (b) in the next? (c) in any?

The Sub-Committee on Fair Play did not send out a general questionnaire, but addressed its inquiries only to those professors and scholars who have had long experience in research and in the guidance of research, and to whom research is a major interest. The total number to whom we sent letters of inquiry was fifty-four, seventeen in Germanics, eighteen in Romance Languages, and nineteen in English, distributed throughout the larger Universities of the country. Nearly ninety per cent of these scholars responded (almost twice as many as would have replied to a general questionnaire), and the replies were so detailed and specific that they clearly indicated a decided interest in our problems. It seems to us that the following opinions represent the views of the preponderant majority of research scholars. It seems to us that it would be to the interest to graduate students, professors of graduate students, and the scholarly world as a whole, to give thoughtful consideration to these principles.

Question I. The only question on which there proved to be considerable difference of opinion, and no strong majority on either side, was the "reservation" of subjects under investigation for doctoral dissertations. There was, however, unanimous agreement that no subject should be considered "reserved" indefinitely, and only seven out of fifty respondents maintained that as long a period as six years should be allowed,—one of the seven even going so far as to say, "Three years for reservation is decidedly too short, six years may be too short a time for a man who is obliged to discontinue his studies for financial reasons."

Eighteen of the respondents thought three years a reasonable time for "reservation." But thirteen maintained that there should be no "reservation" whatever. As to the parallel question, numbered Ib, there was approximately the same division of opinion. It is perhaps significant that most of those who voted in favor of "reservation" stated no reasons, and seemed to accept the procedure as if it were traditional and did not require review or defense; whereas many of those against "reservation" set forth their reasons.

Twenty-four were in favor of permitting rival investigations, holding that the risk of serious duplication would be slight. In such cases of concurrent investigations,

those in charge should encourage frank and friendly correspondence between the investigators.

Both among those who voted for "reservation" and those who voted against it, there were some who felt that no strict rule covering all cases could be arrived at. Each case should be considered by itself, and settled on the basis of common sense and common decency.

In view of the fact that there is no definite majority on either side of the questions concerning "reservation," your Committee makes no recommendations regarding this matter. In its opinion, however, there is at present a stronger trend against taking the principle of "reservation" for granted or as obviously sound than there used to be.

Question II. To this question, an overwhelming majority, although they regard Work in Progress as a very desirable, indeed necessary instrument of scholarly progress, reply with an emphatic "No "

Question III. There is a strong preponderance of opinion (nearly four to one) that manuscript theses (whether A. M. theses or Ph.D.) accepted by universities and deposited in their libraries, should be made accessible to duly qualified scholars just as if they were published books, and may be used by such scholars with due acknowledgment and reference in the same manner as published books are used.

One professor mentioned the possible danger of plagiarism from granting free access to unpublished dissertations, but himself admitted it to be, on the basis of actual experience, negligible. He enclosed a letter from the reference-librarian of his University, which has always granted free access to such dissertations and theses, and which has not experienced any "flagrant misuse" of such freedom. When the author of such a dissertation or thesis is actively engaged on the preparation of a book on the subject in the very near future, a library may properly grant access to his manuscript only upon the user's agreement to respect and acknowledge the author's priority.

In short, A. M. theses and Ph. D. dissertations are publicly available "contributions to knowledge," but it is unethical for a scholar to draw substantial contributions from them, with or without acknowledgment, if the library in which he finds them advises him that the author expects to publish an article or a book on the subject in the near future.

Question IV. The greatest difficulty encountered has been with regard to Question IV,—Use of First-Hand Documents. Inquiries to collectors as a rule go unanswered. The best opinion on this matter seems to be summed up in the following quotations from a letter from Professor James M. Osborn to Professor Bernbaum . . . "collectors and dealers are owners of property, and a scholar must consider it as a property relationship. It is unfortunately true that in such matters the public good cannot be invoked; here as elsewhere in property relationships the legal position leaves little room for ethics."

"The place where I believe ethics does enter is in the cases where documents are owned by an institution, especially a university library and "reserved" for use by their own members. In some instances documents have been reserved with no specific student in mind but kept merely for future generations who may inhabit the local ivied walls. If your committee could promulgate some rules of fair play to cover

such cases, I believe it would perform a service to scholarship. In my own view, all documents in public institutions should be open to the use of the public. Of course, if someone is editing a document he should have the right to publish it first, but in the meantime other people should not be prohibited from referring to it or even basing conclusions on it."

Question V. A slight majority of those answering this question favors giving the authors a chance to rebut, some a chance in the same issue as the unfavorable criticism, more in the next issue. Some would leave this problem to the discretion of the editor.

One respondent remarks: "It will in my opinion be a great pity if your results confirm people in the desire to answer their reviewers. That is pure silliness in practically all cases. A prejudiced and unfair reviewer betrays himself and can be left at that!"

After pondering these opinions, your Committee feels that this is a problem that may safely be left to the editors of the learned journals. We do not believe that the journals, as at present conducted, refuse an author an opportunity to reply within a reasonable time to a review against which he can raise a substantial objection.

ERNEST BERNBAUM
WILLIAM KURRELMeyer
E. B. WILLIAMS

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON TRENDS IN EDUCATION

By HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE, *Chairman*

LIKE previous reports, this is an informal report by the Chairman of the Commission rather than a formal report adopted by the Commission. The opinions expressed are therefore those of the Chairman as an individual member.

The activity of the year is represented by the completed report on *Literature in American Education*, which, after careful consideration and the benefit of criticism from the members of the Commission and of the Executive Council, has been approved and authorized for publication in its final revised form. The actual writing of the report has been done by Professor Howard F. Lowry of Princeton University, to whom the Commission and the Association stand indebted for generous service.

The publication of *Literature in American Education* completes the first phase of the work of the Commission, as formulated during the first year of its life and announced in the Chairman's Report for 1940, namely "a formulation of the values and objectives of linguistic and literary studies." The subsequent phases were to have been devoted to studies as to the feasibility of attaining these objectives, revision of our statements, if necessary, in the light of these studies, and efforts to make our program effective. At the same time, it was the purpose of the Commission to work in cooperation with other groups, such as Phi Beta Kappa, the American Council of Learned Societies, the National Council of Teachers of English, the Association of College Teachers of English, the Classical groups, and others interested in the humanities, and Mr. Lowry and the Chairman were designated to act informally as a committee to stimulate discussion of the study of languages and literatures. (Something has been achieved in this last area, but without involving the Commission as such.)

Under present conditions, it seems to be impossible to carry out our program as originally outlined. Education at all levels is so affected by the war that any of the studies originally contemplated—even if it were possible to make them—would quickly have little but academic interest. Obviously they must be set aside for more favorable times. On the other hand, our two reports, on language and literature, are not affected to the same degree. They stand as “confessions of faith” in the human, social, democratic, and educational values of our fields. This is fortunate, not only because we sadly need something of the sort as a sheet-anchor in unfavorable seas, but because of the hope we cherish that they are a justification of the Commission’s existence and a proof that it has worked at the task set for it to do.

At the same time, no one can be satisfied with the conditions that now confront us. As I pointed out in my report last year, two dangers beset the study of languages and literatures, with consequent duties incumbent upon all those who think as we do about the importance of those studies. One is the duty of “keeping the lights of civilization burning,” as a “service to humanity, secondary only to the military and economic defense of the rights of humanity to ‘life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness’,” to quote the words of my last report. The other is to oppose the domination of American education by those whose “openly expressed contempt for content-knowledge, as illustrated by their use of such phrases as ‘mere information,’ ‘mere content-knowledge,’ even ‘mere literacy,’” clearly expose them as foes of our educational faith.

These dangers, these duties, are even more pressing now than a year ago. The effect of the war upon the whole field of the humanities, and indeed upon liberal education itself, is now cataclysmic in its proportions. Some university presidents tell us that we must reconcile ourselves to the fact that “liberal education is one of the casualties of the war,” but there is more of positive faith in President Conant’s words in his latest annual report:

Personally I have not the slightest doubt that the liberal arts will survive the war. Indeed, the chances favor a period of renewed vigor once the war is won. Those who are so fearful about the future of the liberal arts tradition manifest a surprising lack of faith in the vitality of this tradition. Conceivably the humanistic studies cannot weather a period of hibernation while we win the war. But if that is so, the war will be the proximate, not the real cause of their demise. What is much more probable is a new period of growth and evolution. The extent and speed of this rehabilitation will depend on the imagination and statesmanship of those who now teach the liberal arts.

At the risk of being accused of adopting one of the less objectionable words from the educationist jargon, President Conant’s words present a “challenge.” How to meet it is a problem not for us alone, but for all believers in the humane tradition. It is my own hope that it will be met. Our Commission, its members, and the members of the Association as a whole will, I am sure, work in cooperation with all similar groups to make that “new period of growth and evolution” a reality. For the individual, it means that he must work harder than ever, keep an open mind, be alert as to ways in which his own field can contribute to the winning of the war and the assurance of a just and lasting peace. With meetings “out,” probably “for the duration,” the fate of the humanities depends more than ever upon the work of the individual scholar and teacher.

I do not admit that this is or needs to be "hibernation," as President Cozzani calls it, for the liberal arts and humanistic studies, but it certainly does mean adaptation. First things must be put first, but we will be pardoned if from time to time we remind our countrymen that the humanistic tradition is one of the things we are supposed to be fighting for, and that its chief enemies have long been those who precipitated the slaughter. Contempt for books and bookish men, denunciations of "intellectualism," praise of the "blessings of illiteracy," the physical and moral destruction of great universities, the enslavement of science and learning to the service of barbarous political ends—are characteristic of the things we fight. Unfortunately some of them are also characteristic of the things we fight, and mean to fight (I am speaking here for myself, at least), in American education.

This has been admirably brought out by Professor V. A. McCrossen in his article "How Totalitarian Is Our Education?" published in the *Association of American Colleges Bulletin* for October, 1942. I cannot too strongly commend this article to the members of the Association. They should read it, and see to it that parents, and members of boards of education—not to mention college presidents and trustees—also have an opportunity to read it. (It might even make an impression on superintendents of schools or Professors of Education.) Professor McCrossen has made an exhaustive study of totalitarian pronouncements on education. He shows how closely they correspond, even in phraseology, to denunciations by certain American educationists of the "traditional," "aristocratic," "clerical" type of education known as liberal arts. The quotation from *Mein Kampf* which I have borrowed from Mr. McCrossen to use in the foreword of *Literature in American Education* is representative. "The fault with German education in the last century is that it produced men who liked books." Rereading of *What the High Schools Ought to Teach* and other obscurantist educational pronouncements of the pre-Pearl Harbor period in the light of Professor McCrossen's article is an interesting experience.* "The first of these totalitarian movements in education," Professor McCrossen

* One of the chief criticisms of this document, aside from its almost complete indifference to the above-average boy or girl in our schools, is its failure to recognize that the United States does not exist in an international vacuum. But just as its strictures on the importance of organized teaching of mathematics and science in our schools have been demolished by events, so the obscurantist attitude of its sponsors about foreign languages must be feeling the same pressure from reality. Dr. Floyd W. Reeves, Director of the American Youth Commission, in his speech "Youth and the Future" at the 1942 meeting of the American Council on Education (*Educational Record*, July, 1942) after mentioning the "four important needs" stressed in *What the High Schools Ought to Teach* (i.e., reading, work experience, "social studies," and "personal problems") said: "Personally, I would add a fifth area of education to those emphasized in *Youth and the Future* (another Youth Commission publication). I would include *international relations*. In this field I would emphasize economic history and economic geography. I would teach the relationship of natural resources and industrial development to war and peace. I would include a study of the governments of other nations. Above all, I would have youth learn about the psychology of the people of other nations, their literature, their art, and folkways, and the relations between their ways of life and the means whereby they live. Only in this way can youth be prepared to play well their part in a world that must be rebuilt." (Italics ours.)

This is progress in two years (1940 to 1942) even though Dr. Reeves characteristically says nothing about foreign languages, or how all this is to be done while educationists continue

sen tells us, "was a trend away from the cultural and traditional to the 'practical' . . . the 'modern' . . . There was bitter criticism against the old school because it did not prepare for 'practical' living. Youth, together with its educator abettors, demanded to be taught in the schools something that would enable it to get a job; it also demanded that what was taught should be easy . . . There was a vicious attack against . . . literature and languages, philosophy, pure mathematics and pure science, and all history except contemporary social and economic history." (Compare "Vicious Aspects of the Ninth Grade," in *What the High Schools Ought to Teach*.) And later "Excursions to industrial plants, to commercial centers, to farms, to governmental agencies, and many types of extra-curricular activities, pushed academic learning into the background . . . In both countries (Germany and Russia) a fringe of 'ultra-progressives' is now demanding, quite logically, the complete abolition of the schools. Since schools have been joined with everyday, adult activity, why have schools at all?" . . . "Hitler in *Mein Kampf* states that 'the individual should be taught only what is of positive benefit to him and the community . . . The values of subject-matter should be limited to its relation to present-day living'." And so on, even to remarks about "mere" intellectualism, and "mere" knowledge, from the educational genius who produced *Mein Kampf*. (Professor McCrossen's study, by the way, is documented.)

The parallels are so obvious that we need not belabor the point. We have the same educational philosophy to fight abroad and at home. This should help us to take heart when some half-educated Professor of Education attacks "mere knowledge," calls for "education for real life," denounces the "aristocratic" liberal arts, or, like the "jerkwater" teachers' college president described to me by one of our members at the Indianapolis meeting, announces that "we mean to utilize the war to get rid of foreign language study in American schools."

Fortunately there are many educationists who think otherwise. For instance, Dr. John W. Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education, in his radio address on "Town Meeting of the Air," November 26, 1942, said:

It is clear that we should not ignore the fact that we need generalists as well as specialists to win a war and to organize a peace. The study of foreign languages, of history and philosophy and religion and literature, of the fine arts, of sociology, economics, geography, and government—the development of leaders grounded in the disciplines of the humanities—these leaders we need in wartime as in peacetime, and these leaders are the special product of the liberating arts.

Indeed, we have many allies among enlightened Professors of Education, and the percentage of enlightenment is probably far greater than the noisy pronouncements of the obscurantists and the members of the "lunatic fringe" among educationist

their open or secret campaign against foreign languages. Spanish teachers throughout the country can tell interesting stories of ridiculous efforts by "social studies" teachers to teach "Good Neighbor" courses without the slightest knowledge of Spanish or Portuguese or how to pronounce them, not to mention knowledge of the "psychology, literature, art, folkways, ways of life and means whereby they live" of the "Good Neighbors" they presumptuously sought to interpret. At least Dr. Reeves seems to have waked up, belatedly it is true, to the world in which we live.

would lead us to think. We ought to be—and are—eternally grateful for Professors of Education like I L Kandel, a member of our Commission, and W C Bagley, and others, who have fought our fight in their own profession for many years.

I have referred above to the necessity for being alert to opportunities to bring our subjects to bear upon problems of the war and the postwar period. Here the teacher of foreign languages has for the time being an advantage over his colleagues in English. The development of “intensive language courses” for military and civilian use, under the leadership of the American Council of Learned Societies, and the new realization of the importance of “area studies,” in which essential language training is combined with background studies in geography, culture, economics, history, and politics, such as the Washington Inter-American Training Center program to which I have been devoting myself, create many opportunities for forward-looking and adaptable foreign language specialists, which unfortunately do not exist for the English teacher. The Intensive Language Program of the American Council of Learned Societies, under the inspiration of Waldo G Leland and the leadership of Mortimer Graves and J. M. Cowan, has been markedly successful, and the Washington Inter-American Training Center has had its modest triumphs also. Both have had the cooperation of the armed forces.

The tendency in some quarters to regard the Army and Navy as guilty of shortsightedness regarding the importance of foreign language abilities in winning the war, while perhaps true in the past and likewise perhaps justified by the omission of any reference to foreign language training in recent educational programs put out by the Army and Navy, has not been borne out in my experience. I would personally rather see the fate of liberal arts, the humanities, or the content-subjects in the hands of military men than those of some educationists. Witness the marked omission of any mention of foreign languages—in spite of Commissioner Studebaker’s sympathetic attitude toward them—in the much-publicized “Victory Corps” program. (The most amusing thing, however, is to see educationist foes of content-subjects “going all out” for mathematics, physics, and science in general, subjects which only two years ago were included with foreign languages, English, and history among the “vicious aspects of the ninth grade” in *What the High Schools Ought to Teach*, while mathematics was being denounced as 75 per cent or even 90 per cent “non-functional” in high schools as late as July, 1942. Perhaps they may yet “go all out” for foreign languages.)

A few instances of the awareness of the armed forces to foreign languages may be in point. Over two years ago Lieutenant General H. H. Arnold, Chief of the Army Air Forces, gave a strong impulse to the study of Spanish by Air Corps officers and inspired the formation of the Army and Navy Spanish Project. Many officers in both services are studying Spanish or Portuguese in classes maintained by the Washington Inter-American Training Center. Both services have developed cooperative relations with the Intensive Language Program of the American Council of Learned Societies, and students who have completed courses in the unusual languages are placed in one government service or another immediately upon completion of the courses. The Office of Censorship, Chief Postal Censor, is apparently always on the lookout for persons trained in foreign languages. The Special Services Division, Services of Supply, through its Education Branch has developed recordings and texts

for teaching some thirty or more languages to soldiers in the Army, some of which were used during the invasion of North Africa (See *Time* for January 25, 1943, page 43.) The Armed Forces Institute has language programs under way, and training programs involving the use of foreign languages, common or unusual, are rapidly being developed by the Special Training Division, Services of Supply, the Provost Marshal General's Office, and other branches of the two services. In short, the Army and Navy are awake, or waking up, to the importance of foreign languages in a "contracted world," as some educationists are calling it—a phrase that, together with their fondness for referring to the "Air Age" may be the first signs of their awakening, too. A record of the language competence of every man inducted into the service is now kept, and there is reason to believe that these competences will not be allowed to go to waste if the opportunity comes to use them.

Meanwhile, from various parts of the country come reports of elimination of foreign languages from school programs by unthinking, blind, or prejudiced school principals, superintendents of schools, and other administrators. Too often these officers are merely obeying, consciously or unconsciously, the dictates of an inferiority complex growing out of their own ignorance of foreign languages. Yet they are unfortunately in a position to make their prejudices effective. Narrowmindedness and lack of vision prevail in too many school situations. As I have frequently said, if a man who through "dumbness" or lack of opportunity had failed to learn to swim went around denouncing the teaching of swimming, or refused to allow swimming to be taught in "his" schools, the public would know how to deal with him. Yet schoolmen of the same type are dealing with foreign languages on precisely that basis in too many American towns and cities. It is for us to make the public aware of the need for foreign languages and the reasons behind the instinctive opposition of many educationists, if we are to see improvement in the situation. What has happened to mathematics, formerly damned along with foreign languages by obscurantists and ignoramuses who happened to be in a position to direct educational policies, and now fostered by the same men under the pressure of needs made obvious in spite of their attempts to decry them, may well happen with foreign languages once the same pressures are applied. Prejudice and lack of vision must ultimately yield to common sense. In this work of enlightenment the armed forces, I repeat, are likely to be our greatest allies.

In one other field, that of postwar rehabilitation, languages must likewise find support, as Louis Adamic has pointed out in a recent issue of his bulletin, *Two-Way Passage*. Arguing for adequate use of our immigrant groups, he tells us that "One of the most important qualifications for people who will go abroad as relief and rehabilitation executives and field workers will be the ability to speak the language of the countries to which they will go. Educators and teachers, for instance, will have to know them perfectly. The same goes for many executives and administrators, and, of course, for translators, interpreters, and public-relations people. . . . The sooner this is realized by Governor Lehman's office and by educational institutions the better. Again, there is no time to lose. . . ." I am loth to believe that a man of Governor Lehman's intelligence and experience will fail to realize this, but there is of course the danger that his program, like those of other agencies, may fall into the hands of Professors of Education temporarily out of a job.

But we should not argue for our subjects only because of their obvious "practical" values. That would be a violation of our democratic faith and of our belief in Christian civilization. This is ably brought out in several recent articles, among them Robert A. Hume's "Shall We Be More Practical?" (*School and Society*, January 2, 1943). We must stand firm for what Abraham Flexner, in a noteworthy article published in *Harper's* some years ago, called "the usefulness of useless knowledge," following a line of thought put forth by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes nearly fifty years before (quoted at the end of my report for 1939, *PMLA*, LIV, 1355). "The mere fact," says Flexner, "that they bring satisfaction to an individual soul bent upon its own purification and elevation is all the justification they need. And in justifying them, without any reference whatever, implied or actual, to usefulness, we justify colleges, universities, and institutes of research."

Another American leader of thought, Charles A. Beard, tells us that "Without the literature and the arts which keep alive imagination and aspiration, which reflect taste and give enjoyment, industry would be on a low level and government would partake of the culture of the barracks. Without the ethical and esthetic aspirations reflected in the great literature of the race—embodying its funded and accumulating wisdom—government, industry, and even the 'fine' arts would be without form, spirit, and force. Uncontrolled by ethics and esthetics, the practical arts may destroy civilization. . . ." And again, Sir Wilmott Lewis, Washington correspondent of the *London Times*, in an address on "Education and Democracy" delivered at the 1939 annual meeting of the American Council on Education, said: ". . . Herodotus, speaking of the Athenians, remarked 'how excellent a thing is equality among men.' It is excellent, but it is not enough unless it is strongly imbued with respect for excellence in the things of the spirit, unless it should rise above the belief that civilization is no more than an elaboration of the apparatus and machinery of existence, but requires that there shall be free scope for activities which—by 'practical' standards—are useless, but which are significant precisely because they are not inspired by utilitarian motives, but spring from a disinterested passion for beauty and truth, from the possession of powers whose exercise is its own reward."

If we must accept, even foster, for a time, the "culture of the barracks" we do so willingly, even gladly, for the sake of the larger good and for the preservation of the ideals of which Sir Wilmott Lewis speaks—"equality that is strongly imbued with respect for the things of the spirit," "civilization that is more than an elaboration of the apparatus and machinery of existence."

REPORT OF THE DELEGATES TO THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF
LEARNED SOCIETIESBy Professor GEORGE SHERBURN, *Delegate*

DURING the present year the American Council of Learned Societies, preoccupied with its useful and significant rôles in the war effort, has nevertheless continued its recognition of scholarship as practiced in the humanities by granting subsidies for certain books that will eventually be available for members of the Modern Language Association and others interested in literary scholarship. It has also continued its very stimulating examination into the essential nature and proper function of humane studies. The central personal force behind this work and all the work of the Council has been that contributed by the founder and director of the organization, Dr. Waldo G. Leland, and as a token of their appreciation of two decades of distinguished labors on his part, the constituent societies of the Council presented to him at the last annual meeting of the body (January 30, 1942) a testimonial volume containing research articles by members of each of the twenty-one societies. The volume is entitled *Studies in the History of Culture. the Disciplines of the Humanities* (Menasha, 1942), and it well presents a commendable cross-section of research efforts in the various fields patronized by the Council. The volume is an occasion of very special pride to the Modern Language Association, since the Secretary of the Association was its begetter, promoter, and editor.

CANCELLATION OF THE 1942 ANNUAL MEETING

The Association, meeting in Indianapolis, Indiana, on December 30, 1941, directed the Executive Council (*PMLA*, lvi, 1379) to cancel the Annual Meeting "if advisable." On March 28, 1942, the Executive Council, meeting in New York, N. Y. (*PMLA*, lvii, 593) confirmed a meeting at the Hotel Astor to be held on December 29-31, but empowered its Advisory Committee later to alter this decision "in case of serious need." For information we relied on the Science Committee of the National Resources Planning Board, writing from the Executive Office of the President. This committee represents the National Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Council on Education, and the Social Science Research Council

In late August, and again on November 21, this Committee informed us that meetings of all the societies involved were desirable, and that the Office of Defense Transportation was "unwilling to advise against the holding of meetings or even to say that in its opinion the holding of such meetings is not in the public interest." Meanwhile, on November 20, the Division of Traffic Movement (of the O D.T) informed the National Resources Planning Board that "we have requested a postponement of all meetings which would require traveling at that [the Christmas holiday] period." This information reached our Executive Office on November 25.

On November 28, in Washington, your Secretary consulted personally the President of the American Council on Education and the Director of the American Council of Learned Societies. They were of the opinion that a localization of the meeting would suffice.

The following correspondence ensued.

(1)

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT

Washington, D. C

The Office of Defense Transportation

JOSEPH B. EASTMAN, *Director*

November 30, 1942

File 612-9

DR. PERCY W LONG

Secretary of the Modern Language

Association of America

100 Washington Square East

New York, N. Y.

DEAR DR LONG:

The attention of this office has been directed to the convention which the Modern Language Association of America has scheduled for New York on December 29-31 of this year

As you know, the military transportation demands being placed on the carriers are increasing rapidly, and it has recently been necessary for the Office of Defense Transportation to issue an order "freezing" passenger schedules and prohibiting the operation of extra sections of trains. Special trains to sporting events have been discontinued for the duration, and every effort is being made by the Office of Defense Transportation, the Association of American Railroads, and the individual carriers to discourage travel which is not essential to the war effort.

The travel conservation program is far flung and will shortly encompass every state in the union. It will involve not only travel by rail, but travel by bus and private automobile as well.

Since many of the members of the Modern Language Association of America would naturally travel by common carriers and would thereby be placing an additional burden on the carriers that are now so busy meeting the transportation requirements of our military program, I am wondering if you and your other officers would consistently consider canceling your convention for 1942. I am not trying to evaluate the significance or the importance of this convention, rather, I am looking at the situation purely from a transportation angle, with the knowledge that we must expend every effort to curtail travel not intimately connected with the war effort if we are to meet the primary obligations which we have to our armed forces. Any action that you may take in the interest of conserving transportation will not be precedent-setting as hundreds of other meetings and events already have been called off for the duration in order that transportation or other vital factors might be saved for war purposes.

Your sympathetic consideration of this request will be appreciated, as it is only through such action that we can avoid the ultimate imposition of rigid control over our transportation systems.

Very truly yours,
(signed) H. F. McCarthy, *Director*
Division of Traffic Movement

(2)

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION

100 Washington Square East
New York, N. Y.

December 2, 1942

MR. H. F. MCCARTHY, *Director*
Division of Traffic Movement
Office for Emergency Management
Executive Office of the President
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MCCARTHY:

On receipt (Nov. 25) of a copy of your letter to L. K. Frank (Nov. 20), we placed on our printed *Program* cover the statement "Primarily for members in and near New York, N. Y." Very few (up to 50) would come from beyond Philadelphia and New Haven. They would not travel on weekends. The *Program* is to be mailed this weekend.

Since the problem is purely transportation, I hope our localization of the meeting meets your request. It would be a heavy blow to us to cancel outright. If you nevertheless request complete cancellation, I feel certain that our officers will comply

In haste,
(signed) PERCY W LONG, *Secretary*

(Sent air mail, special delivery, in the morning)

(3)

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT
Washington, D C

The Office of Defense Transportation
Joseph B Eastman, Director

December 9, 1942
File 612-9

Mr PERCY W LONG, *Secretary*
The Modern Language Association of America
100 Washington Square East
New York, N Y.

DEAR MR LONG

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd with further reference to your meeting

The action which you have taken to discourage travel to the meeting which you originally contemplated is appreciated. We hope this action will meet your requirements

Very truly yours,
(signed) H F MCCARTHY, *Director*
Division of Traffic Movement

Meanwhile our meeting had been cancelled on December 5th by unanimous vote of the Advisory Committee

The week-long delay of Mr. McCarthy's reply was not the sole factor involved. Over 60 members had written to the Executive office, advocating cancellation. Many of these considered a localized meeting to be inadequately representative. Finally came word of the sudden death of our President, Professor Padelford, from thrombosis, on December 2nd (*not* caused by the crisis). The *Programs* were due to be mailed; if issued uncanceled they would confirm the meeting with scant time for a subsequent notice of cancellation. Some 400 replies from the Old Guard showed a scant 50 planning to attend.

Since the decision to cancel, only one adverse criticism of this action by the Advisory Committee has come to the Executive Office.

DISPOSITION OF BUSINESS

(See Acts of the Executive Council, page 1384)

In lieu of a Business Meeting the Secretary announces:

1. The annual reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, Auditing Committee, and Trustees are printed on pages 1349-1364. Action on them is deferred until the next Business Meeting of the Association.

2. The informational reports of the Committee on Photographic Reproductions, the Committee on Research Activities, the Commission on Trends in Education, and the Delegates to the American Council of Learned Societies are printed on pages 1365-1378.

3. The mailed Ballots (260 recorded) have been held by the Executive Council to constitute a valid election, by which the following were elected members of the Executive Council for the term ending December 31, 1946:

ALBERT W. ARON, *University of Illinois*, Germanic

ALBERT C. BAUGH, *University of Pennsylvania*, English

ORIE W. LONG, *Williams College*, Germanic

Eleven late ballots, if counted, would not have changed the election. All have accepted.

4. The Committee on Nomination of Officers, Dean Edwin B. Williams, *Chairman*, Professors Finley M. K. Foster, Virgil B. Heltzel, Bayard Q. Morgan, and William L. Wiley reported as follows:

This is to officially inform you that the Committee on Nominations of the MLA, appointed by President Padelford, has nominated the following candidates for office:

Professor Rudolph Schevill, Univ. of Calif., President

Professor Robert H. Fife, Columbia Univ., 1st Vice-Pres.

Professor Raymond D. Havens, Johns Hopkins Univ., 2nd Vice-Pres.

Professor Sturgis E. Leavitt, Univ. of N. C. MLA delegate to the ACLS

EDWIN B. WILLIAMS

Chairman, Committee on Nominations

The Executive Council, on behalf of the Association, accepted this report and declared these officers instated. All have accepted.

5. The Committee on Resolutions, President Ernest H. Wilkins, *Chairman*; Professor George H. Danton, and Dr. James G. McManaway, reported that it had no resolutions to offer.

SPECIAL REGIONAL MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE
ASSOCIATION (ENGLISH DIVISION), DECEMBER 29, 1942,
IN CLEVELAND, OHIO

UPON call by the Department of English of Western Reserve University a special regional meeting of the English Division of the Modern Language Association was held at 2 30 P M , Tuesday, December 29, 1942, in Thwing Hall on the University campus Professor Finley M. K. Foster presided.

The following papers, originally scheduled for the national meeting of the Association, were read and discussed

- 1 "Walt Whitman in Hungarian Literature," Joseph Remenyi, Western Reserve
- 2 "Medieval Characteristics of Sackville's Writings," Sarah Ruth Watson, Fenn.
3. "Milton and War," James Holly Hanford, Western Reserve
- 4 "Wordsworth and the Facts of Life," George W. Meyer, Western Reserve
(Read, in Mr Meyer's absence, by Professor J. DeLancey Ferguson)

It was voted to form a committee for arranging a similar meeting next year providing the national meeting is again cancelled. Professor James Holly Hanford was appointed chairman of this committee

Number present 50 (representing Akron, Baldwin-Wallace, Fenn, Kent, Miami, and Western Reserve)

HARLAN W. HAMILTON, *Secretary*

[Printed in recognition of commendable initiative —*Ed*]

ACTS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

(Continued from *PMLA*, LVII, 1206)

I. Under date of December 18, 1942, the Advisory Committee recommended the following actions, which were taken in unanimous mail ballot by the Council:

1. That, as in the case of Professor Marden (1932), an obituary notice of Professor Padelford (with photograph) be issued in *PMLA*.

2. That the revised 1943 Budget be approved, with the provision that the Council shall, at about February 15, decide whether a Council meeting can be managed without prohibitive expense

3. That the mailed Ballots received prior to December 30 shall constitute an election to the Council.

4. That the Secretary be authorized to print in the Supplement the usual reports, deferring vote on acceptance till the next Business Meeting

5. That, since the Committee on Resolutions reports it will offer none, the resolution prepared by the Committee on Research Activities, be referred back to that Committee for incorporation in its report, as coming most appropriately from that body.

6 That the next Annual Meeting be Eastern (as the Constitution provides), and be tentatively assigned to New York City in the Christmas holidays of 1943, preferably at the Hotel Astor.

7. That Sections and Groups in 1943 secure papers as normally for a *Program* but with short abstracts, that, if there is no meeting, these be issued in a pamphlet like the *Program*, but that, if at a late date a meeting is definitely called, these be converted into the usual *Program*. (From a suggestion of Professor E. B. Place)

8. That two letters be soon issued: (a) One to all members (with the January dues bills), explaining the steps which led to the cancellation of the 1942 meeting, and encouraging members (singly and in Groups) to continue their research activities. (b) One to officers and advisory committees of Sections and Groups, encouraging them to continue research, especially as provided under 7 above.

9. That the names of uniformed members in Government service be distinguished with a flag in the List of Members.

II. The 1943 Council by mail ballot under date of January 15, 1943, elected as its 1943 Advisory Committee Professors Albert C. Baugh, Robert Herndon Fife, and Christian Gauss

PERCY W. LONG, *Secretary*

PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

First Session

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 27, AT 10 00 A M

Meeting of the Executive Committee (1 30-10 00 A M)

Report of the Secretary-Treasurer

Appointment of Committees

Reading and Discussion of Papers (S Griswold Morley, *Chairman*)

1 "Monuments of Dying Paganism" (two tapestries in American museums)
Paul Friedlander, *University of California, Los Angeles*

2 "Stage Devices in Shakespeare's Handling of Time" Allison Gaw, *University of Southern California*

3 "Oscar Wilde and the Victorians" Percy H Houston, *Occidental College*

4 "The 'Esplumoir Merlin'" William A Nitze, *University of California, Los Angeles*

5 "Rilke in English" H F Peters, *Reed College* (Read by title)

Second Session

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 27, AT 2:00 P M

(Three Sections)

AMERICAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE SECTION

Room 144, Royce Hall

ERNEST L MARCHAND, *Chairman*

6 "John W De Forest, Satirist of Political Craft and Graft in the 1870's"
William S Ament, *Scripps College*.

7 "Moncure D Conway Critic and Humanitarian" Frank Gees Black, *University of Oregon*.

8 "The Fight at Mussel Slough in Fact and Fiction" Benjamin S Harrison,
University of Redlands

9 "The Theme of a Decaying House, as Treated by Hawthorne and by Edna
Ferber" Caroline Mattingly, *University of Redlands*.

10 "Bryant and Whitman" Lawrence E Nelson, *University of Redlands*.

11 "Did Emily Dickinson Have a Lover?" Nina Willis Walter, *University of Southern California*

LINGUISTIC SECTION

ALFRED K. DOLCH, *Chairman*

12. "Samuel Johnson: Dictator of the English Language." Harold B. Allen, *San Diego State College*

13 "A Dynamic System of Phonetic Representation." Howard B. Garey, *University of California, Los Angeles*.

14 "Origin of Portuguese *alguém*, *ninguém*, *outrém*, and of their equivalents in Spanish." Yakow Malkiel, *University of California, Berkeley*.

15. "Gothic *beidan*, *bidjan*, and Related Words" Clarence Paschall, *University of California, Berkeley*

- 16 "A New Philological Approach to TAO" Hans N. von Koerber, *University of Southern California*

ROMANCE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE SECTION

WILLIAM LEONARD SCHWARTZ, *Chairman*

- 17 "Dante and Mirrors" H. D. Austin, *University of Southern California*
 18. "Feijóo a Liberal in Eighteenth-Century Spain" Hermenegildo Corbató, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 19 "Contes-à-rire in Old French Literature" M. S. Crawford, *University of Southern California*
 20 "Balzac and de Custine." F. J. Crowley, *Univ. California, Los Angeles*
 21 "Dante's Notion of Attraction Compared to That of Adelard of Bath" Marie-Louise Dufrenoy, *University of California, Berkeley*

INFORMAL DINNER AND SMOKER

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 27, AT 7 00 P M

- 22 President's Address *Cowboy and Gaucho Fiction*, by S. Griswold Morley, *University of California, Berkeley*.

Third Session

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, AT 9 30 A M

(Three Sections)

JOINT MEETING OF THE
 CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

and of the Classical Section of the

PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

OLIVER CURTIS CRAWFORD, *Chairman*

- 23 "Plato's Theory of Poetry: A Re-examination" Joseph W. Angell, *Pomona College*
 24. "The Earliest Printed Commentary on Ovid's Amores" Frederick Mason Carey, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 25 "On the Meaning of 'Αμάρψς.'" Arthur Patch McKinlay, *University of California, Los Angeles*.
 26. "The Successor of Speusippus." Philip Merlan, *University of Redlands*, and of *Scripps College*.
 27. "Cicero as Semanticist." Dorothea Clinton Woodworth, *University of California, Los Angeles*.
 28 "Falterings in Horace's Lyric Muse" W. H. Alexander, *University of California, Berkeley*.

ENGLISH SECTION

PERCY H. HOUSTON, *Chairman*

29. "Anthony Trollope on the Old Drama" Bradford A. Booth and Hugh G. Dick, *University of California, Los Angeles*.

30 "Play-writing Activity at York, 1415-1425 " M G Frampton, *Pomona College* (Fifteen minutes)

31. "William Godwin's Conception of Man's History." Hubert C Heffner, *Stanford University* (Read by title)

32 "Sir John Suckling and the Witty Tradition " Charles S Holmes, *Pomona College*.

33 "The Sociology of Critics of Restoration Drama " Frank Louis Johnson, *San Diego State College*

34 "Arthur Hugh Clough in America " Frederick Mulhauser, Jr, *Pomona College*

35 "Robert Southey's Defense of Charles Lamb " Louis Wann, *University of Southern California*

36 "The Classics in the Poetry of A E Housman " William White, *Whitman College* (Read by title)

GERMAN SECTION

BAYARD QUINCY MORGAN, *Chairman*

37 "A Contribution to the Interpretation of Rilke's Fourth Duino Elegy " Kurt Bergel, *Deep Springs College*

38 "The Contemporary German Stage " William W. Melnitz, *University of California, Los Angeles*.

39. "The Popularity of Marmontel on the German Stage " William W. Melnitz, *University of California, Berkeley*

40. "Karl Gutzkow und die Universität seiner Zeit " Franz Schneider, *University of California, Berkeley*.

41 "Martin Opitz and His Edition of the *Annolied* " Frederick R. Whitesell, *University of California, Berkeley*.

42. "Die grossen Marionetten in Kleists Dramen " Rolf Liffman, *University of California, Los Angeles* (Read by title)

43. "Social Themes in G. A. Burger's Poetry " O Paul Straubinger, *University of California, Los Angeles* (Read by title)

The first session was called to order Friday morning by President S Griswold Morley The Secretary made a brief report The President announced the appointment of the following committees:

Social: F H Reinsch, G O Arlt, F M Carey, M Ewing, M A Zeitlin.

Nominating: B Q Morgan (chairman), Ch C McCown (2 years), A. P. McKinlay (3 years).

Auditing: W A Nitze, L M. Price.

Resolution: W. L. Schwartz, L. M. Price.

The reading and discussion of papers followed, about 90 persons being in attendance

At the annual dinner the Auditing Committee reported its approval of the Treasurer's books The Committee on Resolutions expressed the warm admiration of the members of the Association for the work and the personality Professors George M. Calhoun, Ray Lorenzo Heffner, and Clifton Price, who died in 1941.

The report of the Nominating Committee was presented by Prof B Q Morgan, and the vote of the Association was cast for the following officers

President: Herman F Frankel.

Vice-Presidents: Raymond D Hariman, Frank H Reinsch

Secretary-Treasurer: F. W Strothmann.

Executive Committee Gabnel D Bonno, D P Rotunda, Sophus K Winther, Celeste Turner Wright.

Attendance at all sessions was seriously influenced by transportation difficulties. With few exceptions, only the members living in the Los Angeles region were able to attend the meeting.

The Secretary-Treasurer now reports a total membership of 295, as against 313 for last year. Since the printing of the last list of members, 17 new members have joined the Association, as against 9 resignations, and the dropping of 23 members for delinquencies in dues. The Association lost three members by death.

The financial summary follows

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand, Dec 1, 1941	.	.	.	\$ 501 87
Dues paid by members	1,324 58
				<hr/>
Total Receipts	.	.	.	\$1,826 45

DISBURSEMENTS.

Refunded to members	..	.	\$ 14 30
To MLA			889 22
To APA	.	.	156 53
Expenses		.	270 40
Cash on hand	.	.	40 22
Balance in bank	.	.	455.78
			<hr/>
Total	.	.	\$1,826 45

F. W. STROTHMANN, *Secretary-Treasurer*

SOUTH ATLANTIC MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION

As the result of a poll, conducted early in October, 58 members voted to hold this year's annual meeting while 203 voted to cancel it. By this time, however, the programs for all groups and sections had already been prepared. Accordingly, it was decided to print the program, together with an abstract of each paper listed thereon, in the *South Atlantic Bulletin* for December, 1942.

The program follows

ENGLISH SECTION

Chairman, W. L. Halstead, *University of Miami*, *Co-Chairman*, Roy P. Basler, *Alabama State Teachers College* (Florence)

1. "Reade, Mill and Zola: A Study of the Character and Intention of Charles Reade's Realistic Method" Lewis F. Haines, *University of Florida*

2. "A Forgotten Charleston Poet: Joseph Brown Ladd, 1774-1786" Lewis A. Leary, *Duke University*

3. "E. K. or Who Was E. K.?" Raymond Jenkins, *Catawba College*.

4. "Seventeenth Century Literature and the Idea of Progress" Gwynne H. Daggett, *University of New Hampshire* (formerly at *University of Florida*)

5. "Timrod's *Ode* (with a quartet to sing the *Ode* to the tune used at Magnolia Cemetery)" Reed Smith, *University of South Carolina*

6. "Reports by Committee Chairman on the General Problem of Coordinating the Teaching of English on the High School, College, and Graduate School Levels"

A. 'The Teaching of English in High School.' Reed Smith, *University of South Carolina*

B. 'The Teaching of English in College.' William P. Cumming, *Davidson College*

C. 'The Teaching of English in Graduate School.' John D. Wade, *University of Georgia*

WILLIAM PATTERSON CUMMING, *Secretary*

FRENCH AND ITALIAN SECTION

Chairman, C. Maxwell Lancaster, *Vanderbilt University*, *Vice-Chairman*, Nancy Stewart, *Mercer University*

1. "Vico's Defense of the Humanities" William Paul Dismukes, *Univ. of Miami*

2. "Some Aspects of the Modern French Novel" H. M. Acton, *Howard College*.

3. "James' Criticism of French Literature" Eliot G. Fay, *The Citadel*

4. "A Comparative Study of the Romantic Novel in France, Spain, and England" William C. Zellars, *Louisiana College*

5. (Title not given: Discussion of a Twentieth Century French Author) Sidney L. McGee, *Tennessee Polytechnic Institute*.

6. (Title not given: Some Aspect of Modern French Literature) Lorraine Pierson, *Alabama College*.

JEAN AUTRET, *Secretary*

GERMAN SECTION

Chairman, F. W. Bradley, *University of South Carolina*

- 1 "The Poetry of Arno Holz" A. S. Berghauer, *Furman University*
- 2 (Title of paper to be sent) Robert M. Browning, *Wake Forest College*
- 3 "Schiller Der Karlsschuler" John H. Brunjes, Jr., *University of North Carolina*
- 4 "The Present Status of Research in the Pennsylvania Dutch Dialect" J. William Frey, *Presbyterian College*

WILLIAM CARY MAXWELL, *Secretary*

SPANISH SECTION

Chairman, Melissa A. Cilley, *Agnes Scott College*

- 1 "A Cuban Gone with the Wind: Cecilia Valdés" M. Gordon Brown, *Georgia School of Technology*
- 2 "Spanish Conversation for Children and for Adults" W. C. Zellars, *Louisiana College*
- 3 "Roberto Brenes-Mesén, a Transplanted Mystic." Laura Jean McAdams, *Western Carolina Teachers College*.
- 4 "The Conference on the Teaching of Spanish and Portuguese, Held at Ann Arbor under the Auspices of the Education Division of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs" Sturgis E. Leavitt, *University of North Carolina*

PAUL T. MANCHESTER, *Secretary*

GENERAL SESSION

Chairman, Frederick L. Jones, *Mercer University*

- 1 "Presidential Address" Frederick L. Jones, *President of the South Atlantic Modern Language Association*
- 2 "Address by Guest Speaker." Albert C. Baugh, *University of Pennsylvania*
- 3 "Report of the Committee on the Status and Promotion of the Humanities" Thomas B. Stroup, *University of Florida*, and James Osler Bailey, *University of North Carolina*

JOHN A. STRAUSBAUGH, *Secretary*

The University of South Carolina has graciously renewed its invitation to hold the next annual meeting on its campus. Tentatively, the date for it is November 26-27, 1943. The officers elected during the 1941 meeting will carry on for 1943.

During the year the *South Atlantic Bulletin* published a report on "The Status of the Humanities" by Thomas B. Stroup of the University of Florida. It inaugurated a new series on Source Materials for the Study of Southern Literary Culture, in which the following articles appeared in 1942: "The Charleston College Library" by Miss Virginia Rugheimer of Charleston College and Guy A. Cardwell of Tulane University; "The Charleston Library Society" by the same authors, and "The Library of Alexander S. Salley of Columbia, South Carolina," by Richard Beale Davis of the University of South Carolina. Of general interest were articles on The Julius Rosenwald Fund by Edwin F. Embree, President of the Fund; Inter-American Education

in War Time by Edgar J. Fisher of the Institute of International Education, the Pierpont Morgan Library by George K. Boyce of that institution, the Vanderbilt University Press by John Pomfret, Dean of the Graduate School at Vanderbilt University, "Cultural Activities in Spain" by Gordon Brown of the Georgia School of Technology, the Summer School for South Americans held at the University of North Carolina, by Sturgis E. Leavitt of the University of North Carolina, and the "*South Atlantic Quarterly*, The First Forty Years," by Charles Richard Sanders of Duke University. Worthy of particular mention was "Southern Literary Culture: An Annotated Bibliography for 1941" by Herman E. Spivey of the University of Florida.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

November 20, 1941–November 25, 1942

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand, November 19, 1941	\$ 663 26
Membership dues November 20, 1941–November 25, 1942	404 00
	<hr/>
	\$1067 26

DISBURSEMENTS.

To <i>South Atlantic Bulletin</i>	\$300 00	
Other expenses	194 83	
	<hr/>	
	\$494 83	494 83
		<hr/>
Balance on hand, November 25, 1942		\$ 572 43

JOHN A. STRAUSBAUGH, *Secretary-Treasurer*

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

(Corrected to March 2, 1943)

HONORARY MEMBERS

(*The roll dates from July 13, 1893*)

	<i>Elected</i>		<i>Elected</i>
AMADO ALONSO	1940	OTTO JESPERSEN	1904
Buenos Aires, Argentina		Lundehave, Helsingør, Denmark	
FERNAND BALDENSPERGER	1931	DANIEL JONES	1936
The Sorbonne		University of London	
GIULIO BERTONI	1939	HERMANN AUGUST KORFF	1940
Reale Università degli Studi, Rome		University of Leipzig	
SIR EDMUND CHAMBERS	1922	EUGEN KUHNEMANN	1906
Bovey Combe, Beer, Devon, Eng		University of Breslau	
VITTORIO CIAN	1926	ABEL LEFRANC	1913
University of Turin		Collège de France	
GEORGES CIROT	1926	FERDINAND LOT	1927
University of Bordeaux		The Sorbonne	
GUSTAVE COHEN	1940	DANIEL MORNET	1939
Yale University		Université de Paris, Paris	
SIR WILLIAM A CRAIGIE	1922	LORENZ MORSBACH	1926
Oxford, Eng		University of Göttingen	
BENEDETTO CROCE	1909	RAMON MENÉNDEZ PIDAL	1910
Naples, Italy		University of Madrid	
GUSTAV EHRLSMANN	1939	ALFRED W POLLARD	1916
Dürerstrasse 6, Hamburg-Othmar-		British Museum, London	
schen, Germany		MARIO ROQUES	1926
OLIVER ELTON	1939	Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Paris	
293 Woodstock Rd, Oxford, Eng		JOSEPH SCHICK	1940
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WALTER WILSON GREG	1923	University of Berne	
Standlands, Petworth, Sussex, Eng		DAVID NICHOL SMITH	1940
SIR H J C GRIERSON	1932	Oxford University	
University of Edinburgh		PEDRO HENRIQUEZ-UREÑA	1940
PAUL HAZARD	1936	Buenos Aires, Argentina	
Collège de France, Paris		KARL VOSSLER	1926
JOHANNES HOOPS	1933	University of Munich	
University of Heidelberg		MAURICE WILMOTTE	1934
ALFRED JEANROY	1914	Bruxelles, Belgium	
University of Paris		HENRY CECIL WYLD	1930
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ROLL OF DECEASED MEMBERS

Evelyn May Albright, University of Chicago, April 1942
 Michele Barbi, University of Florence, October 1941 (Honorary Member)
 Robert Chapman Bates, Yale University, December 1, 1942
 Lucy Hamilton Carson, Montana State Normal College, July 7, 1941
 Robert W Chambers, University College, London, April 23, 1942
 Louis Cons, Harvard University, April 20, 1942
 Frank Carman Ewart, Colgate University, September 28, 1942
 John Roberts Fisher, College of William and Mary, April 10, 1942
 Mrs Sara Porter Fitzgerald, Fort Worth, Tex , November 10, 1941
 Herbert G Fiench, Cincinnati, Ohio, June 25, 1942
 Eugénie Galloo, University of Kansas, August 23, 1941
 Lucy Marie Gay, University of Wisconsin, March 24, 1942
 Herbert Eveleth Greene, Johns Hopkins University, September 3, 1942
 Sardis Roy Hadsell, University of Oklahoma, August 22, 1942
 Sada Annis Harbarger, Ohio State University, April 23, 1942
 Ray Lorenzo Heffner, University of Washington, February 23, 1942
 Henry Barrett Hinckley, Brattleboro, Vt , July 29, 1940
 William Savage Johnson, University of Kansas, December 15, 1942
 Paul Charles King, Washington University, May 17, 1942
 Armin Hajmin Koller, University of Illinois, May 17, 1942
 William D MacClintock, University of Chicago, April, 1936
 Ernst Heinrich Mensel, Smith College, September 6, 1942
 William Henry Murray, Dartmouth College, Jan 25, 1943
 Frederick Morgan Padelford, University of Washington, December 3, 1942
 N Burton Paradise, Yale University, April 1942
 Josiah Harmar Penniman, University of Pennsylvania, April 1941
 Otto Paul Schinnerer, Columbia University, November 7, 1942
 Alice Dorothea Snyder, Vassar College, February 17, 1943
 William Flint Thrall, University of North Carolina, October 1941
 Kenneth G T Webster, Harvard University, October 31, 1942
 George Heyman Wittkowsky, The City College, October 1, 1942
 Charles Baker Wright, Middlebury College, April 24, 1942

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